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THE

Harleian Miſcellany:

OR, A

COLLECTION

OF

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SCARCE, CURIOUS, and ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS and TRACTS,

As well in Manuſcript as in Print,

Found in the late

EARL of *OXFORD*'s LIBRARY.

INTERSPERSED

With HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, and CRITICAL NOTES.

WITH

A Table of the CONTENTS, and an Alphabetical INDEX.

MM a 8

VOL. VI.

LONDON:

Printed for *T. OSBORNE*, in *Gray's-Inn*. MDCCXLV.

N. B. This Work will be compleated in eight Volumes, and concluded at *Lady-Day* next: And, therefore, it is deſired, that thoſe Gentlemen, who have not compleated their Sets, will do it before *Lady-Day*; after which Time there will be no ſingle Numbers or Volumes to be diſpoſed of. And thoſe Gentlemen who have not already taken in this Work, and intend to have them, are deſired to do it ſpeedily, for there are not ſeventy Sets left of one Thouſand of which this Impreſſion conſiſted.

TO

The Right HONOURABLE

LIONEL,

EARL of DYSART,

This SIXTH VOLUME

OF THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY

Is moſt humbly inſcribed, by

Your LORDSHIP'S

Moſt faithful and

Moſt obedient Servant,

Thomas Osborne.

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England's proper and only Way to an Eſtabliſhment in Honour, Freedom, Peace, and Happineſs: Or, the *Norman* Yoke once more uncaſed; and the Neceſſity, Juſtice, and preſent Seaſonableneſs of breaking it in Pieces, demonſtrated, in Eight moſt plain and true Propoſitions, with their Proofs. By the Author of *Anti-Normaniſm*, and of the *Plain Engliſh* to the Neglectors of it.

Deo, Patriæ, Tibi.

Imprimatur Gilbert Mabbot. London, printed for *R. L. Anno Dom.* 1648. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages 35

Natural and Revealed Religion explaining each other. In two Eſſays. The Firſt ſhewing, what Religion is eſſential to Man. The Second the State of Souls after Death, as diſcovered by Revelation. *MS.* Never before publiſhed 39

The Lord General *Cromwell*'s Speech, delivered in the Council-Chamber, upon the Fourth of *July*, 1653, to the Perſons then aſſembled and intruſted with the ſupreme Authority of the Nation. This is a true Copy, publiſhed for Information, and to prevent Miſtakes. Printed in the Year 1654. *Quarto*, containing twenty-eight Pages 52

The *Loyal Obſervator:* Or, Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life and Actions of *Roger* the *Fidler*; alias, The *Obſervator*. *London:* Printed for *W. Hammond*, 1683. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 61

Wonderful News from *Wales:* Or, a true Narrative of an old Woman living near *Lanſelin* in *Denbighſhire*, whoſe Memory ſerves her truly and perfectly to relate what ſhe hath ſeen and done one hundred and thirty Years ago. Having now the full Number of her Teeth; the moſt of them were loſt, when ſhe was Threeſcore Years and Ten. She is alſo remembered, by ſome of ninety Years old, to be taller than ſhe is by ſeventeen or eighteen Inches; with ſeveral other Circumſtances of her Life, which ſhew her to be the Wonder of her Age. Li-

cenſed *Auguſt* 9, 1677. *London*, printed for *C. L. Anno Dom.* 1677. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 65

The Trial and Condemnation of Colonel *Adrian Scroope*, Mr. *John Carew*, Mr. *Thomas Scott*, Mr. *Gregory Clement*, and Colonel *John Jones*, who ſat as Judges, upon our late Sovereign Lord King *Charles*. Together with their ſeveral Anwers and Pleas, at the Seſſions-Houſe in the *Old-Bailey*, *Friday* the Twelfth of *October* 1660, before the Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, appointed by his Majeſty for that Purpoſe.

JAMES ii. 13.
For he ſhall have Judgment without Mercy, that ſhewed no Mercy.

London, printed for *John Stafford*, and *Edward Thomas*, 1660. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 68

A juſt Vindication of Learning: Or, an humble Addreſs to the High Court of Parliament, in Behalf of the Liberty of the Preſs. By *Philopatris*.

Sub bono Principe ſentire licet quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere.

London, 1679. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages 71

Sundry Things from ſeveral Hands concerning the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *viz.* I. A Petition from ſome Well-affected therein. II. A Model for a College-Reformation. III. Queries concerning the ſaid Univerſity, and ſeveral Perſons therein. *London*, printed by *Thomas Creake*, 1659. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages 79

The Praier and Complaynte of the Ploweman vnto *Chriſte*: Written not long after the Yere of oure Lorde, A Thouſande and thre hundred.

Chriſtus MATTH. X.
If they haue called the Lorde of the Howſe Beelzebub: *How moch more ſhal they ſo call them of hys Howſhold?*

Printed, without Date, *Octavo*, *Black Letter*, containing ninety-ſix Pages 85

The Lord *Digby*'s Speech in the Houſe of Commons, to the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, *Jan.* 19, 1640. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages 106

The Opinion of Mr. *Perkins* and Mr. *Bolton*, and others, concerning the Sport of Cock-Fighting: Publiſhed formerly in their Works, and now ſet forth to ſhew, That it is not a Recreation meet for Chriſtians, though ſo commonly uſed by thoſe who own that Name. By *Edmund Ellis*, Maſter of Arts, and ſome time Fellow of *Baliol* College in *Oxford*.

2 SAM. vi 22.
I will yet be more vile than thus.

Oxford, printed by *A. L.* in the Year 1660. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages 110

Mr. *Howell*'s Vindication of himſelf from the Charge of being no Friend to Parliaments, and a Malignant. *London*, printed, 1677. *Quarto*, containing ten Pages 115

Behold! Two Letters, the one written by the Pope to the (then) Prince of *Wales*, now King of *England*: The other, an Anſwer to the ſaid Letter, by the ſaid Prince, now his Majeſty of *England*. Printed in the Year of Diſcoveries, 1642. *Quarto*, containing four Pages 119

A Modern Account of *Scotland*: Being an exact Deſcription of the Country, and a true Character of the People and their Manners. Written from thence by an *Engliſh* Gentleman. Printed in the Year 1670. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages 121

Naſhe's Lenten Stuff, containing, The Deſcription and firſt Procreation and Increaſe of the Town of *Great Yarmouth*, in *Norfolk*: With a new Play never played before, of the Praiſe of the Red Herring. Fit of all Clerks of Noblemen's Kitchens to be read; and not unneceſſary by all Serving Men, who have ſhort Board Wages, to be remembered.

Famam peto per Undas.

London, printed for *N. L.* and *C. B.* and are to be ſold at the Weſt End of *Paul's*, 1599. *Quarto*, containing eighty-three Pages 129

Peter's Pattern: Or, The perfect Path to Worldly Happineſs; as it was delivered in a Funeral Sermon, preached at the Interment of Mr. *Hugh Peters*, lately deceaſed. By *I. C.* Tranſlator of *Pineda* upon *Job*, and one of the Triers.

GUSMAN. Lib. I. Cap. ii. Verſ. 4.
Amicus Plato, ſed magis amica veritas.

London, printed in the Year 1659. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages 163

The

The laſt Speech of Mr. *Oliver Plunket*, Titular Primate of *Ireland*, who was executed at *Tyburn* on *Friday* the Firſt of this Inſtant *July*, 1681. Written by his own Hand. *London*, printed by *N. Thompſon*, 1681. *Folio*, containing four Pages 169

Democritus turned Stateſman: Or, twenty Queries between Jeſt and Earneſt, propoſed to all true-hearted *Engliſhmen*.

Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam
Vexatus toties?
Si natura negat, facit indignatio ———
Omne tulit punctum qui miſcuit utile dulci.

London, printed in the Year 1659. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 173

The Petition of the Gentlemen and Students of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. Offered to both Houſes, upon *Wedneſday*, being the fifth Day of *January*, 1642; upon the Arrival of that News to them, of the Biſhops late Impriſonment. With their Appeal to his moſt Excellent Majeſty. Printed at *London*, for *John Greenſmith*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 176

A Relation of the late wicked Contrivance of *Stephen Blackhead* and *Robert Young*, againſt the Lives of ſeveral Perſons, by Forging an Aſſociation under their Hands. Written by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. In Two Parts. The Firſt Part being a Relation of what paſſed at the three Examinations of the ſaid Biſhop by a Committee of Lords of the Privy-Council. The Second, being an Account of the two above-mentioned Authors of the Forgery. *In the Savoy*, printed by *Edward Jones*, 1692. *Quarto*, containing ſeventy-ſix Pages 178

The Second Part of the Relation of the late wicked Contrivance againſt the Lives of ſeveral Perſons, by Forging an Aſſociation under their Hands: Being a farther Account of the ſaid Forgery, and of the two Authors of it, *Stephen Blackhead* and *Robert Young*, alias *Youngs*, alias *Brown*, alias *Hopkins*, alias *Hutt*, alias *Green*, alias *Jones*, alias *Smith*, alias, &c. Written by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

Quo teneam Vultus mutantem Protea Nodo?

Imprimatur November 25, 1692, *Edmund Bohun*. 194

The Biſhop's Potion: Or, A Dialogue, between the Biſhop of *Canterbury* and his Phyſician; wherein he deſireth the Doctor to have a Care of his Body, and to preſerve him from being let Blood in the Neck, when the Sign is in *Taurus*. Printed in the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages 255

A Speech ſpoken in the Houſe of Commons, by the Reverend Father in God, *Robert*, Lord Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. Being brought to the Bar to anſwer for himſelf. *London*, printed by *R. B.* for *Richard Bownds*, and are to be ſold at his Shop without *Ludgate*. 1641. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages 256

The Examination and Trial of *Margaret Fell* and *George Fox* (at the ſeveral Aſſizes held at *Lancaſter*, the fourteenth and ſixteenth Days of the firſt Month, 1663-4; and the Twenty-ninth of the ſixth Month 1664) for their Obedience to Chriſt's Command, who ſaith, *Swear not at all:* Alſo ſomething in Anſwer to Biſhop *Lancelot Andrews*'s Sermon concerning Swearing.

MATT. XV. 6.
Thus have you made the Commandment of God of none Effect, by your Tradition.

Printed in the Year 1664. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages 258

Certain ſelect Obſervations on the ſeveral Offices, and Officers, in the Militia of *England*, with the Power of the Parliament to raiſe the ſame, as they ſhall judge expedient, &c. Collected and found among the Papers of the late Mr. *John Pymm*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons. Writ in the Year 1641. *MS.* 274

A Letter to a new Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons; touching the Riſe of all the Embezzlements and Miſmanagements of the Kingdom's Treaſure, from the Beginning of the Revolution unto this preſent Parliament. With an Account, from Time to Time, of the many Oppoſitions the Houſe of Commons met with about Redreſſing the ſaid publick Grievances. And, laſtly, a Propoſal humbly offered to their Conſideration, how to prevent the like Miſcarriages for the Future. To which is added, a parallel Account of the National Expences, from *November* 3, 1640, to *November* 1659; and from *November* 5, 1688, to *Michaelmas* 1700. *Amſterdam*, printed in the Year 1710. *Quarto*, containing twenty-eight Pages 278

An Account of the Manner of Taking the late Duke of *Monmouth*, &c. By his Majeſty's Command. *London*. printed by *B. G.* for *Samuel Keeble*, at the *Turk's-Head*, over againſt *Fetter-Lane*,

Lane, in *Fleet-ſtreet*, 1685. *Folio*, containing four Pages 295

A Treatiſe of Monarchy, containing two Parts:

I. Concerning Monarchy in General.
II. Concerning this Particular Monarchy.

Wherein all the main Queſtions, occurrent in both, are ſtated, diſputed, and determined. Done by an earneſt Deſirer of his Country's Peace. *London*, printed for, and ſold by *Richard Baldwin*, in the *Old-Bailey*, 1689. *Quarto*, containing thirty-eight Pages 296

England's Calamities diſcovered: With the proper Remedy to reſtore her ancient Grandeur and Policy. Humbly preſented by *James Whiſton*.

What Captain and Mariners, when they find the Ship driven by a violent Hurricane amongſt the Rocks, full of Leaks, and much diſabled, will be ſo obſtinately inſenſible of the Conſequence of ſuch fatal Circumſtances, as not to uſe their own, and embrace the good Endeavours of others, for their Preſervation? The only Means of Hope left, whereby themſelves and Ship may at laſt be conducted into a ſafe Harbour.

London, printed for the Author, and are to be ſold by *Joſeph Fox* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, *R. Clavel* at the *Peacock* in *Fleetſtreet*, and *T. Minton* at the *Anchor* under the *Royal Exchange*, 1696. *Quarto*, containing forty Pages 332

Labour in Vain: Or, What ſignifies Little or Nothing? *Viz.*

I. The Poor Man's Petitioning at Court.
II. Expectation of Benefit from a covetous Man in his Life-time.
III. The Marriage of an Old Man to a Young Woman.
IV. Endeavours to regulate Men's Manners, by Preaching or Writing.
V. Being a *Jacobite*.
VI. Confining an Inſolvent Debtor.
VII. Promiſe of Secrecy in a Conſpiracy.
VIII. An Enquiry after a Place.

London, printed and ſold by moſt Bookſellers in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, 1700. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages 346

A View of the Court of *St. Germain*, from the Year 1690 to 95. With an Account of the Entertainment Proteſtants meet with there. Directed to the *Malecontent Proteſtants* of *England*. *London*, printed for *R. Baldwin*, near *Oxford-Arms-Inn*, in *Warwick Lane*, 1696. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages 359

A full and true Account of a moſt dreadful and aſtoniſhing Fire, which happened at *Whitehall*, and begun in Col. *Stanley*'s Lodgings, on *Tueſday* laſt, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, continuing with great Violence till about Nine o' Clock the next Morning, burning down and conſuming the King's Chapel, the Guard-Chamber, the Long Gallery, &c. together with near 150 Houſes. An Account alſo how ſeveral Perſons were killed, with the Blowing up twenty Houſes, &c. Licenſed according to Order. *London*, printed by *J. Bradford*, in *Little Britain*, 1698. *Folio*, containing two Pages 367

Seaſonable Advice for Preventing the Miſchief of Fire, that may come by Negligence, Treaſon, or otherwiſe. Ordered to be printed by the Lord Mayor of *London*; and is thought very neceſſary to hang in every Man's Houſe, eſpecially in theſe dangerous Times. Invented by *William Goſling*, Engineer. Printed for *H. B.* at the *Caſtle* in *Cornhill*, 1643. In one Sheet. *Broadſide* 368

The She-Wedding: Or, a Mad Marriage, between *Mary*, a Seaman's Miſtreſs, and *Margaret*, a Carpenter's Wife, at *Deptford*. Being a full Relation of a cunning Intrigue, carried on and managed by two Women, to hide the Diſcovery of a great Belly, and make the Parents of her Sweet-heart provide for the ſame; for which Fact the ſaid Parties were both committed; and one of them now remains in the *Round Houſe* at *Greenwich*, the other being bailed out. *London*, printed by *Geo. Croom*, at the Sign of the *Blue Ball* in *Thames-ſtreet*, over againſt *Baynard*'s *Caſtle*, 1684. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 370

Some particular Matters of Fact relating to the Adminiſtration of Affairs in *Scotland*, under the Duke of *Lauderdale*. *Folio*, containing one Sheet 373

A Diſcourſe concerning the Succeſs of former Parliaments. Imprinted at *London*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages 377

The Arraignment of *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, before the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord High-Steward of *England*. Alſo a brief Derivation of the Moſt Honourable Family of the *Howards*. With an Account of what Families they are related to by Marriage. Tranſcribed out of ancient Manuſcripts, never before publiſhed. Printed by *Nathaniel Thompſon*, at the Entrance into

Old Spring-Garden, near *Charing-Croſs*, 1685. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages 381

The grand Impoſtor examined: Or, the Life, Trial, and Examination of *James Nayler*, the ſeduced and ſeducing Quaker; with the Manner of his Riding into *Briſtol*.

We have a Law, and by our Law he ought to die, becauſe he made himſelf the Son of God. John xix. 7.

But theſe are written, that ye might believe, that Jeſus is Chriſt, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye might have Life through his Name. John xx. 31.

London, printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Hand* in *St. Paul's* Church-yard, 1656. *Quarto*, containing fifty-ſix Pages 392

The Vocacyon of *Iohan Bale* to the Biſhoprick of *Oſſorie*, in *Irelande*, his Perſecucions in the ſame, and finall Delyueraunce.

God hath deliuered me from the Snare of the Hunter, and from the noyſome Peſtilence. Pſal. xci. *If I muſt nedes reioyce, I will reioyce of myne Infirmytees.* ij Cor. xj.

Imprinted in *Rome*, before the *Caſtell* of S. *Angell*, at the Sign of S. *Petre*, in *Decembre*, *Anno D.* 1553. In *Twelves*, *black Letter*, containing ninety-eight Pages 402

The Character of a Coffee-Houſe, with the Symptoms of a Town Wit. With Allowance. *April* 11th, 1673. *London*, printed for *Jonathan Edwin*, at the *Three Roſes* in *Ludgate-ſtreet*, 1673. *Folio*, containing eight Pages 429

Coffee-Houſes Vindicated. In Anſwer to the late publiſhed Character of a Coffee Houſe. Aſſerting from Reaſon, Experience, and good Authors, the excellent Uſe and Phyſical Vertues of that Liquor. With the grand Conveniency of ſuch civil Places of Reſort and ingenious Converſation. *London*, printed by *J. Lock.* for *J. Clarke*, 1675. *Folio*, containing eight Pages 433

Nuntius a Mortuis: Or, a Meſſenger from the Dead: That is, A ſtupendious and dreadful Colloquy, diſtinctly and alternately heard by divers, betwixt the Ghoſts of *Henry the Eighth* and *Charles the Firſt* (both Kings of *England*) who lie entombed in the Church of *Windſor*. Wherein, as with a *Pencil* from Heaven, is liquidly, from Head to Foot, ſet forth the whole Series of the Judgments of God upon the Sins of theſe unfortunate Iſlands. Tranſlated out of the *Latin* Copy, by *G. T.* and printed at *Paris*, 1657. *Quarto*, containing twenty-ſix Pages 437

A Relation of a Voyage to *Guiana*: Deſcribing the Climate, Situation, Fertility, Proviſions, and Commodities of that Country, containing ſeven Provinces and other Signiories, within that Territory: Together with the Manners, Cuſtoms, Behaviours, and Diſpoſition of the People. Performed by *Robert Harcourt*, of *Stanton-Harcourt*, Eſq, The Patent, for the Plantation of which Country, his Majeſty hath granted to the ſaid *Robert Harcourt*, under the Great Seal.

The Land, which we walked through to ſearch it is a very good Land: If the Lord love us, he will bring us into the Land, and will give it us, Numb. xiv. 7, 8.

At *London*, printed by *John Beale*, for *W. Welby*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Paul's* Church-yard, at the Sign of the *Swan*, 1613. *Quarto*, containing eighty-eight Pages 449

A Letter from a Country Clergyman to his Brother in the Neighbourhood, touching ſome Reproaches caſt upon the Biſhops. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 481

The Propoſals of the Committee for Regulating the Law, both in Senſe, Form, and Practice; communicated to publick View, by eſpecial Order and Command. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages 488

The Pope's dreadful Curſe. Being the Form of Excommunication of the Church of *Rome*. Taken out of the Leger-Book of the Church of *Rocheſter*, now in the Cuſtody of the Dean and Chapter there. Writ by *Ernulfus* the Biſhop. *London*, printed and are to be ſold by *L. C.* on *Ludgate-Hill*, 1681. *Folio*, containing two Pages 493

The true and wonderful Hiſtory of *Perkin Warbeck*, proclaiming himſelf *Richard the Fourth*.

Nullus ſibi ſimilis in periculis homo, quoties ad audaciam ex metu venerit. Eurip. Iphig. in Tauris.

London, printed by *E. G.* for *Nathaniel Butter*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Paul's Church-yard*, at the Sign of the *Pyed-Bull*, 1618. *Quarto*, containing one-hundred and twelve Pages 494

A Letter from *Paris*, from Sir *George Wakeman* to his Friend Sir *W. S.* in *London*, printed for *T. B.* in the Year 1681. *Folio*, containing two Pages 550

The ſecret Hiſtory of the *Calves-Head Club*: Or, The Republican Unmaſked: Wherein is fully ſhewn the Religion of the *Calves-Head* Heroes, in their Anniverſary Thankſgiving-Songs on the Thirtieth

Thirtieth of *January*, by them called *Anthems*, for the Years 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697; now publiſhed to demonſtrate the reſtleſs, implacable Spirit of a certain Party ſtill among us, who are never to be ſatisfied, till the preſent Eſtabliſhment in Church and State is ſubverted.

Diſcite juſtitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos. Virg.

London, printed, and ſold by the Bookſellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, 1703. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages 552

Reaſons for Crowning the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* King and Queen jointly, and for Placing the Executive Power in the Prince alone. *London*, printed in the Year 1689. *Folio*, containing one Page 559

The terrible and deſerving Death of *Francis Ravilliack*, ſhewing the Manner of his ſtrange Torments at his Execution, upon *Friday* the twenty-fifth of *May* laſt paſt, for the Murther of the late *French* King, *Henry the Fourth*. Together with an Abſtract out of divers Proclamations, and Edicts, now concerning the State of *France*. As it was printed in *French* in three ſeveral Books publiſhed by Authority, 1610. At *London* printed for *William Barley* and *John Baylie*, 1610 560

THE

The Advice of *W. P.* * to Mr. *Samuel Hartlib*, for the Advancement of ſome particular Parts of Learning. *London*, Printed *Anno Dom.* 1648. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages.

THERE is invented an Inſtrument of ſmall Bulk and Price, eaſily made, and very durable, whereby any Man, even at the firſt Sight and Handling, may write two reſembling Copies of the ſame Thing at once, as ſerviceably and as faſt, allowing two Lines upon each Page for ſetting the Inſtruments, as by the ordinary Way: Of what Nature or in what Character, or what Matter ſoever, as Paper, Parchment, a Book, &c. *the ſaid Writing ought to be made upon.*

The Uſe hereof will be very great to Lawyers and Scriveners, for making of Indentures and all Kinds of Counter-parts; to Merchants, Intelligencers, Regiſters, Secretaries, Clerks, &c. *for copying of Letters, Accompts, Invoices, Entering of Warrants, and other Records; to Scholars for tranſcribing of rare Manuſcripts, and preſerving Originals from Falſification, and other Injuries of Time. It leſſeneth the Labour of Examination, ſerveth to diſcover Forgeries and ſurreptitious Copies, and to the Tranſacting of all Buſineſſes of Writing, as with Eaſe and Speed, ſo with much Privacy alſo.*

To his honoured Friend Maſter Samuel Hartlib.

SIR,

I Have had many flying Thoughts concerning the Advancement of Real Learning in general, but particularly of the Education of Youth, Mathematicks, Mechanicks, Phyſick, and concerning the Hiſtory of Art and Nature, with ſome more ſerious ones concerning your own moſt excellent Advices for an Office of Publick Addreſs. And, indeed, they were but flying Thoughts, for, ſeeing what vaſt Sums were requiſite to carry on thoſe Deſigns, and how unwilling or unable Men generally were to contribute towards them, I thought it but Labour loſt to fix my Mind much upon them.

But it having pleaſed God unexpectedly to make me the Inventor of the Art of Double Writing, daily and hourly uſeful to all Sorts of Perſons in all Places of the World, and that to Perpetuity, I conceived that if there were Underſtanding enough in Men to be ſenſible of their own Good, and Thankfulneſs or Honeſty enough to reward the Contrivers of it, ſuch Means might be raiſed out of this Art as might at leaſt ſet the aforementioned Deſigns on Float, and make them ready to ſet Sail toward the Haven of Perfection upon every Opportunity of ſtronger Gales. And thereupon I re-aſſumed my Meditations, which I here give you, deſiring you and your ingenious Friends to remeditate upon them and correct them, but withal to think of the beſt Courſe how to improve my Invention to ſuch Advantage, as may,

* Afterwards Sir *William Petty*.

if poſſible, make us capable of enjoying more than bare Ideas of that Happineſs, which the Atchievement of our Deſigns promiſeth. I ſhall deſire you to ſhew them unto no more than needs you muſt, ſince they can pleaſe only thoſe few that are real Friends to the Deſign of Realities, not thoſe who are tickled only with Rhetorical Prefaces, Tranſitions and Epilogues, and charmed with fine Alluſions and Metaphors (all which I do not condemn) wherewith, as I had no Abilities to adorn my Diſcourſe, ſo I wanted all other Requiſites thereunto, having written it (as yourſelf muſt bear me Witneſs) at your own Importunity in the Midſt of my Cares and Endeavours to perfect my Invention; and which is worſe in the Midſt of my hard and perhaps unprofitable Labour, to prevent the Ingratitude and Backwardneſs of Men to reward him, who ſhall earneſtly labour to expreſs himſelf

Yours, and your Deſigns

London, Jan. 8, 1647-8. *moſt affectionate Servant,*

W. P.

TO give an exact Definition, or nice Diviſion of Learning, or of the Advancement thereof, we ſhall not undertake (it being already ſo accurately done by the great Lord *Verulam*) intending only to ſhew where our own Shoe pincheth us, or to point at ſome Pieces of Knowledge, the Improvement whereof (as we at leaſt conceive) would make much to the general Good and Comfort of all Mankind; and, withal, to deliver our own Opinion, by what Means they may be raiſed ſome one Degree nearer to Perfection.

But, before we can meddle with this great Work, we muſt firſt think of getting Labourers, by appointing ſome general Rendezvous, where all Men, either able, or willing to take up Arms againſt the many Difficulties thereof, may find Entertainment; that is to ſay, we muſt recommend the Inſtitution of an Office of common Addreſs, according to the Projection of Mr. *Hartlib*, that painful and great Inſtrument of this Deſign; whereby the Wants and Deſires of all may be made known unto all; where Men may know what is already done in the Buſineſs of Learning, what is at preſent in Doing, and what is intended to be done; to the End that, by ſuch a general Communication of Deſigns, and mutual Aſſiſtance, the Wits and Endeavours of the World may no longer be as ſo many ſcattered Coals, or Firebrands, which for Want of Union are ſoon quenched, whereas, being but laid together, they would have yielded a comfortable Light and Heat. For, methinks, the preſent Condition of Men is like a Field, where a Battle hath been lately fought, where we may ſee many Legs, and Arms, and Eyes lying here and there, which for Want of an Union, and a Soul to quicken and enliven them, are good for nothing, but to feed Ravens, and infect the Air: So we ſee many Wits and Ingenuities lying ſcattered up and down the World; whereof ſome are now labouring to do what is already done, and puzzling themſelves to re-invent what is already invented; others we ſee quite ſtuck faſt in Difficulties, for Want of a few Directions, which ſome other Man, might he be met withal, both could and would moſt eaſily give them. Again, one Man wants a ſmall Sum of Money, to carry on ſome Deſign that requires it; and there is, perhaps, another, who hath twice as much ready to beſtow on the ſame Deſign; but, theſe two having no Means ever to hear one of the other, the good Work, intended and deſired by both Parties, doth utterly periſh and come to nothing: But this we paſs over ſlightly, though very fundamental to our Buſineſs, becauſe the Maſter-builder thereof himſelf hath done it ſo ſolidly. Having by this Means procured Workmen, and what elſe is neceſſary to the Work, that, which we would have them to labour in, is, How to find out ſuch Arts as are yet undiſcovered; How to learn what is already known by more compendious and facile Ways, and to apply it to more, and thoſe more noble Uſes: How to work in Men an higher Eſteem of Learning, ſo as to give Occaſion, Encouragement, and

and Opportunity to more Men to apply themſelves to its Advancement.

The next Thing then to be done will be, *firſt*, To ſee what is well and ſufficiently done already, exploding whatſoever is nice, contentious, and merely fantaſtical; all which muſt in ſome Meaſure be ſuppreſſed, and brought into Diſgrace and Contempt with all Men.

2. This Survey may be made by peruſing all Books, and taking Notice of all Mechanical Inventions.

3. In this Peruſal, all the Real or Experimental Learning may be ſifted and collected out of the ſaid Books.

4. There muſt be appointed able Readers of all ſuch Books, with certain and well-limited Directions what to collect out of them.

5. Every Book muſt be ſo read by two ſeveral Perſons a-part, to prevent Miſtakes and Failings from the ſaid Directions.

6. The Directions for Reading muſt be ſuch, that the Readers, obſerving them, may exactly agree in their Collections.

7. Out of all theſe Books one Book, or great Work, may be made, though conſiſting of many Volumes.

8. The moſt artificial Indices, Tables, or other Helps for the ready Finding, Remembering, and well Underſtanding all Things contained in theſe Books, muſt be contrived and put in Practice.

Having thus taken the Height, or Pitch, whereunto all Arts and Sciences whatſoever are already come, and obſerved where they now ſtick, the ableſt Men in every reſpective Faculty muſt be ſet a-part to drive them on further, with ſufficient Maintenance and Encouragement for the ſame. Whereunto it is requiſite that two or three, one under another, be employed about each Faculty, to the End that, ſome of them dying, or any otherwiſe failing, there may never want Men acquainted with the whole Deſign, and able to carry it on, with the Help of others to be admitted under them; and that, at leaſt, yearly Accounts be taken of thoſe Men's Endeavours, and Rewards be proportioned to them accordingly.

And now we ſhall think of Whetting our Tools, and Preparing ſharp Inſtruments for hard Work, by delivering our Thoughts concerning Education; which are:

1. That there be inſtituted *Ergaſtula Literaria*, Literary Work-houſes, where Children may be taught as well to do ſomething towards their Living, as to read and write.

That the Buſineſs of Education be not, as now, committed to the worſt and unworthieſt of Men, but that it be ſeriouſly ſtudied and practiſed by the beſt and ableſt Perſons.

That all Children of above ſeven Years old may be preſented to this Kind of Education, none being to be excluded by Reaſon of the Poverty and Inability of their Parents; for hereby it hath come to paſs, that many are now holding the Plough, which might have been made fit to ſteer the State: Wherefore let ſuch poor Children be employed on Works whereby they may earn their Living, equal to their Strength and Underſtanding, and ſuch as they may perform, as well as elder and abler Perſons, *viz.* Attending Engines, *&c.* and, if they cannot get their whole Living, and their Parents can contribute nothing at all to make it up, let them ſtay ſomewhat the longer in the Work-houſe.

That, ſince few Children have Need of Reading, before they know, or can be acquainted with the Things they read of; or of Writing, before their Thoughts are worth the Recording, or they are able to put them into any Form (which we call *Inditing*) much leſs of learning Languages, when there are Books enough for their preſent Uſe in their own Mother-tongue, our Opinion is, That thoſe Things, being withal ſomewhat above their Capacity (as being to be attained by Judgment, which is weakeſt in Children) be deferred a While, and others more needful for them (ſuch as are in the Order of Nature before thoſe afore-mentioned, and are attainable by the Help of Memory, which is either moſt ſtrong, or unpreoccupied in Children) be ſtudied before them. We wiſh, therefore, that that the Educands be taught to obſerve and remember all ſenſible Objects and Actions, whether they be natural, or artificial, which the Educators muſt upon all Occaſions expound unto them.

That they uſe ſuch Exerciſes, whether in Work, or for Recreation, as tend to the Health, Agility, and Strength of their Bodies.

That they be taught to read by much more compendious Means than are in common Uſe; which is a Thing certainly very eaſy and feaſible.

That they be not only taught to write according to our common Way, but alſo to write ſwiftly and in real Characters; as likewiſe the dexterous Uſe of the Inſtruments for Writing many Copies of the ſame Thing at once.

That the Artificial Memory be thought upon; and, if the Precepts thereof be not too far above Children's Capacities, we conceive it not improper for them to learn that alſo.

That in no Caſe the Art of Drawing and Deſigning be omitted, to what Courſe of Life ſoever thoſe Children are to be applied, ſince the Uſe thereof, for Expreſſing the Conceptions of the Mind, ſeems, at leaſt to us, to be little inferior to that of Writing, and, in many Caſes, performeth what by Words is impoſſible.

That the Elements of Arithmetick and Geometry be by all ſtudied, being not only of great and frequent Uſe in all human Affairs, but alſo ſure Guides and Helps to Reaſon, and eſpecial Remedies for a volatile and unſteady Mind.

That effectual Courſes be taken to try the Abilities of the Bodies and Minds of Children, the Strength of their Memory, Inclination of their Affections either to Vice or Virtue, and to which of them in particular; and, withal, to alter what is bad in them, and increaſe and improve what is good, applying all, whether good or bad, to the leaſt Inconveniency, and moſt Advantage.

That ſuch, as ſhall have Need to learn foreign Languages (the Uſe whereof would be much leſſened, were the real and common Characters brought into Practice) may be taught them by incomparably more eaſy Ways, than are now uſual.

That no ignoble, unneceſſary, or condemned Part of Learning be taught in thoſe Houſes of Education; ſo that, if any Man ſhall vainly fall upon them, he himſelf only may be blamed.

That ſuch, as have any natural Ability and Fitneſs to Muſick, be encouraged and inſtructed therein.

That all Children, though of the higheſt Rank, be taught ſome genteel Manufacture in their Minority; ſuch as are,

Turning of curious Figures.

Making Mathematical Inſtruments, Dials, and how to uſe them in Aſtronomical Obſervations.

Making Watches and other Trochilick Motions.

Limning and Painting on Glaſs, or in Oil-colours.

Engraving, Etching, Carving, Emboſſing, and Moulding in ſundry Matters.

The Lapidary's Art of Knowing, Cutting, and Setting Jewels,

Grinding of Glaſſes Dioptrical and Catoptrical.

Botanicks and Gardening.

Making Muſical Inſtruments.

Navarchy, and Making Models for Buildings, and Rigging for Ships.

Architecture, and Making Models for Houſes.

The Confectioner's, Perfumer's, or Dyer's Arts.

Chymiſtry, Refining Metals, and Counterfeiting Jewels.

Anatomy, Making Skeletons, and Excaſ-nating Bowels.

Making Mariners Compaſſes, Globes, and other Magnetick Devices.

And all for theſe Reaſons:

1. They ſhall be leſs ſubject to be cozened by Artificers.

2. They will become more induſtrious in general.

3. They will certainly bring to paſs moſt excellent Works, being, as Gentlemen, ambitious to excel ordinary Workmen.

4. They, being able to make Experiments themſelves, may do it with leſs Charge, and more Care, than others will do it for them.

5. The *Reſpublica Artium* will be much advanced, when ſuch, as are rich and able, are alſo willing to make luciferous Experiments.

6. It may engage them to be *Mecænates* and Patrons of Arts.

7. It will keep them from worſe Occaſions of ſpending their Time and Eſtates.

8. As it will be a great Ornament in Proſperity, ſo it will be a great Refuge and Stay in Adverſity and common Calamity.

As for what remains of Education, we cannot but hope, that thoſe, whom we have deſired ſhould make it their Trade, will ſupply it, and render the Idea thereof much more perfect.

We have already recommended the Study of the Elements of Arithmetick and Geometry to all Men in general; but they being [illegible] grounded Parts of ſpeculative Knowledge, and

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of ſo vaſt Uſe in all practical Arts, we cannot but commend deeper Enquiries into them. And although the Way of advancing them, in particular, may be drawn from what we have already delivered, concerning the Advancement of Learning in general; yet, for the more explicit Underſtanding of our Meaning herein, we refer to Mr. *Pell*'s moſt excellent Idea thereof, written to Maſter *Hartlib*.

In the next Place, for the Advancement of all Mechanical Arts and Manufactures, we wiſh that there were erected a *Gymnaſium Mechanicum*, or a College of Tradeſmen (or, for more Expedition, until ſuch a Place could be built, that the moſt convenient Houſes, for ſuch a Purpoſe, may be either bought or hired) wherein we would that one, at leaſt, of every Trade (but the prime moſt ingenious Workman, the moſt deſirous to improve his Art) might be allowed therein a handſome Dwelling Rent-free, which, with the Credit of being admitted into this Society, and the quick Sale, which certainly they would have of their Commodities, when all Men would repair thither, as to a Market of rare and exquiſite Pieces of Workmanſhip, would be a ſufficient Motive to attract the very ableſt of Mechanicks, and ſuch as we have deſcribed, to deſire a Fellowſhip in this College.

From this Inſtitution we may clearly hope, when the Excellent in all Arts are not only Neighbours, but intimate Friends and Brethren, united in a common Deſire and Zeal to promote them, that all Trades will miraculouſly proſper, and new Inventions would be more frequent, than new Faſhions of Cloaths and Houſhold-ſtuff. Here would be the beſt and moſt effectual Opportunities and Means, for writing a Hiſtory of Trades, in Perfection and Exactneſs; and what Experiments and Stuff would all thoſe Shops and Operations afford to active and philoſophical Heads, out of which, to extract that Interpretation of Nature, whereof there is ſo little, and that ſo bad, as yet extant in the World?

Within the Walls of this *Gymnaſium*, or College, ſhould be a *Noſocomium Academicum*, according to the moſt exact and perfect Idea thereof; a complete *Theatrum Botanicum*, Stalls and Cages for all ſtrange Beaſts and Birds, with Ponds and Conſervatories for all exotick Fiſhes; here all Animals, capable thereof, ſhould be made fit for ſome Kind of Labour and Employment, that they may as well be of Uſe living as dead: Here ſhould be a Repoſitory of all Kinds of Rarities, natural and artificial Pieces of Antiquity, Models of all great and noble Engines, with Deſigns and Platforms of Gardens and Buildings. The moſt artificial Fountains and Water-works, a Library of ſelect Books, an Aſtronomical Obſervatory for Celeſtial Bodies and Meteors, large Pieces of Ground for ſeveral Experiments of Agriculture, Galleries of the rareſt Paintings and Statues, with the faireſt Globes, and Geographical Maps of the beſt Deſcriptions, and, ſo far as is poſſible, we would have this Place to be the Epitome or Abſtract of the whole World: So that a Man, converſant within thoſe Walls, would certainly prove a greater Scholar, than the walking Libraries ſo called, although he could neither write nor read. But if a Child, before he learned to write or read, were made acquainted with all Things, and Actions, as he might be in this College, how eaſily would he underſtand all good Books afterwards, and ſmell out the Fopperies of bad ones? As for the Situation, Model, Policy, and Oeconomy, with the Number of Officers, and Retainers to this College, and the Privileges thereof, it is as yet Time enough to delineate. Only we wiſh, that a Society of Men might be inſtituted as careful to advance Arts, as the Jeſuits are to propagate their Religion, for the Government and Managing of it.

But what Reliſh will there be in all thoſe Dainties whereof we have ſpoken, if we want a Palate to taſte them, which certainly is Health, the moſt deſirable of all earthly Bleſſings; and how can we, in any Reaſon, expect Health, when there are ſo many great Difficulties in the Curing of Diſeaſes, and no proportionable Courſe taken to remove them? We ſhall therefore purſue the Means of acquiring the Publick Good, and Comfort of Mankind a little further, and vent our Conceits concerning a *Noſocomium Academicum*, or an Hoſpital to cure the Infirmities both of Phyſician and Patient.

We intended to have given the moſt perfect Idea of this *Noſocomium Academicum*, and conſequently to have treated of the Situation and Fabrick of the Houſe, Garden, Library, Chymical Laboratory, Anatomical Theatre, Apotheca, with all the Inſtruments and Furniture belonging to each of them, as alſo of the whole Policy and Oeconomy thereof. But ſince ſuch a Work could not be brought to

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paſs without much Charge (the very Naming whereof doth deter Men even from the moſt noble and neceſſary Attempts) we are contented to portrait only ſuch a *Noſocomium*, as may be made out of one of our old Hoſpitals, without any new Donations or Creeping to Benefactors, only with a little Pains taken by the reforming Hand of Authority. For we do not doubt, but that we have ſo contrived the Buſineſs, that there is no Hoſpital, in its corrupt State, can be more thriftily managed than ours. For the Number of our Miniſters are no greater than uſual, and abſolutely neceſſary; their Penſions no larger than are allowed to thoſe, who do not make the Service of the Hoſpital the ſixth Part of their Employment and Means of Subſiſtence; and yet we give Encouragement enough to able Men to undertake it, without Meddling with any other Buſineſs, which we ſtrictly forbid. For, as the Salaries are but ſmall, ſo the Charge of the Miniſters are not great, they being all to be unmarried Perſons, their Accommodation handſome, their Employment, being a Work of publick and honeſt Charity, honourable, and to philoſophical Men, who only are to have a Hand in this Buſineſs, moſt pleaſant and delightful. Beſides, when their reſpective Times are expired, their Profit and Eſteem in the World cannot but be very great: For their Way of Breeding will both procure them Practice amongſt ſuch as are able to reward them, and give them a Dexterity and Ability, to manage and go through a great Deal thereof.

Moreover, the Smallneſs of the Salary, the long Servitude amongſt poor Wretches, and Reſtraint from Marriages, the great Pains and natural Parts required to perform Duties, will, I hope, prevent all Intruſions of thoſe, whoſe Genius doth not incline them to take Pleaſure in this Way of Life.

Wherefore, being not at Leiſure to frame *Utopia*'s, we ſhall only ſpeak of the Number and Salary of Miniſters, the Time of their Service, with their Qualifications in general, and Duties in particular, which are to be employed in this *Noſocomium Academicum*.

The *Noſocomium*, being fitted with all Manner of Neceſſaries, ſhall be overſeen by three or four Curators, Men of Learning, Honour and Worth, ſuch as ſhall, out of Charity and Goodwill to the Publick, perform this Truſt, who are to be Protectors and Chancellors thereof, as alſo Auditors of the Steward's Accounts.

Beſides theſe, there ſhall be a Mathematician for Steward, a Phyſician, Surgeon, and Apothecary, each well verſed, both in the Theory and Practice, of their reſpective Profeſſions. A young Phyſician, capable at leaſt of the Degree of Doctor, who may be called the Vice-Phyſician, and another of about five or ſix Years Standing in the Univerſity, who may be called the Student. There ſhould be alſo a Surgeon and an Apothecary, who have ſerved their Apprenticeſhips in the ſaid Faculties, called the Surgeon's and Apothecary's Mate, with two other young Men, the one to ſerve the Surgeon, and the other the Apothecary, all underſtanding, at leaſt, the *Latin* Tongue, which may be called the Apprentices: All theſe are to be choſen, at firſt, by the Curators, but afterwards by the Society itſelf, being ſuch as they ſhall be certified are pious, ingenious, laborious, Lovers of Knowledge, and particularly of the Faculty of Phyſick, courteous, not covetous; and laſtly, ſuch amongſt whom there may be an Harmony of Natures and Studies, ſo as all Fear of Diſcords, Envy, and Emulation may be taken away. There ought alſo to be entertained as many honeſt, careful, ancient Widows, to ſerve as Nurſes to the Sick, as will be proportionable to their Number, ſome whereof are to be ordinary, and ſome extraordinary, whereof the latter may be taken in, and diſmiſſed again, as Occaſion of their Help requires.

There ſhould be allowed out of the Revenues of the Hoſpital to the aforenamed Miniſters, beſides their Diets, Houſe-room, Waſhing, Firing, *&c.* and Exemption from all Taxes and Employments in the Commonwealth, the ſeveral Sums following, *viz.*

To the Steward	80	*per An.*
To the Phyſician	120	
To the Vice-Phyſician	50	
To the Surgeon & Apothec. each	60	
To the Student	25	
To the Surgeon & Apothec. Mate	20	
To each of the Apprentices	10	
To each ordinary Nurſe	4	

To an Extraordinary by the Week, 3 Shillings.

It ſhould be granted by the State, that whoſoever hath ſerved his reſpective Time in the *Noſocomium*, and hath a Certificate thereof from the Society, ſhall be thereby licenſed to practiſe his Profeſſion in any Place or Corporation whatſoever,

ſoever, notwithſtanding any former Law to the contrary.

The Steward ſhall not be obliged to ſtay any longer, than from Year to Year. Each of the Faculty of Phyſick may ſerve five Years in each Degree thereof, each of the Surgeons and Apothecaries but four.

Theſe Circumſtances being premiſed, we now come to the very Eſſence of the whole Buſineſs; that is, to the Deſcription of each of the aforeſaid Miniſters their particular Duty and Function, which are as follow, *viz.*

The Steward ſhall be a Man of approved Honeſty, able to give Order for all Reparations about the Houſe, Garden, *&c.* to agree and bargain with Workmen, and all that ſhall ſerve in any Commodities into the Houſe; he is to receive and pay all Monies, and ſubmit the Accounts thereof to the whole Society, and they again to the Curators. For which, and other like Duties, he ought to be ſkilled in Mathematicks; chiefly in Arithmetick and keeping Accounts, Meaſuring of Land, Timber, Board, Architecture, frugal Contrivances, and the like. But, as to the Advancement of Phyſick, we deſire he may be ſkilled in the beſt Rules of judicial Aſtrology, which he may apply to calculate the Events of Diſeaſes, and prognoſticate of the Weather; to the End that, by his judicious and careful Experiments, the Wheat may be ſeparated from the Chaff in that Faculty likewiſe; and what is good therein may be applied to good Uſes, and the reſt exploded. He ſhall keep a Journal of all notable Changes of Weather, and Fertility of Seaſons, taking Notice what Fruits, *&c.* have abounded and what have failed; which have been good, and which bad, with the Reaſons thereof, whether the ſame were cauſed by Mildews, Blaſts, unſeaſonable Weather, Caterpillars, or other Vermin; he ſhall take Notice of the ſeveral Diſeaſes, as Staggers, Murrain, Rot, *&c.* which, in each Year, have infeſted each Species of Animals, and what Inſects have moſt abounded; all which Particulars, with the epidemical Diſeaſes befalling Man, he may compare with the Aſpects of the Celeſtial Bodies, and ſo examine the Precepts delivered unto us by the Profeſſors of that Art.

The Phyſician muſt be a Philoſopher, ſkilled at large in the *Phænomena* of Nature; muſt underſtand the *Greek* Tongue, be well read in good Authors, and ſeen in the Practice of all the miniſtrant Parts of Phyſick, willing to inſtruct and forward all that are under him: His Work ſhall be twice every Day deliberately to viſit and examine all the Sick, and, after due Conſideration of their Condition, to preſcribe them convenient Medicines; and ſhall dictate, in *Latin*, to the Vice-Phyſician attending him, the Hiſtory of their ſeveral Diſeaſes, excluding Impertinencies; he ſhall ſee all Patients in outward Griefs (to whom he adminiſtreth any inward Remedies) opened and dreſſed every now-and-then, to the End that himſelf and the Surgeon may both have the ſame Intention and Scope in their Practice. He muſt take Care that the Surgeon and Student keep the Hiſtory of their Cures likewiſe, and that the Apothecary and Student do the ſame in their Pharmacy and Botanicks. He ſhall overſee the Diſpenſation of all Compound, and Preparation of all Chymical Medicaments, giving the Apothecary Directions for the making of new Enquiries and Experiments in his Way; and likewiſe to the Surgeon and the reſt, in theirs, when he ſeeth them not otherwiſe employed. In brief, he ſhall have an Influence upon all the reſt, and all the reſt reciprocally upon him, ſo that he being made acquainted with all the Hiſtories taken in the Hoſpital, Laboratory, Anatomical Chamber, Garden, *&c.* may give the Reaſon of the moſt notable *Phænomena* happening in either of them. All which he ſhall commit to Writing, and, out of them, by the End of the Term of his Service, ſhall collect a Syſtem of Phyſick, and the moſt approved Medicinal Aphoriſms; taking Notice by the Way, where thoſe of *Hippocrates* are deficient or true, and by how many ſeveral Experiments he hath ſo found them. He ſhall either diſſect, or overlook the Diſſection of Bodies dying of Diſeaſes; and, laſtly, ſhall take Care that all luciferous Experiments whatſoever may be carefully brought to him, and recorded for the Benefit of Poſterity.

The Vice-Phyſician's proper Charge is to ſee the Hiſtory of the Patient moſt exactly and conſtantly kept: He may now-and-then read ſome good Author, but in all other Things ſhall endeavour to aſſiſt, and be ſubordinate to the Phyſician in all Parts of his Duty, ſtill acting by his Directions; but ſhall not preſcribe any Phyſick without the Conſent of the Chief, nor in his Abſence, upon emergent Occaſions, without the Advice of the Maſter-Surgeon: He ſhould be always walking up

and

and down from Bed to Bed, feeling the Pulſes, and looking on the Urine and other Excrements of the Sick; that no conſiderable Punctilio, in any Circumſtance whatſoever, eſcape his Obſervation: For the Compleating of the Hiſtory, he ſhall apply himſelf to the making of luciferous Experiments, and to take Notice of ſuch as ſhall be made by others.

The Student ſhall aſſiſt the Surgeon and Apothecary in making the Hiſtory of their Practices, to the End he may have always Occaſions to inſtruct himſelf in theſe miniſtrant Parts of Phyſick; to read ſuch Authors as the chief Phyſician ſhall appoint him, and compare all his Reading with the Things themſelves, whereof he readeth, as Herbs, Drugs, Compound Medicaments, Anatomy, Chirurgical Inſtruments, Bandages, Operations, *&c.* all which we call the real Elements of the Art. He ſhall, by Leave from the Phyſician, in Caſes of Need, put his Hand to help the Surgeon or Apothecary, and ſometimes watch by Night with the Nurſes, that the Perfection of the Hiſtory may by no Means be hazarded on their Ignorance or Careleſneſs. He may ſerve the Phyſician as an Amanuenſis, eſpecially in ſuch Things, the Tranſcribing whereof may tend much to the Advancement of his own Knowledge.

Of the Surgeons.

The Maſter-Surgeon ſhall dreſs every Patient belonging to his Care the firſt Time himſelf, in the Preſence of him to whom he ſhall commit the ſaid Cure afterwards, and, as it were, read him a Lecture thereupon. When the other Surgeons under him are dreſſing, he ſhall, accompanied with the Student, go from Patient to Patien, to give them Directions *pro re natâ*, in their Proceedings on the Cure, and dictate to the Student the moſt pertinent Paſſages happening from Time to Time, that he may keep a true and uninterrupted Hiſtory of them: He ſhall make Experiments, by diſſecting ſundry Sorts of Animals; ſhall teach his Mates Anatomy, expound good Authors to them; ſhew them the Manner of making Bandages, and making all Manner of Operations, ſuch as are the Laryngotomia, Cutting for the Stone, Hernia, Dropſy, and Applying the Trepan, both upon living Brutes and dead Carcaſes of Men, to the End that, by practiſing upon theſe, the beſt Places for making Inciſion may be known, and all the dangerous Parts in the Way taken Notice of; and upon the others, how to avoid the Inconveniences of Hæmorrhages, Strugglings, and the like.

The Mate ſhall dreſs all the more difficult Griefs, apply Cauteries, make Fontanels, practice Anatomy, and Manual Operations; make Skeletons of the ſundry rare Animals which he ſhall have the Opportunity to cut up; excarnate Bowels, artificially dry the Muſcles, tan the Ventricle, Guts, *&c.* and do what elſe tendeth to the Perfection of Anatomy; he ſhall alſo, at leiſure Times, tranſcribe the Hiſtory of their Practice firſt and originally taken by the Student.

The Apprentice ſhall ſerve the Maſter in ſpreading Plaiſters, letting Blood in the Arm, threading Peaſe for Iſſues, wetting Inſtruments, ſcraping Lint, and ſowing together Bandages, which he ſhall alſo learn to apply; he ſhall ſee Diſſections, read good Surgery, and ſee the Practice of Operations made by his Superiors. He ſhall alſo ſee the Apothecaries make all ſuch Plaiſters, Unguents, Balſams, *&c.* (learning to chooſe and know all the Gums and other Ingredients going into them) as are uſed in their Practice.

Of the Apothecary.

The Maſter-Apothecary, being a moſt exquiſite Botaniſt, ſhall take Care of the Garden, that Store of all uſeful Plants be kept therein, and alſo that ſuch as are for Beauty or Rarity be not wanting; he ſhall give Order for all Experiments of Grafting, Tranſplanting, Meliorating the Taſtes, Smells, *&c.* of Plants, Accelerating of Germination and Maturation in them, Conſervation of Exoticks ſo, as in Time to make them Domeſticks, to try the Effect of all Artificial Compoſts; he ſhall ſee that all Herbs, Roots, *&c.* be gathered in their due Seaſons, and that all the moſt proper Courſes be uſed for conſerving them; he ſhall write of the ſenſible and evident Qualities of all Drugs, as of their Smell, Taſte, Ponderoſity, Rarity, Friability, Tranſparency, Colour, Hardneſs, *&c.* omitting ſuch as are not diſcernible by Senſe, or deprenſible by certain Experiments, and declaring the ſeveral Operations, Chymical or Pharmaceutical, by which theſe Drugs are uſually, or may be beſt prepared; he ſhall ſet down all the Experiments

ments ſolitary or in Conſort, that he meeteth with, in the Mixing or Preparing any of them; as that Camphire will of itſelf evaporate, Turpentine waſhed in Water becometh white, Euphorbium in the Beating will cauſe exceſſive Sneeſing; that the Seeds of *Cucumis Aſininus* will of themſelves leap out with great Impetuoſity one after another: That Spirit of Vitriol, mixed with Syrup of Violets, turneth into a fair Crimſon Colour, and others of the like Nature. He ſhall with the Student keep an exact Hiſtory of all rare and unuſual Accidents, happening in his Operations; he ſhall take Care that all Medicaments be made according to Art, or the Phyſician's particular Directions: He ſhall ever now and then viſit the Apotheca, to caſt out thereof all decayed Drugs and Compoſitions; ſhall read Pharmaceutical and Chymical Inſtitutions to his Inferiors, and teach the Plants to any of the Society that ſhall deſire to learn them.

The Apothecary's Mate ſhall tranſcribe the Preſcriptions taken by the Vice-Phyſician, and ſee them carefully made up; ſhall attend the Hoſpital, in adminiſtring to each Patient his Phyſick according to Directions, applying Epithemes, Cucupha's, Embrocha's, Fomentations, Frictions, Unctions, giving Glyſters, applying Leeches, *&c.* He ſhall tranſcribe the Hiſtory compiled by the Maſter-Apothecary, and the Student, and at leiſure Times, when he cannot ſtudy Things, he may read good Authors in his own Art, without meddling either with Phyſick or Surgery.

The Apprentice ſhall read ſome good Pharmaceutical Botanick and Chymical Inſtitutions, ſhall be much converſant in the Garden to ſee the Curing of tender and exotick Plants where he ſhall obſerve the Working of Nature in their Growing, Flowering, *&c.* He ſhall ſee the Herbs, Roots, and Seeds, gathered according to Directions; he ſhall work in beating and picking Drugs, and on all other Operations belonging to the Preparation of Medicaments.

The Nurſes ſhall be always at Hand in the Hoſpital to help the Sick, that, by reaſon of their Abſence, they may not be put to ſtrain and offend themſelves by often and loud crying and calling. They ſhall dreſs their Diet and give them in Quality, Quantity, Time and Order, according to the Phyſician's Directions; they ſhall ſee their Linnen conveniently changed ſo as to prevent all Annoyance to the Sick. They ſhall in Watching endeavour to obſerve all remarkable Accidents happening in the Night, as whether they raved or talked much in their Sleep, ſnored, coughed, *&c.* All which they ſhall punctually report to the Phyſician, ſhewing him the Urines and other Excrements, telling him the Time and Manner wherein they were voided, and in brief, they being the loweſt Members of the Houſe, they ſhall be in all Things obedient to their Superiors.

It is hard ſo to aſſign to every Miniſter his particular Duty, as that the Buſineſs (which is the Recovery of the Patients, and the Improvement of every Man's Knowledge in his proper Way) cannot be done better than by this Diſtribution: And it would be of ill Conſequence, if hereupon the Apprentice, having done his own Work, ſhould refuſe to help his Fellow, being perchance at ſome Time overburthened; wherefore it is to be underſtood that this Contrivance ſhall be no Warrant to any Man, not to help his Fellow, in caſe of Exigence, but chiefly to ſhew what we deſire ſhould be done amongſt them all. For we hope that their common Friendſhip and Deſire of helping the Sick, and enabling themſelves, will tie them enough to perform all theſe Things in the moſt advantageous Manner to theſe Ends.

Having now after a Faſhion gone through the Deſcription of ſuch Societies and Inſtitutions, as we have thought moſt fit for the Advancement of Real Learning, and among the reſt, of the *Ergaſtulum Literarium* for the Education of Children, we now come to ſpeak of ſuch Books, as, being well ſtudied and expounded in thoſe Schools, would lay a very firm Foundation of Learning in the Scholars.

We recommend therefore in the firſt Place (beſides thoſe Books of Collection, by us formerly mentioned, and Maſter *Pell*'s three Mathematical Treatiſes) the Compiling of a Work, whoſe Title might juſtly be *Vellus Aureum ſive Facultatum Lucriferarum Deſcriptio magna*, wherein all the practiſed Ways of getting a Subſiſtence, and whereby Men raiſe their Fortunes, may be at large declared. And, among theſe, we wiſh that the Hiſtory of Arts or Manufactures might firſt be undertaken as the moſt pleaſant and profitable of all the reſt, wherein ſhould be deſcribed the whole Proceſs of Manual Operations and Applications of

one natural Thing (which we call the Elements of Artificials) to another, with the neceſſary Inſtruments and Machines, whereby every Piece of Work is elaborated, and made to be what it is; unto which Work bare Words being not ſufficient, all Inſtruments and Tools muſt be pictured, and Colours added, when the Deſcriptions cannot be made intelligible without them.

This Hiſtory muſt not be made out of a *Farrago* of imperfect Relations made to the Compiler, either by too rude or cozening Workmen, but all Things thereunto appertaining muſt be by himſelf obſerved and atteſted by the moſt Judicious and Candid of each reſpective Profeſſion, as well to make the Work the more authentick (it being to be the Baſis of many future Inferences and Philoſophations) as the more clearly and diſtinctly to inform the Compiler himſelf, by whoſe Judgment as the Alembick, and Induſtry as the Fire, it is hoped that the Quinteſſence and Magiſteries of all preſent Inventions may be extracted, and new ones produced in Abundance.

Although it be intended to teach the making of all Artificials, yet it is not to be underſtood that when there hath been taught how to make a Stool, or a Nail of one Faſhion, that the Art of making a Chair or a Nail of another Faſhion ſhould be long inſiſted on. But the Compiler ſhould ſtrive to reduce the making of all Artificials in each Trade to a certain Number and Claſſes of Operations Tools and Materials; neither need he to ſet the Figures, or mention the Names of all Artificials that ever were made, but only of ſuch as are moſt known, and of common Uſe amongſt Men: He needeth not to deſcribe every Punctilio in making all the aforementioned Particulars, and yet leave no more Defects, than may be ſupplied by every common Underſtanding. For we queſtion whether (if he ſhould engage himſelf in ſuch an endleſs Labour) a Man by the bare Light and Inſtruction of the Book could attain to a dexterous Practice of Trade, whereunto hath been required ſeven Years *Autopſia*. But are confident that the Help of this Book will leſſen the former *Tædium* by more than half. He ſhould not ſo abridge the Work as not to diſtinguiſh between Inſtruments of the ſame Name, as between a Loom, to weave Kerſies, and another, wherein to weave Silk Ribbans or Stockings.

He ſhould all along give the Mechanical Reaſon of every Inſtrument Material and Operation, when the ſame is ſenſible and clear. He ſhould all along note his own Defects in ſetting down theſe Hiſtories, in caſe he had not at the Time of writing thereof ſufficient Information, and withal the Deficiencies of the Trades themſelves.

Now, whereas there be divers Ways and Methods of working moſt Manufactures, he ſhould in each Thing ſtick cloſe to the Way of ſome one Maſter, but note all the Diverſities he knoweth, and give his Opinion of the Uſe and Goodneſs of each.

Moreover the Oeconomy, *ſive Ars augendæ rei familiaris*, in all Profeſſions ought to be enquired into, *viz.* What Seaſons of the Year are moſt proper to each Work, which the beſt Places and Times to buy Materials, and to put off the Commodities when finiſhed; how moſt thriftily to hire, entertain, and overſee Servants and Workmen; how to diſpoſe of every Excrement and Refuſe of Materials, or of broken, worn, or otherwiſe unſerviceable Tools and Utenſils, with all Cauteles, Impoſtures and other Sleights good or bad, whereby Men uſe to over-reach one another.

There ought to be added to this Work many and various Indexes beſides the Alphabetical ones, as namely one of all the Artificials mentioned in the whole Work.

Another of all the natural Materials or Elements of Artificials, by what Artificers uſed, from whence they come, where to be had, and what are the ordinary and middle Prices of them.

Another of all the Qualities or Schemes of Matter, as of all liqueſiable Things, viſcid, friable, heavy, tranſparent, abſterſive or otherwiſe qualified according to all the Claſſes of 1, 2, and 3 Qualities, to the End that Materials for all Intentions and Experiments may be at Hand and in Sight.

Another of all Operations mentioned in the whole Work, as Sawing, Hewing, Filing, Boring, Melting, Diſſolving, Turning, Beating, Grinding, Boiling, Calcining, Knitting, Spinning, Sowing, Twiſting, *&c.* To the End that they all may be at Hand for the Purpoſes aforeſaid. Another of all Tools and Machines, as Files, Saws, Chiſſels, Sheers, Sieves, Looms, Shuttles, Wheels, Wedges, Knives, Screws, *&c.* for the ſame Purpoſe alſo.

The Compiler ought to publiſh all his Conjectures, how old Inventions may be perfected and new ones produced, giving Directions how to try the Truth of them. So that by all thoſe unto whoſe Hands theſe Books ſhall come, perchance, all the ſaid Suppoſitions may be tried, and the Succeſs reported to the Compiler himſelf.

The Compiler's firſt Scope in Inventions ſhall be, how to apply all Materials that grow in Abundance in this Kingdom, and whereof but inconſiderable Uſe and Profits are as yet made to more Advantage to the Commonwealth. And alſo how all Impotents, whether only blind, or only lame, and all Children of above ſeven Years old might earn their Bread, and not be ſo long burdenſome to their Parents and others.

There ſhould be made a Preface to the Work to teach Men how to make the moſt of Experiments, and to record the Succeſſes of them whatſoever, whether according to Hopes or no, all being equally luciferous, although not equally lucriferous.

There ought to be much Artifice uſed, that all the aforementioned Indexes may handſomely refer one to another, that all Things contained in the whole Book may be moſt eaſily found, and moſt readily attend the Seekers of new Inventions.

The Way to accompliſh this Work muſt be to enquire what to this Purpoſe is already done, or in Hand, in all Places and alſo by whom, ſo that Communication of Counſels and Proceeding, may (if poſſible) be had with thoſe Undertakers.

All Books of this Subject, already extant in Print, muſt be collected and bought, not to tranſcribe them, but to examine them *per Autopſiam*, and re-experiment the Experiments contained in them, and withal to give Hints of new Inquiries.

The Compiler muſt be content to devote his whole Life to this Employment; one who, as we ſaid before, hath the Fire of Induſtry and the Alembick of a curious and rational Head, to extract the Quinteſſence of whatſoever he ſeeth.

He ſhall be as young as ſufficient Abilities will admit, to the End that he may, with the Concurrence of God's ordinary Providence, either finiſh, or very far advance the Work, while he liveth; and alſo that living long in that Employment, he may heap up the larger Stock of Experiments, which, how much the greater it is in one Man, affordeth ſo much the more Hopes of new Inventions.

The Nature, Manner, and Means of Writing the Hiſtory of Trades being ſo far expounded, before we proceed further therein, for the better Encouragement of Undertakers, we ſhall now repreſent ſuch Profits and Commodities thereof, to the Commonwealth, as we at preſent more nearly reflect upon. For to enumerate, or evaluate them all, will be much above our Capacity.

1. All Men whatſoever may hereby ſo look into all Profeſſions, as not to be too groſly cozened and abuſed in them.

2. The Myſteries of Trades being ſo laid open, as that the Profeſſors of them cannot make ſo unlawful and exorbitant Advantages as heretofore, ſuch as are cunning and ambitious will never reſt until they have found new ones in their Stead; ſo that the *Reſpublica Artium* will be ſo much the more advanced.

3. Scholars, and ſuch as love to ratiocinate, will have more and better Matter to exerciſe their Wits upon, whereas they now puzzle and tire themſelves, about mere Words and chimerical Notions.

4. They will reaſon with more Alacrity, when they ſhall not only get Honour by ſhewing their Abilities, but Profit likewiſe by the Invention of fructiferous Arts.

5. Sophiſtry ſhall not be in ſuch Eſteem as heretofore, when even Senſe ſhall be able to unmaſk its Vanity, and diſtinguiſh it from Truth.

6. Men, ſeeing what Arts are already invented, ſhall not need to puzzle themſelves to re-invent the ſame again.

7. All Men in general that have wherewithal will be venturing at our *Vellus Aureum*, by making of Experiments: And whether thereby they thrive or no, the Directions in the Preface being followed, they ſhall nevertheleſs more and more diſcover Nature.

8. Nay all Nations, ſenſible of this *Auri ſacra fames*, will engage in this hopeful Buſineſs; and then certainly many Hands will make light Work in the ſaid Buſineſs of diſcovering Nature.

9. All ingenious Men, and Lovers of real Knowledge, have a long Time begged this Work, wherefore it can be no ſmall Honour to him that ſhall ſatisfy them.

10. A vaſt Increaſe of honourable, profitable, and pleaſant Inventions muſt needs ſpring from the Work, when one Man (as the Compiler thereof) may, *uno intuitu*, ſee and comprehend all the Labour and Wit of our Anceſtors, and be thereby able to ſupply the Defects of one Trade with the Perfections of another.

11. We ſee, that all Countries, where Manufactures and Trades flouriſh, as *Holland*, &c. become potent and rich: For how can it otherwiſe be? When the Revenues of the State ſhall be increaſed by new and more Cuſtoms, all Beggars, feeding upon the Labours of other Men, and even Thieves and Robbers (made for Want of better Employment) ſhall be ſet on Work; barren Grounds made fruitful, wet dry, and dry wet; when even Hogs and more indocile Beaſts ſhall be taught to labour; when all vile Materials ſhall be turned to noble Uſes; when one Man, or Horſe, ſhall do as much as three, and every Thing be improved to ſtrange Advantages.

12. There would not then be ſo many Fuſtian and unworthy Preachers in Divinity, ſo many Petty-foggers in the Law, ſo many Quack-ſalvers in Phyſick, ſo many Grammaticaſters in Country Schools, and ſo many lazy Serving-men in Gentlemen's Houſes, when every Man might learn to live otherwiſe in more Plenty and Honour; for all Men, deſirous to take Pains, might, by this Book, ſurvey all the Ways of Subſiſtence, and chuſe out of them all one that beſt ſuits with his own Genius and Abilities.

13. Scholars, now diſeſteemed for their Poverty (whatever other Thing commends them) and unable, even for Want of Livelihood, to perfect any Thing even in their own Way, would quickly help themſelves by opening Treaſures with the Key of lucriferous Inventions.

14. Boys, inſtead of Reading hard *Hebrew* Words in the Bible (where they either trample on, or play with Myſteries) or Parrot-like Repeating heteroclitous Nouns and Verbs, might read and hear the Hiſtory of Faculties expounded; ſo that, before they be bound Apprentices to any Trade, they may foreknow the Good and Bad of it, what Will and Strength they have to it, and not ſpend ſeven Years in Repenting, and in Swimming againſt the Stream of their Inclinations.

All Apprentices, by this Book, might learn the Theory of their Trades, before they are bound to a Maſter, and conſequently may be exempted from the *Tædium* of a ſeven Years Bondage; and, having ſpent but about three Years with a Maſter, may ſpend the other four in Travelling, to learn Breeding and the Perfection of their Trades.

As it would be more profitable to Boys to ſpend ten or twelve Years in the Study of Things, and of this Book of Faculties, than in a Rabble of Words; ſo it would be more eaſy and pleaſant to them, as more ſuitable to the natural Propenſions we obſerve in them. For we ſee Children to delight in Drums, Pipes, Fiddles, Guns made of Elder-ſticks and Bellows Noſes, piped Keys, *&c.* for Painting Flags and Enſigns with Elder-berries and Corn-poppy; making Ships with Paper, and ſetting even Nut-ſhells a ſwimming; handling the Tools of Workmen, as ſoon as they turn their Backs, and trying to work themſelves; fiſhing, fowling, hunting, ſetting Springs and Traps for Birds and other Animals; making Pictures in their Writing-books; making Tops, Gigs, and Whirligigs; quilting Balls; practiſing divers juggling Tricks upon the Cards, *&c.* with a Million more beſides. And, for the Females, they will be making Pyes with Clay, making their Babies Clothes, and dreſſing them therewith; they will ſpit Leaves on Sticks, as if they were roſting Meat; they will imitate all the Talk and Actions, which they obſerve in their Mother and her Goſſips, and punctually act the Comedy, or Tragedy (I know not whether to call it) of a Woman's Lying-in: By all which it is moſt evident, that Children do moſt naturally delight in Things, and are moſt capable of learning them, having quick Senſes to receive them, and unpreoccupied Memories to retain them. As for other Things, whereunto they are now-a-days ſet, they are altogether unfit, for Want of Judgment, which is but weak in them, and alſo for Want of Will; which is ſufficiently ſeen both by what we have ſaid before, by the Difficulty in keeping them at Schools, and the Puniſhment they will endure, rather than be altogether debarred from this Pleaſure, which they take in Things.

This Work will be an Help to Eloquence, when Men, by their great Acquaintance with Things, might find out Similitudes, Metaphors, Alluſions, and other Graces of Diſcourſe in Abundance.

To Arithmeticians and Geometricians, ſupplying them with Matter, whereon to exerciſe thoſe moſt excellent Sciences; which ſome having with much Pains once learned, do, for Want hereof, forget again, or unprofitably apply about Reſolving needleſs Queſtions, and Making of new Difficulties: The Number of mixt Mathematical Arts would hereby be increaſed.

For we ſee, that Opticks are made up of pure Mathematicks, the Anatomy of the Eye, and ſome Phyſical Principles, concerning the Nature of Light and Viſion, with ſome Experiments of convex and concave Glaſſes, Aſtronomy is conſtituted again of them, and ſome Celeſtial Phænomena. Enginry again of them, and ſome Propoſitions *de Cochlea et Vecte*. And ſo certainly, as the Number of Axioms concerning ſeveral Subjects doth increaſe by this Work, ſo the Number of (their Applications to pure Mathematicks, *id eſt*) new Mathematical Arts will increaſe alſo.

Divines, having ſo large a Book of God's Works, added to that of his Word, may, the more clearly from them both, deduce the Wiſdom, Power, and Goodneſs of the Almighty.

Phyſicians, obſerving the Uſe of all Drugs, and Operations in the Production of Artificials, may, with Succeſs, transfer them to better Uſes in their Art.

And Lawyers, when they plead concerning Trades and Manufactures, would better know what to ſay on ſuch Occaſions.

A young Beginner may know by this Book, how much Stock is needful to ſet him up in his Trade.

Gentlemen, falling ſometimes accidentally into Tradeſmen and Handicrafts Company, would know how to make Uſe of ſuch Occurrences to Advantage.

Laſtly, This Hiſtory, with the Comments thereupon, and the Indexes, Preface, and Supplements thereunto belonging, would make us able, if it be at all poſſible, to demonſtrate Axioms in Philoſophy, the Value and Dignity whereof cannot be valued or computed.

The next Book, which we recommend, is the Hiſtory of Nature free; for indeed the Hiſtory of Trades is alſo an Hiſtory of Nature, but of Nature vexed and diſturbed. What we mean by this Hiſtory, may be known by the Lord *Verulam*'s moſt excellent Specimen thereof; and, as for the Particulars that it ſhould treat on, we refer to his exact and judicious Catalogue of them, at the End of his Advancement of Learning.

An Advertiſement *to the favourable* READER.

IN the foregoing Diſcourſe we have diſcovered the Things, which concern the Addreſſes for outward Accommodation, which is but a momentary Part of Human Felicity. The main and principal Thing whereat in this Office we do aim at, and which we intend, if God inable us to proſecute, is, the Work of Communication for all Spiritual and Intellectual Advantages, towards the Advancement of Piety, Virtue, and Learning in all Things Divine and Human, as they are ſubordinate unto the Glory of God; for whoſe Sake alone we caſt ourſelves upon theſe Endeavours, and from whom we ſhall expect our Encouragements.

A further Diſcovery of the Office of Publick Addreſs for Accommodations. *London*, Printed in the Year 1648. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages.

L. *Montague*'s Eſſays, the Fourth Book, the XXIVth Chapter.

Of a Defect in our Policies.

MY late Father, who had no Help but from Experience and his own Nature, yet of an unſpotted Judgment, hath heretofore told me, that he much deſired to bring in this Cuſtom, which is, that in all Cities there ſhould be a certain appointed Place, to which whoſoever ſhould have Need of any Thing might come, and cauſe his Buſineſs to be regiſtered by ſome Officer appointed for that Purpoſe. As for Example: If one have Pearls to ſell, he ſhould ſay, I ſeek to ſell ſome Pearls; another, I ſeek to buy ſome Pearls: Such a Man would fain have Company to travel to Paris: *Such an one enquireth for a Servant of this or that Quality: Such a one ſeeketh for a Maſter, another a Workman, ſome this, ſome that, every one as he needeth. And it ſeemeth that this Means of Interwarning one another, would bring no ſmall Commodity unto common Commerce and Society; for there are ever Conditions that interſeek one another, and, becauſe they underſtand not one another, they leave Men in great Neceſſity. I underſtand, to the infamous Reproach of our Age, that, even in our Sight, two moſt excellent Men in Knowledge have miſerably periſhed for Want of Food and other Neceſſaries,* Lilius Gregorius Giraldus *in* Italy, *and* Sebaſtianus Caſtalio *in* Germany. *And I verily believe there are many Thouſands, who, had they known or underſtood their Wants, would either have ſent for them, and with large Stipends have entertained them, or would have conveyed them Succour where-ever they had been: The World is not ſo generally corrupted, but I know ſome that would earneſtly wiſh, and, with hearty Affections, deſire the Goods, which their Fore-fathers have left them, might, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God they may enjoy them, be employed for the Relief of Rare, and Supply of excellent Men's Neceſſities, and ſuch as for any Kind of Worth and Virtue are remarkable, many of which are daily ſeen to be purſued by Poverty, even to the utmoſt Extremity, and that would take ſuch Order for them as, had they not their Eaſe and Content, it might only be imputed to their Want of Reaſon, or Lack of Diſcretion.*

BEFORE we fell into theſe laſt Fears and Troubles, a brief Diſcourſe was preſented unto the High and Honourable Houſes of Parliament, concerning the Means to accompliſh the Work of our Reformation; tending to ſhew that, by an Office of Publick Addreſs in Spiritual and Temporal Concernments, the Glory of God and Happineſs of this Nation may be highly advanced.

This Diſcourſe hath fully approved itſelf unto the Judgment of all thoſe that have ſeen it hitherto, and hopefully it would have wrought ſome Effect upon thoſe that manage the Affairs of this State, if the Danger of this laſt Commotion had not employed all their Strength and Attention, to ſave us from ſudden Shipwreck. Nor is the Sea yet quieted after ſo great a Storm; but the Fears and Expectations of what will follow do keep the Minds of moſt Men in Suſpenſe, till they ſee a ſafe Harbour, that is, what the Way of our future Settlement will be.

And truly this Conſideration might alſo ſuſpend our Thoughts and Sollicitations in this Matter; if we would look only to the outward Appearance of Affairs, and make ourſelves, as many do by their Conjectures, fearful. For *he that obſerveth the Wind, ſhall not ſow; and he that regardeth the Clouds, ſhall not reap* *: But we have learned to caſt our Bread upon the Waters, in Hope that we may find it after many Days; and we are willing to give a Portion unto Seven, and alſo to

* Eccleſ. xi. 4.

ight?

Eight, becauſe we know not what Evil ſhall be upon the Earth. So then, even that, which maketh others leſs careful of the Publick, doth increaſe our Care for it. For moſt Men will not intend any Publick Aim till they can ſecure their own Intereſts, and ſee a Way to get Advantage by that which they call the Publick: But we ſhall never aim at this; our Delight ſhall be, that all may be advantaged, and the Publick Intereſt of the Commonwealth ſettled, although it ſhould be to our Coſt and Diſadvantage: For we know the Promiſe, that if we faint not, and become not weary in Well-doing, we ſhall reap in due Time the Fruit of Righteouſneſs.

Therefore, on the Grounds laid in the former Diſcourſe, we ſhall endeavour now to proceed to offer ſome Particulars; which, perhaps, will take more with moſt Men, than that which we aim at principally. For our Aim is mainly to lay the Grounds of that Reformation in this Change of our Affairs, which may reach the Spirits of Men to affect them with a Goſpel-frame: But, if we therein cannot come near them immediately, yet we ſhall endeavour to come as near as we may by the Things whereof they are capable; becauſe we are reſolved rather to venture the Loſing of our Labour, than to ſit ſtill, and not give ourſelves this Satisfaction that we have diſcharged a good Conſcience in performing our Duty.

We ſhall declare then, with that Simplicity which becometh a good Conſcience in the Preſence of God, that our Deſire is to ſerve all Men freely in the Publick Intereſt ſo far as God doth inable us; and that by this Deſign we aim at a ſpecial Advantage to the Goſpel of Chriſt rather than at any thing elſe; and if we can but awake thoſe that are in Places of Power and Authority, to take Notice of the Means whereby all Men's Talents may become uſeful to each other in this Commonwealth, that, for their own Temporal Ends, they would countenance and promote the ſame, we ſhall have our End at this Time in this Undertaking.

Therefore now we make our Application as to all indifferently, that love the Proſperity of *Sion*, and the Welfare of this State; ſo more particularly to thoſe whom God hath appointed to be our Leaders in every good Work, and Encouragers of thoſe that apply themſelves thereunto, that, whether they lay the Matter to Heart or no, they may not be without a Witneſs before God and the World, that this is a Duty belonging to their Charge; which without any Charge, Trouble, or Difficulty, may be moſt eaſily brought to paſs, by a few Words in the Way of Order, to authoriſe the Undertaking of ſuch an Office, for the unſpeakable Benefit of all, and without the leaſt imaginable Inconveniency unto any.

And, that the Thing itſelf may manifeſt the Truth of this, we ſhall come to a more particular Diſcovery of the Office in Matters of Temporal Accommodation; which unto the Men of this World are ſenſible Inducements towards all Enterpriſes.

Let us then conſider, what it is that maketh a Commonwealth, and all thoſe that are in it happy, as to the Life of Nature. The chief End of Commonwealths is Society, the End of Society is mutual Help, and the End and Uſe of Help is to enjoy from one another Comforts; that is, every Thing lawfully deſirable or wanting to our Contentation. Whereſoever then, in a Commonwealth ſuch a Conſtitution may be had, whereby the Members thereof may be inabled to enjoy from each other all the Helps which Nature doth afford unto them for their mutual Contentation, there the State, and all thoſe that are in it, may be ſaid to be as happy as this World can make them.

For no Man can be more happy in Nature, than to have all his lawful Deſires ſupplied ſo far as they are attainable: But in this Commonwealth ſuch a Conſtitution may be had, and that eaſily, which will do this: Therefore this Commonwealth, and all the Members thereof, may be as happy as this World can make them, if their Rulers will either aſſiſt them, or at leaſt ſuffer them to become ſo.

Now this Conſtitution whereof we ſpeak is nothing elſe, but the Deſignation of a certain Place, whereunto it ſhall be free for every one to make his Addreſs upon all Occaſions, as well to offer unto others, as to receive from them, the Commodities which are deſirable, and the Informations of Things profitable to be taken Notice of in a private or a publick Way.

In this Place an Officer is to be appointed, who ſhould have Power to direct and order the Work of the Conſtitution. He ſhould have

have certain Men under him, ſo many as he ſhould think fit to keep Regiſters, and make Extracts thereof, to give to ſuch as ſhould deſire the ſame for their Information.

Theſe Regiſters ſhould be of all Things which either may be any way offered by one Man to any or to all, and deſired by another from any or from all; or which otherwiſe may be of publick Uſe, though not at all taken Notice of by any to that End.

And the End, wherefore theſe Regiſters are thus to be kept, is only, that therein may be ſettled a Center of Encounters to give Information to all of all uſeful Matters; for one of the great Cauſes of our Miſery in this preſent Life is this: That we are not only in the Dark, not knowing what good Things are extant in Private, or publickly attainable for Uſe, but we are in Diſorder and Confuſion, becauſe, when we know what Things are attainable, yet we have no Way contrived how to encounter readily and certainly with them ourſelves, when we have Need of them, or, when we have them, to impart them to ſuch as want them.

Now, to remedy both theſe Evils, this Office may be an Inſtrument, by being made a common Intelligencer for all, not only of Things actually offered, or deſired by ſome to be communicated, but alſo of Things by himſelf and others obſervable, which may be an Occaſion to raiſe Matter of Communication for the Information of all.

The Multitude of Affairs in populous Places doth naturally run into a Confuſion, except ſome orderly Way be found out to ſettle Times and Places, wherein thoſe, that are to attend them, may meet together for the Tranſaction thereof. If there were no Exchanges, nor ſet Hours thereof for Merchants to meet and tranſact Matters, What a Diſorder and Obſtruction would there be in all Trading! And, if a Man, that hath to do in the *Exchange* with five or ſix Men, doth come to it when it is thronging full, and knoweth not the ordinary Walks of thoſe ſeveral Men, nor any Body that can tell him where their Walks are, he may run up and down, here and there, and weary himſelf out of Breath, and not meet with any of them, except by great Chance he light upon them; but, if he doth know their conſtant Walks and Hours, when they come upon the *Exchange*, he may be able to meet with them in an Inſtant: So it is with all other Men, in Reſpect of all other Conveniencies, in great and populous Cities, or Kingdoms: They run up and down at Random to ſeek for their Accommodations, and, when they have wearied themſelves a long Time in vain, they ſit down oft-times unſatisfied; but, if there were but a Place of common Reſort appointed, like unto the *Exchange*, where they ſhould be ſure to receive Information of all that which they would deſire to know, they might, without any Loſs of Time, come inſtantly to the Enjoyment of their Deſires, ſo far as they are attainable.

This Place, then, is that which we call *the Office of Addreſs*: Here ſufficient Regiſters ſhould be kept of all deſirable Matters of human Accommodations, ſhewing where, with whom, and upon what Conditions they may be had; and this would be, as it were, a national Exchange for all deſirable Commodities, to know the ready Way of encountering with them, and tranſacting for them.

This, then, is the proper End and Uſe of this Office, To ſet every Body in a Way, by ſome Direction and Addreſs, how to come ſpeedily to have his lawful Deſires accompliſhed, of what Kind ſoever they may be.

This Conſtitution will be a Means mightily to increaſe all Trade and Commerce amongſt Merchants and all Sorts of People, but eſpecially to relieve the Neceſſities of the Poor, for whoſe Sake alone it doth deſerve to be entertained, although there were no other Conveniency in it. But, to ſhew that by the Advantage of ſuch an Addreſs, as is intended by this Office to be ſet on Foot, all Trade will be mainly advanced, conſider how, for Want of it, Occaſions of Trading and Tranſacting of Buſineſſes are hindered between Man and Man, to their mutual Diſadvantage, and the Detriment of the Commonwealth. As for Example: I am deſirous to let out a Parcel of Ground and an Houſe upon it to be rented; another is deſirous to have ſome Ground with an Houſe upon it to farm; we, for Want of knowing each other's Deſires, do not meet to treat upon the Buſineſs, and cannot find our Accommodations, perhaps, in a Year or two, to our Content. Here, then, the Commerce, which we might have with each other, is ſtopped; the publick Notary is not employed between us; the Counſellor, whoſe Advice is to be uſed in Drawing the Leaſes, is not employed; I want Money, which I might trade withal another

Way,

Way, to my great Profit, and the publick Benefit; the Farmer is idle, the Houſe not inhabited, and out of Repair; the Ground either not at all, or not ſo well cultivated, as otherwiſe it would be; the Inheritance doth go to Decay; leſs Fruit is reaped off the Ground, leſs Employment for labouring Men, leſs Works and Manufactures of Tradeſmen and Shop-keepers uſed; fewer Cuſtoms and Duties paid to the Publick; and conſequently, in every Reſpect, both to myſelf, and others to whom I am aſſociated, a Diſadvantage doth befall, becauſe I cannot encounter with the Conveniency, whereof I ſtand in Need, nor the Farmer with his Accommodation; but, if we could have met with each other, and tranſacted our Buſineſs to our mutual Content, all theſe Inconveniencies would have been prevented, both to us and the Publick. It is undeniably true, that the Multitude of People doth beget Affairs, and the ready Tranſaction of Affairs in a State is the only Means to make it flouriſh in the Felicity of the Inhabitants; and that nothing can advance ſuch a ready Tranſaction ſo much, as a common Center of Intelligence for all ſuch Matters, is quite out of *Doubt*.

As for the Benefit of the Poor, and the Relief of their Neceſſities (which alone might move us to the Proſecuting of this Buſineſs) there is nothing imaginable that can be more beneficial unto them. For conſider, amongſt all the Cauſes of Human Poverty, which are many, this main one; namely, that moſt Men are poor for Want of Employment, and the Cauſe why they want Employment, is, either becauſe they cannot find Maſters to employ them; or becauſe their Abilities and Fitneſs to do Service are not known to ſuch as might employ them: Or, laſtly, becauſe there is perhaps little Work ſtirring in the Commonwealth for them. All theſe Cauſes will be clearly remedied by this Conſtitution; for here not only the Maſter ſhall be able to encounter with a Servant, or a Servant with a Maſter, fit for each other, when both have given up their Names, and the Tenor of their Deſires, with the Places of their Abode, to the Regiſters of the Office; but, by the Collection and Obſervation of all Things profitable to be improved for the publick Uſe, much Matter of Employment will be produced and found out, which now is not at all thought upon. When poor Workmen or Tradeſmen come to a great City, ſuch as *London* is, in Hope of getting Employment; if they fail of their Expectation, or meet not with the Friends upon whom they did rely, they betake themſelves to Begging, or ſometimes to far worſe Courſes, which brings them to a miſerable End: But if, inſtead of their particular Expectation and Friends, they can betake themſelves to one, that can give them Addreſs to that Employment which in the Commonwealth can be found for them; they not only may be preſerved from Beggary and Miſery, but become uſeful unto their Neighbour.

Hitherto we have ſpoken of the Office, and the Uſefulneſs thereof in reſpect of the End. Now we ſhall come to the Matters whereof Regiſters ſhould be kept in the Office for Information and Addreſs, to ſatisfy all Men's Deſires.

The Deſires of Men are infinite, in reſpect of the Circumſtances; and therefore it is not to be expected that a particular Enumeration thereof ſhould be made: We muſt reflect upon the principal Heads whereunto all may be referred, that when Particulars are offered they may be brought into their proper Places in the Regiſters, where they may be found in due Time for Information and Addreſſes of one towards another.

There be two Kinds of Regiſters or Inventories of Addreſs: Some are of Things which are perpetually the ſame, and always exiſtent in the Society of Mankind in General, and in a diſtinct Commonwealth, Kingdom, Province and City in Particular; and others are not perpetual but changeable Regiſters, containing all Matters of daily Occurrence between Man and Man to be imparted.

The Matters, whereof the perpetual and unchangeable Regiſters ſhould give Information to ſuch as may enquire after the ſame, are chiefly theſe:

1. For ſuch as would know concerning any Thing extant in the World, what hath been ſaid or written of it, the ſtanding Regiſter ſhould contain a Catalogue of all Catalogues of Books, whereunto the Inquiſitor may be referred to ſeek out whether or no he can find any Thing written of the Matter whereof he doth make Enquiry in any of thoſe Catalogues, and the Office ſhould have one or more Copies of each of thoſe Catalogues, to which the Regiſter of Catalogues ſhould refer them to make their Search.

2. For ſuch as ſhould make Inquiry concerning this Kingdom, to know the Situation of any of the Provinces, Shires, Counties, Cities, Towns, Villages, Caſtles, Ports, and ſuch like Places; the Office ſhould have *Speed*'s Deſcription of this Kingdom, and *Mercator*, or others, to refer them thereunto.

3. For ſuch as would deſire to know, what publick Officers and Employments, and what particular Trades are of Uſe in this State; the Office ſhould ſhew a Regiſter thereof.

4. For ſuch as would know what Families and Perſons of eminent Note and Quality are in the Kingdom, for Birth, or for Place and Employment, or for Abilities and ſingular perſonal Virtues; the Office ſhould ſhew who they are, and what their Property is, and where to be met withal.

5. For ſuch as deſire to know the ſtanding Commodities of the Kingdom; what they are in the Whole, and what peculiar to every Place? How they are tranſported from Place to Place? Where and when the Markets thereof are kept? And how to get Intelligence of the particular Prices thereof? The Office ſhould have Regiſters for Information of all this.

6. For ſuch as deſire to know what Commodities are imported from foreign Parts conſtantly into this Kingdom? Where, and at what Times to be found? With Information concerning the Prices thereof; the Office ſhould be able to give Notice hereof.

As for the Matters of daily Occurrence, which, by reaſon of Circumſtances, are changeably to be taken Notice of, and differently to be propoſed, as offered from one Man to another, or deſired by one from another, for mutual Accommodation; the Regiſters thereof muſt be divided into ſeveral Books, and the Books into Chapters, to whoſe Heads all Matters of that Kind ſhould be referred.

The Titles of theſe Books ſhould be at leaſt theſe Four: 1. One for the Accommodation of the Poor. 2. Another for the Accommodation of Trade, Commerce, and Bargains for Profit. 3. A Third for the Accommodation of all Actions, which proceed from all Relations of Perſons to each other, in all Eſtates and Conditions of Life. 4. A Fourth for Ingenuities, and Matters of Delight unto the Mind, in all Virtues and rare Objects.

Theſe Four Regiſters may be diſtinguiſhed and intituled, from the Properties of their Subjects, thus: The Firſt ſhould be called the Regiſter of Neceſſities, or of Charity: The Second, of Uſefulneſs, or of Profit: The Third, of Performance, or of Duties: And the Fourth of Delights, or of Honour. And to theſe Heads all human Occurrences, wherein one Man may be helpful to another, may be referred, if not very directly, yet in ſome Way, which will be without Difficulty underſtood, and fit to avoid Confuſion in the Matters of the Regiſters.

Now we ſhall come to each of theſe Books in Particular, to ſhew the Matters of Accommodation which ſhall be contained therein, for publick and private Service.

The Regiſter for the Poor.

THE Heads of Chapters, unto which all Matters of Accommodation for the Poor, may be referred are theſe:

1. Counſels and Advices to be given concerning the Means, whereby the Poor may be relieved, by being ſet at Work, and employed, if they be ſtrong; or in Caſe of Sickneſs and Want of Employment, how to facilitate the Proviſion of Lodging, Cloathing, Food and Entertainment for them: Here, with the particular Expedients which ſhall be ſuggeſted, a Note of the Names of thoſe that do ſuggeſt them ſhall be regiſtered, and, if they deſire it, a Certificate given unto them to atteſt what they have ſuggeſted.

2. The Liſt of the Names of the Poor, *viz.* The Number of thoſe that are entertained, and how they are provided for already in ſeveral Places. *Secondly*, the Names of ſuch, as have no Proviſion made for them, ſhall be enrolled in the Liſt of the Poor to be entertained, when they come with a Certificate of their Condition to the Commiſſioners for the Poor, and have made their Caſe known unto them: Where a ſpecial Reſpect is to be had to the Poor that are ſhamefaced, and want Confidence to put forth themſelves to be Objects of publick or private Charity.

3. The Liſt of Names of Benefactors to the Poor, whether in publick or private, that the Poor who are enrolled may receive Addreſs, and go unto them for Relief, or Employment, as the Way of their Charity ſhall fall

out, to be beſtowed by themſelves, or thoſe whom they ſhall appoint to diſtribute it; for the Office of Addreſs ſhall not meddle with the Receipts or Diſtribution of any Money in this Kind; but only with the Names of the Givers and Receivers thereof, to notify the one to the other.

4. The Names of Phyſicians, Apothecaries, and Surgeons, who ſhall offer themſelves to viſit the Poor in their Sickneſs, to bring them ſome Remedies, or give them Advice what to do in Point of Diet, or otherwiſe for their Health.

5. A Liſt of Experiments and eaſy Remedies of Diſeaſes, which any ſhall be willing to impart for the Good of the Publick, and ſpeedy Relief of the Diſeaſed and Poor, chiefly by the Diſcoveries of the admirable Effects of Simples; ſhall be enrolled with the Names of thoſe that impart the ſame unto the Phyſicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, who ſhall offer themſelves to give Attendance upon the Poor in their Sickneſs.

6. Becauſe all Perſons, though otherwiſe never ſo rich in Poſſeſſions, if they be under any grievous Sickneſs or Affliction, and can find no Relief for it, are to be counted poor, and are Objects of Charity, if they will not be known by Name, to be in ſuch a Caſe; the *Factum* or circumſtantial Deſcription of their Caſe may be ſent unto the Office; and a Memorial adjoined of ſome Place or Body who is to receive the Anſwer of Advice to be procured upon it; and the Officer of the Office of Addreſs ſhall cauſe an Advice to be given by the Phyſicians, who ſhall offer themſelves for the Aſſiſtance of the Poor, and it ſhall be written at the Bottom of the *Factum*, or the Deſcription of the Caſe.

7. In Caſe any would have, in Matters of Difficulty in Law Buſineſs, the impartial Advice of eminent Counſellors upon the Caſe which by Word of Mouth they themſelves are unwilling to declare; they may take the like Courſe: Or, if they would know the Judgment of other Advocates and Counſellors not formerly intereſted in the Matter, whether it doth agree with that which hath been given to them, by thoſe whom they have made Uſe of; they may without expreſſing of their own, or others Names, make Uſe of the Addreſs which the Office ſhall be able to give them in like Manner.

8. And in Caſe, either for Want of Judgment or Experience, they know not how to ſet down their Caſes and *Factums* circumſtantially; the Office will be able to give them Addreſs to ſuch as ſhall do it for them, with all Secrecy and Faithfulneſs.

9. In Caſe there be any who, by reaſon of Poverty or other Neceſſities and unavoidable Hindrance, cannot purſue their Rights and juſt Intereſts in Law; the Office will be able to addreſs them unto ſome, that ſhall undertake the Purſuit of the Buſineſs for them by Right; or elſe make an amiable Compoſition and Tranſaction of the Matter, for their beſt Advantage, with their Adverſary on their Behalf.

10. The Liſt of poor Scholars, who have made ſome Beginning in Learning, and with a little Matter of Aſſiſtance might be inabled to perfect their Courſe, and become uſeful in their Way to the Publick, ſhall be kept by itſelf; that, when the Names of ſuch as ſhall offer to be helpful unto ſuch ſhall be notified, they may be addreſſed unto them.

11. The Liſt of Strangers, who are going to their Country, and are Objects of Charity here; as alſo of our own Countrymen who being Strangers in Diſtreſs elſewhere, or Captives under the *Turks*, are Objects of Charity, and may by their Friends here ſeek for Help upon good Certificates of their Condition, and of the Means of ſending the Relief which ſhall be procured unto them,

12. Becauſe the Publick State and Society of a Commonwealth is often times in a Courſe of Poverty, and Want of many Things, and is an Object of great Charity in ſeveral Reſpects, a Liſt ſhall be kept of all the Memorials or Offers, which may be made by any for the Eaſe of Inconveniencies befalling thereunto, or for the Advantage and Benefit, which may be procured thereunto in a publick Way; and, the Authors Names and Places of Abode being known, they ſhall by the Means of the Officer of Addreſs be directed to ſuch as will be moſt able to promote the Execution thereof; and if they be abſent a great Way from *London*, or from the Place of Supreme Government, where all Propoſals of that Kind are to be conſidered, without putting themſelves to the Charges of a great Journey at Adventure, the Matter may be proſecuted in their Name by ſome in whoſe Hands the Officer of Addreſs

may put it; and a deſerved Recompence may be by him procured unto the Author of the Advice and Propoſal, out of the Benefit, which thence may accrue unto the Publick.

II. *The Regiſter of Commerce and Bargains.*

THE Heads of Chapters, whereunto Matters of Commerce may be referred in the Way of Trading, are diſtinguiſhed into the Kinds of Commodities whereof Bargains are made, and into the Caſes and Ways of making Bargains about theſe Commodities.

The Chapters of Commodities.

Firſt, The Chiefeſt of all Commodities, becauſe it doth give a common Valuation to all other Things, is Money; the Office then ſhall give Information and Addreſs:

1. What the Species and Sorts of Coin extant here and elſewhere are in Silver and Gold? What their Weight and Valuation is?

2. What the Courſe of Exchange is amongſt Merchants for all Places of Trade, and how it doth change from Time to Time, towards *Holland*, *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, &c.

Secondly, The moſt neceſſary of all Commodities is Food; to this Head the Office doth refer for Information and Addreſs all Particulars of Meat and Drink.

1. Of Meats the Liſt doth contain all Vegetables ſerving for that Uſe; as Wheat, Barley, Rye, Oats, Peaſe, Beans, Rice, and all Corn and Grains, and Pulſe, and every Thing of that Kind, and all Fruits and Roots fit for Food, to ſhew what the Rates thereof are, and where they are to be had.

2. All living Creatures in the Earth, Air, and Waters, Beaſts, Fowls and Fiſhes; the Office ſhall give the Addreſs to the Place, where they are to be bought, and ſhew the ordinary Rates thereof in the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom.

3. Of Drinks, as Wine, Beer, Ale, Cyder, Perry, Mead, Strong Waters, and what elſe is of this Kind, the Office will let you know where to have your Choice, and at the beſt Rates.

4. *Item*, the Liſt of the Places and Rates, at which Men may diet themſelves, either wholly, or by Meals, as an Ordinary.

Thirdly, Next to Food is Phyſick, and all Drugs and Wares which are uſed as Ingredients thereunto, as Spices and Herbs; and all Apothecaries Wares, whether Simples or Compounds; and all Grocers Commodities, ſerving either for Food or Phyſick, the Office ſhall let you know, where, and at what Rates they are to be had.

Fourthly, Unto the Preſervation of Life and Health, doth belong alſo Cloathing of all Sorts of Cloth and Stuff; Silks, and Woollen, Linnen, and Cotton of each Kind; the Liſt of ordinary Rates, and the Place where they are to be found, is to be ſhewed.

Fifthly, Houſes in the City or Country to be lett or ſold, and Lodging Chambers furniſhed or unfurniſhed, with their Rates, are to be ſhewed alſo.

Sixthly, The Commodities of Lands and Inheritances, and Leaſes of Farms and Mannors, which are to be bargained for in any Kind, are to be brought to their proper Places for Information to ſuch as would enquire after them.

Seventhly, All Manner of Moveables and Houſhold Stuff, for the Eaſe and Convenience of Life, are to be liſted with the Rates at which they are to be ſold, for ſuch as ſhall deſire preſent Accommodation.

Eighthly, Whole Shops of Goods or ſuch Commodities as are not to be found in Shops, as Coaches, Litters, Carts, with all their Furniture, Ships, Boats, Woods, and ſuch like, which the Owners would not put to Sale, ſhould be found in their proper Places for the Information of Buyers.

Ninthly, Libraries, and Bookſellers Shops, according to their ſeveral Kinds: *Item* Shops of Paper and Parchment, and all Wares of this Kind, with their Rates, are to be found under this Head.

The Chapters of the Caſes and Ways of making Bargains.

1. If any deſire to let out Money upon Intereſt with Security, or deſire to receive it upon Intereſt in giving Security, the Office ſhall be able to give Addreſs thereunto.

2. If any will depoſit Money for Annuities or Eſtate in Reverſion, the Office ſhall addreſs to ſuch as will receive it.

3. If any will borrow or lend Money upon any other Conditions whatſoever, as upon Lands, Houſes, Leaſes, Rents, &c. the Office ſhall give Information and Addreſs thereunto.

4. If Travellers deſire to change Money from one Species to another, or to be furniſhed in all Places where they ſhall come, the Office ſhall be able to addreſs them to their Accommodation.

5. If any deſire to tranſport himſelf or his Commodities by Land or Water, from one Place to another; the Office ſhall ſhew him where Horſes, Coaches, Carts, Waggons, Boats, Ships, and Barks are to be had for all Places, and what their Hire is, or what the hundred Weight, or the Ton, and Laſt doth come to for Tranſportation.

6. The Rates of all Cuſtoms, Taxes, Impoſitions, and Duties to be paid for all Commodities ſhould be found in the Office for Information of ſuch as deſire to know the ſame.

7. If any deſire to know upon what Terms Apprentices are to be admitted in all Trades and Manufactures, the Office ſhall give them Information.

8. If any ſhould be willing to tranſplant himſelf or others from theſe Parts into any of the Weſtern or Southern Iſlands; or deſire any Thing from thence to be brought hither, or carried from hence thither, the Office ſhould be able to ſhew him upon what Terms his Deſire may be accompliſhed.

9. The Proportion and Diſproportion of the ſeveral Weights and Meaſures, throughout the Kingdom, the Office ſhould ſhew.

10. The Rates of Inſurances of all Manner of Commodities; and

11. The Weekly Courſe of Negotiation to be made, as the Cuſtom is at *Amſterdam*, for all Commodities ſhall be known by the Means of the Office.

12. If any deſire an Aſſociation for Trading, or a Factory, the Office ſhall addreſs him unto it.

III. *The Regiſter of Perſons, and Actions, in all Offices and Relations.*

IF any one ſhould deſire to know Men out of Employment, who would gladly be ſet to Work in their Faculty; the Office ſhall be able to make them known; therefore, unto this Head of Perſons, the Regiſter ſhall refer in their proper Places all ſuch as ſhall offer themſelves to be liſted for any Employment whatſoever, that, when Enquiry is made after them, they may be found out. Here then a Place muſt be: For,

1. Miniſters that want Employment, for Lecturers and Profeſſors of all Sciences, for ſuch as offer themſelves to be Tutors to Children: All Sorts of Schoolmaſters in all Languages, and all Schoolmiſtreſſes, all Maſters of bodily Exerciſes, as Fencing, Vaulting, Dancing, &c.

2. Phyſicians and Surgeons, and ſuch as depend upon them to do any Service in that Kind.

3. Secretaries, Advocates, Counſellors at Law, Clerks, Copiers of Writings, Scriveners, Sollicitors of Buſineſs, and all ſuch as depend upon the Courts of Juſtice, as the *Chancery*, *Common-Pleas*, the *King's-Bench*, &c.

4. Here alſo all ſuch as are Officers or Servants in the Families of the King, Queen, Prince, or great Noblemen, to know where they are to be found, or ſuch as may be fit to do Noblemen Service, as Stewards, Riders of the great Horſe, and all ſuch as may do Service in the Stables or the Kitchin, Comptrollers, Clerks of the Kitchin, Cooks, Butlers, Confectioners, &c. Waiting Gentlemen; Grooms of the Chambers, or of the Stables, Porters, Gardeners, Coachmen, Faulconers, Footmen.

5. Meſſengers for all Places, who ſerve the Publick as Foot or Horſe-poſts, to carry Letters or other Pacquets of ſmall Burden.

6. Here alſo ſuch as are Maſters of any Trades or Manufactures, or Journeymen and Apprentices that ſeek Maſters, are to be regiſtered, to give them the Addreſs fit for their Conveniency, when any is to be had.

7. Huſbandmen:

7. Huſbandmen and Seamen, Pilots, and all that belong to the Employments by Water.

8. Soldiers of all Degrees; Drummers, Trumpeters, Pipers, *&c.*

2. As for the Female Kind, their Memorials are to be brought into the Office by ſome Men whom they ſhould employ to that Effect; and the Office ſhall have ſome grave and pious Matrons to be employed about the Direction of all Addreſſes in that Nature; to whom the Caſes of Women (as well as the Inſpection of the Affairs of the Poor, as the Accommodation of others in their lawful Deſires and Offers) may be referred.

3. Matters of Marriage, and all Memorials for Information in that Kind are to be brought into this Head; whether of Children to be diſpoſed of, or of free Perſons who have Power to diſpoſe of themſelves.

4. If any be towards any Journey and want Company to travel withal and ſeek Society, their Memorials are to be regiſtered under this Head. And if any want Inſtruction and Intelligence of the Diſtances of Places, or of the Ways and of the Conveniencies to be had in ſeveral Places, of Coaches, Horſes, Waggons, *&c.* the Office ſhall be able to furniſh them with their Information of all this; and how to be accommodated ſo far as the Places do afford every Kind of Conveniency, and by this Means Travellers alſo will be more ſecured in their Ways and better provided for.

5. Suits in Law to commence or end them without Trouble, to which Effect ſuch Addreſs ſhall be ſhewed, as may eaſe thoſe that cannot attend their Suits themſelves (by reaſon of their Diſtance from the Places where the Courts are kept) by the Means of faithful Agents and impartial Tranſactors.

6. In caſe Rents are to be received by any in Places far diſtant from their Reſidence, the Office ſhall be able, by the Correſpondency which it ſhall keep in all Places, to procure the Payment thereof nearer at hand unto them; or in the Place of their Reſidence itſelf without Trouble.

7. Such as ſhall deſire the common Intelligence of publick State Affairs, or Occurrences of Matters of more ſpecial Concernment at Home, or Abroad, ſhall find Addreſs how to come by it to their Content.

8. Such as expect Rewards for Services done to the King or State, and know not where to pitch and what to deſire, anſwerable to what is due unto them, a Diſcovery of Degrees may be found by the Office to accommodate their juſt Deſires.

9. In caſe Sentences or Obligations be to be executed, the Office ſhall be able to ſhew in all Places of the Kingdom ſome Body, that may be employed to that Effect.

10. Perſons expert to attend the Sick: Alſo the Places where ſick Perſons may be accommodated for all Manner of Diſeaſes better than at their own Homes, with Baths, and Places to ſweat in, or for good Air and healthful Walks, *&c.*

11. In caſe any Matter is to be notified to a Friend, whoſe Abode is uncertain; as the Marriage of any to be contracted, or the Birth and Death of any, or the Arrival of any to the City, or the Change of his own Abode: Or, ſuppoſe a Paper, or Writ, or Obligation be loſt by any which another hath found; which, to him that hath loſt it, is of great Importance, and is not ſafe to be publiſhed by a Cryer for Fear of giving Notice thereof to an adverſe Party, in all ſuch Caſes the Office ſhould ſerve as a common Center of Advertiſement and Intelligence.

12. The Hours and Times of all Carriers and Meſſengers Departures to all Places; and in caſe Strangers ſhould deſire to addreſs any Thing by them, chiefly Letters or ſmall Pacquets, a Trunk or Box ſhould be in the Office kept for every one of them, wherein it ſhould be found at their Return, to be carried with them.

13. Such as would quit any Office or Charge of Benefit for ſome preſent Profit, or other Conſideration, may here find Addreſs how to compaſs their Deſires, by giving the Memorial thereof to the Office, that it may be notified to all, that may incline to entertain any ſuch Motion.

14. Such as would inform the State of any Thing to be taken Notice of, whether they will have their Names taken Notice of or not, they may be ſure by the Means of this Office to have it made known over all the Kingdom, by the Correſpondency of one Office to another in every Principal City; for the Deſign is to have a Commiſſary of Addreſs placed in every great and eminent City, who ſhall correſpond with him of *London*, and with whom the *London* Officer ſhall correſpond in all Caſes to receive and give Notice of Matters, and to addreſs Perſons and Things from one

to

to another, and to commit the Procurement of Affairs to their Truſt, and to ſuch as they may employ able to effect the ſame in their ſeveral Quarters; ſo that from any Place in all the Kingdom a Buſineſs may be diſpatched to any Place or Perſon, by the Procuration of the Correſpondent Officers of Addreſs in ſeveral Places.

15. Strangers who deſire to viſit a Country, and have no Acquaintance in any Places, may be addreſſed from one Commiſſary of Addreſs unto another, throughout the whole Kingdom, and in every Place provided for at the eaſieſt Rates, and by the Way directed unto the ſafeſt Abodes and Lodgings without Hazard of being robbed or killed, when they ſhall not need to carry any Sums of Money about with them, but only certain Bills or Tickets from the Officer of Addreſs to his Correſpondents, where he ſhall receive his Accommodation according to his Deſire. By which Means alſo they ſhall come to the Acquaintance of all Perſons of Note in all Trades and Employments, with whom they may have Converſe inſtantly without Loſs of Time and needleſs Expences.

16. If any hath a Houſe to build, and would know the beſt Maſter-builders, and where all the Materials neceſſary thereunto are to be had, the Office ſhall be able to give him Information and Addreſs thereunto with the Prices, *&c.*

IV. *The Regiſter of Ingenuities, and Matters commendable for Wit, Worth, and Rarity.*

TO the Chapters of this Regiſter are to be referred the Memorials of all Things, wherein Men put ſome Excellency, whether it be ſettled in the Soul, or Body, or ſubordinate to the Manifeſtation or Purchaſe of that, wherein Men ſtudy to be beneficial unto, or to appear before others, in any Thing whatſoever.

1. Here then, if any hath a Feat in any Science, which is extraordinary; either a new Diſcovery of a Truth, or an Experiment in Phyſick, Mathematicks, or Mechanicks; or a Method of delivering Sciences or Languages, not ordinarily known, and very profitable; or ſome intricate Queſtion and Difficulty, which he would have reſolved by the moſt Experienced in any, or all Arts: In any ſuch Caſe, if the Matter be notified to the Office, with the Tenor of his Deſire concerning it; by the Means of the Office, he ſhall be able to receive Satisfaction therein ſo far as it is attainable.

2. If any is deſirous to know the Ways by which all Degrees of Honour are obtained, or conferred in all States and Conditions of Men, with all the Ceremonies and Ritualities belonging thereunto, and the Privileges, for which in all States they are ſought after, the Office ſhall be able to give Information thereof.

3. If any would purchaſe rare Books out of Print or Manuſcripts of any Kind, or would impart that, which he hath purchaſed, unto others, freely, or upon equitable Terms, by the Means of the Office, it may be ſpeedily notified unto all what his Deſire is, and what the Things are, which he either hath to be imparted to others, or would have imparted by others to himſelf.

4. The Rarities of Cabinets, as Medals, Statues, Pictures, Coins, Grains, Flowers, Shells, Roots, Plants, and all Things that come from far, which Nature or Art hath fully produced in Imitation of Nature: If any hath Deſires to be rid of them, or to gather ſome of them together that hath none; the Office will be either Way ſerviceable to compaſs Men's Ends in them.

5. Mathematical and Aſtronomical Inſtruments, and new Inventions to diſcover the Secrets and hidden Things of Nature, if they are to be notified to others, the Office will do it.

6. The Anatomies of Creatures, or the living or dead ſtrange Creatures, Dogs, Cats, Apes, Fowls of rare Qualities, and ſuch like, if they be offered to be ſeen or ſold, by the Office this may be notified.

7. Memorials of all Things left by any for publick Uſe, and for Poſterity; with the Places where, and the Perſons to whom they are left.

8. Rare Goldſmiths Works, with all Manner of Jewels and precious rare Stones, where to be found, ſeen, or purchaſed, at equitable Rates, or otherwiſe to be made Uſe of for the Satisfaction of Curioſity, and Obſervation of Art, by the Means of this Office it may be known, *&c.*

Hitherto

Hitherto we have, with as much Brevity as could be (for, if we would have been large, a Volume might have been filled with them) ranked theſe Heads of Matters in ſome Order, to ſhew, how, by the Means of an Office, wherein all Things may be regiſtered, which by any are either offered or deſired for their Accommodation, the Society of Mankind, in a well-ordered Commonwealth, may be made flouriſhing, and as happy in the Life of Nature, as the Satisfaction of their lawful Deſires can make them. For therein, as in one Magazine or Market-place, all Things neceſſary, profitable, rare, and commendable, which are extant in ſeveral Places, and ſcattered here and there, are brought together; and expoſed to the View of every one that ſhall be willing to ſee them, that, according to his Reach and Capacity, they may be made ſerviceable unto him, and he thereby, in his Degree and Station, more uſeful unto the Publick a Hundred Fold, than otherwiſe he can be, without the Help of ſuch an Addreſs. For it is very apparent to any that will take it into Conſideration, that, beſides the private Satisfaction of any one in his particular Deſires, which may be had by this Means, ſo far as it is attainable in an orderly Way, the publick Aims alſo of thoſe that are over the Affairs of State, to reform and direct them towards the Good of all, may be infinitely improved, if they know but how to make Uſe of ſuch an Engine. He that can look upon the Frame of a whole State, and ſee the Conſtitution of all the Parts thereof, and doth know what Strength is in every Part, or what the Weakneſs thereof is, and whence it doth proceed, and can, as in a perfect Model of a Celeſtial Globe, obſerve all the Motions of the Spheres thereof; or, as in a Watch, ſee how all the Wheels turn and work one upon another for ſuch and ſuch Ends; he only can fundamentally know what may and ought to be deſigned, or can be affected in that State for the Increaſe of the Glory, and the Settlement of the Felicity thereof with Power according to Righteouſneſs.

And it is very credible, that the Stateſman of our Neighbour Nation, who raiſed himſelf from the Condition of an ordinary Gentleman, to become the Ruler of Princes; and who, by the Management of the Strength of that State wherein he lived, hath broken the whole Deſign of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in the Affectation of the Monarchy of *Europe*, and did make himſelf, and the Kingdom which he did rule, the only conſiderable Power of *Chriſtendom*, whilſt he lived in it: We ſay, it is very credible, that this Man was inabled, from ſo mean Beginnings, to bring ſo great Deſigns to paſs, chiefly by the Dexterity of his Prudence in making Uſe of this Engine, which never before was ſet a Work in any Commonwealth, to reflect upon a whole State, till he did ſet it a-foot to that Effect.

He, that is not blind, may eaſily perceive this, that it was not poſſible that his Intelligence could be ſo univerſal in all Things, as it was, and his Deſigns ſo effectually carried on, in all Places, as they were, without an exact Inſight of all Circumſtances, and a ſpeedy and ſecret Correſpondency with all Parts; and that, to have ſuch an Inſight in all Things, and maintain ſuch a Correſpondency with all Parts, Nothing is ſo fit as ſuch a Way of Addreſs, erected in all the chief Cities of every Province of a Kingdom, is altogether undeniable: Therefore it may be lawfully concluded, That by this Means chiefly he was inabled both to contrive and execute all his Undertakings.

Hence alſo muſt be obſerved, that to have ſuch an Office, in one Place, is not enough; but that there ſhould be one in every principal Place of Reſort, where there is the greateſt Concurrence of Men for mutual Society and Negotiation in every Province, that all the Commodities or Conveniencies, which are offered or deſired in any Place, may be conveyed or made known unto all Places unto which they are by any Means communicable.

Now that ſuch Regiſters in thoſe Places, and chiefly in *London*, may be kept for all theſe, both Private and Publick Advantages; Nothing is wanting, but the Countenance of Authority, that the Matter may be regularly and orderly carried on, becauſe it is not enough to intend a good Work, but the Way of carrying it on muſt be good alſo; therefore the Buſineſs is to be ordered by thoſe that are in Place of ſupreme Command; that as the Motion doth aim at the Publick Good of all, by the Benefit and Profit of every one in Particular; ſo all Reſpect may be ſhewed towards thoſe that are over the whole Body, that Nothing may ſeem to be attempted to their Prejudice. As for that which remaineth to be certified further in this Buſineſs, it is not much; only this may be added,

ded, that theſe Regiſters muſt be again and again ſubdivided, and eſpecially that ſome muſt be kept ſecret, and ſome expoſed to the common View of all. In the ſecret Regiſters, the Particularities of the Memorials are to be kept; ſpecifying Things circumſtantially, by the Names and Places of Abode of them, that do offer or deſire the ſame, with all the Conditions, upon which they are offered and deſired. And, in the open or common Regiſter, the ſame Memorial is to be kept under a general Intimation of the Matter only; with a Reference unto the particular and ſecret Regiſter, that ſuch as ſhall ſee the general Intimation, and ſhall deſire the particular Information thereof, may be accommodated therein by an Extract thereof for their Addreſs, where to find their Conveniency; and for this Extract ſome ſmall and very inconſiderable Duty, as a Penny, or, at the moſt, Two-pence, may be paid.

As for thoſe that are to bring Memorials unto the Office, ſome Patterns or Forms are to be made, and ſhewed unto them hung up in the Office, to teach ſuch as are not acquainted with the Way: How to draw up their *Memorandums*, which they would bring in. Thoſe then, that will make Uſe of the Office, ſhall be directed to come, with an exact Memorial, of that whereof they deſire either to give or receive Advice, and upon what Conditions. When therefore they ſhall come with their Memorial, if they be poor, it ſhall be regiſtered, or an Extract ſhall be given them out of the Regiſter-book for Nothing; but, if they are not poor, the Duty is to be paid for the Regiſtering, or for the Extract, which may be taken out of a Memorial; and, when they have found the Perſons to whom the Extract ſhall give them Addreſs, if the Bargain, whereof the Memorial doth give Information, be concluded, or the Effect of the Memorial be otherwiſe made void; the Regiſter is to be diſcharged of it within twenty-four Hours, and, for this Diſcharge of the Regiſter, Nothing ſhall be paid: Now the Regiſter ſhould be diſcharged of the Memorials which are made void, leſt fruitleſs Addreſſes be made to any concerning a Matter already diſpatched; and, leſt thoſe, that have received Satisfaction which they deſired by their Memorials, be troubled with new Viſitors which the Office may ſend unto them, if this be not done.

Laſtly, By all that hath been ſaid this is very evident, that this Way of Addreſs will be the moſt uſeful and advantageous Conſtitution for the Supply of all Men's Wants, and the Diſpatch of all Buſineſſes, that can be thought upon, in this or any other Commonwealth; and that this Way may eaſily be ſet on Foot is apparent from this, That to ſettle it nothing is wanting, but the Deſignment of a Place, in which the Office ſhould be kept, and an Act of Authority to be given to the Sollicitor of Publick Deſigns, whereby he ſhould be ordered to proſecute this Matter. This Act, then, might run in ſuch Terms as theſe, or the like:

'Seeing the Proviſion for the Poor, to ſupply their Neceſſities, and give them and others Addreſs unto ſome Employments, is not only a Work of Chriſtian Charity, but of great Uſefulneſs to a well-ordered Commonwealth: It is therefore ordered and ordained, by both Houſes of Parliament, That *N. N.* ſhall be a Superintendent-General for the Good of the Poor of this Kingdom, to find out and propoſe the Ways of their Relief, and give to them, and all others, ſuch Addreſſes as ſhall be moſt expedient to ſupply their Wants, and to procure to every one their Satisfaction, in the Accommodation of all their commendable or lawful Deſires. To which Effect, the ſaid *N. N.* is authoriſed hereby to appoint, firſt in *London*, and then in all other Places of this Kingdom, whereſoever he ſhall think it expedient, an Office of Encounter or Addreſs in ſuch Place or Places, as by Authority ſhall be deſigned to that Uſe. In which Places he ſhall have Power to put Under-officers, *&c.* who ſhall, according to his Direction, be bound to keep Books and Regiſters, wherein it ſhall be free for every one to cauſe to be written and regiſtered, by ſeveral and diſtinct Chapters, every Thing whereof Addreſs may be given concerning the ſaid Neceſſities and Accommodations; and likewiſe it ſhall be free for every one to come to the ſaid Offices, to receive Addreſſes by Extracts out of the Regiſters, upon Condition that the Rich ſhall pay for ſuch an Extract, or the Regiſtering of a Memorial, but two Pence, or three Pence at the moſt; and that the Poor ſhall have this done on

'their Behalf for nothing; nor ſhall any be 'bound, or obliged to make Uſe of this Of- 'fice, by giving, or taking out Memorials, 'further than of their own Accord they 'ſhall be willing.

Cornu Copia: A Miſcellaneum of lucriferous and moſt fructiferous Experiments, Obſervations, and Diſcoveries, immethodically diſtributed; to be really demonſtrated and communicated in all Sincerity. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

To the GENEROUS READER.

SIR,

IF *any thing in my Diſcoveries*, &c. *happen to be deſtructive to your Credency, I crave the Candour of your mild and gentle Cenſure, and ſo much Favour, that I may by your fair Leave illuſtrate all* Dubiums; *the Clouds of which Obſtruction I ſhall, by your Admiſſion, moſt apparently diſpel, both by rational Confirmations, and experimental Atteſtations.* Et quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne facias.

Imprimis,

TO diſcover a Certainty to raiſe two-thouſand Pounds *per Annum de claro*, with leſs than two-hundred Pounds Stock, unhazarded, and beyond Contradiction, without the leaſt Aſperſion of Uſury, Extortion, Oppreſſion, Engroſſing, or any Monopoliſing, unconſcionable or diſhonourable Way whatſoever. This Deſign may be advanced to a far greater Proportion, and exceedingly to the Good of the Publick, and may be fortified with firm and convincible Reaſons, to any that ſhall waver in their Belief.

Item, A Certainty another Way, with five-hundred Pounds Stock unhazarded, to raiſe, *de claro*, two-thouſand Pounds *per Annum* and upwards, without Aſperſion, as above, and without the leaſt imaginary Inconvenience or Prejudice whatſoever, but to the general Good, eſpecially to the Poor, with the free Allowance of all the Country; which hath been found true by the unqueſtionable Teſtimony of Experience, and will found conſonant to Reaſon, and be undeniably ſatisfactory as the other.

Item, A Certainty, with leſs than five-hundred Pounds Stock, unhazarded, to raiſe, *de claro*, one-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and upwards, and ſo with leſs or greater Sums proportionably, by even, honeſt, and generous Courſes as above. Which may be made conſpicuous, valid, and moſt compleat.

Item, To diſcover a credible Way without Charge, more than ordinary Expences, whereby an induſtrious Man, but of a reaſonable Capacity and Fortune, may contrive to himſelf five-hundred Pounds *per Annum* and upwards, without Prejudice to any, or Diſhonour in the leaſt Kind unto himſelf: Which may be made eaſy and familiar to our Reaſon, by Evidence ſtrong enough to ſilence Doubt, and procure Credency.

The like, but with ſmall Charge more than Conveniency of Livelihood, whereby a Man, of an ingenuous and generous Condition may, by compendious, facile, and conſcionable Ways, gain a thouſand Pounds *per Annum* and upwards,

wards, with as much Freedom, Sincerity, and Regularity, as with the Particulars above written, being a meridian Truth, too clear to be eclipſed by Contradiction.

Item, With leſs than fifty Pounds Stock conſtantly viſible, and no way endangered, to advance *de claro* one-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; with all Claritude and Uprightneſs. This may be confirmed to the Obſervation of any, whoſe Curioſity ſhall incline him to the eaſy Trouble of Experience.

Item, To make in all Probability with two-hundred Pounds Stock in three Years four-hundred Pounds, and in three Years more to make the four-hundred Pounds eight-hundred Pounds, and in three Years more to make the eight-hundred Pounds ſixteen-hundred Pounds, without Adventure by Sea; and ſo with leſs or greater Sums proportionably, by even, honeſt, and charitable Ways: This will reſult a ſerene and an unrefutable Truth to the niceſt Obſervation, and may be made indubitable by Arguments of Reaſon and Experience.

Item, Divers others feaſible and confirmable Tranſprencies and Expedients, of very great Conſequence and Tranſcendency, to be performed by active and publick Spirits, without any Stock adventured, but ſecured as before, and to be enjoyed by thoſe that will uſe the Means.

The following relate to the exceeding great Advantage of Huſbandry.

Imprimis, A Seed to be ſown without Manuring, in the coarſeſt, barren, ſandy, and heathy Grounds, which will be very much improved thereby, that will afford three Crops a Year, and will cauſe Kine to give Milk three Times a Day conſtantly, with full Veſſels, and to become fat withal, and to feed all other Cattle fat ſuddenly, together with Calves, Lambs, and Swine, without either Hay, Graſs, or Corn, or any Thing in relation to Corn; and likewiſe to preſerve and feed all Sorts of Poultry and Fowl fat in a very ſhort Time, as Geeſe, Turkies, Pheaſants, *&c.* and to make them lay and breed extraordinarily, and to continue all Sorts of Cattle and Fowl exceedingly healthful, and all without any conſiderable Charge, one Acre of Wheat being moſt commonly worth but five or ſix Pounds with the Charge, and an Acre of this but one Crop in three worth twelve Pounds and upwards, and in a Manner without any Charge. This (beſides what is ſpecified before) may be ſo diſpoſed of, that it might advantage every Houſekeeper throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, eight Pence *per* Week conſtantly; and the better Sort, a double, treble, and a quadruple Proportion, and upwards.

Item, Another Kind of Seed to be had, which will likewiſe afford three Crops a Year, and two Loads and a Half in one Acre (one Load thereof being worth two Loads of ordinary Hay) beſides an excellent Winter-paſture till *March*; it will cauſe Kine to give Milk as before, and will feed and preſerve all Sorts of four-footed Beaſts, and cauſe them to become fat in a very ſhort Time, without any other Graſs or Paſture; and the Seeds thereof will feed all Sorts of Poultry fat, and make them lay as before; and this may be performed in barren, ſandy, and heathy Grounds, and muſt be ſown but once, and will continue ſo four or five Years; and then this Graſs will ſo improve the Ground for four or five Years more, without Manuring, that it will afford excellent Crops of Wheat and Barley; and afterwards you may ſow the Ground with the ſame Seed again, which will hold on that Courſe both for Graſs and Corn conſtantly; and an Acre of this Graſs will keep three Cows Winter and Summer in the higheſt Condition; and the Seed of one Acre may be juſtifiably worth about ſeventy Pounds, beſides the Winter-paſture, and about ſeven Loads and a Half of Hay, which no Man will part with under five Pounds the Load, that rightly underſtands the Benefit thereof. You may keep your Swine conſtantly in a Yard, or in an Orchard, which will mightily advantage the Fruit-trees; and, by giving them only a Liquor to drink, made of what is before ſpecified, with a little of this Hay, they will become fat in a very ſhort Time, and with this Liquor only you may keep as many Swine as you pleaſe: And, as for your Kine, you need not turn them into any Graſs at all, but keep them in a Yard, or ſome little Parcel of Ground: So you may ſave all your Muck, and they will thrive the better, being kept from the Flies, which cauſe them to waſte themſelves and their Milk, and, in ſome Grounds, to ſpoil as much Graſs as they eat, by Running about. I know a Gentleman, that keeps them tied up all the Summer, as they do in Winter, and finds greater Benefit thereby; and in that Manner likewiſe he keeps

his feeding Cattle all the Summer, and feeds them off preſently, without any conſiderable Trouble, and with very little Charge.

Item, A moſt excellent Diſcovery, with one ſlight Plowing and Harrowing, or but Raiſing the Ground in the leaſt Kind, to enjoy ſix Crops in one Year, proportionable to the fruitfulleſt Graſs, and ſo conſtantly every Year, without any further Trouble or Charge at all; which is ſo wonderfully fruitful for Milch-kine, that, beſides the double Increaſe of Milk, and better by far than any other Milk, it will afford two Skimmings of excellent Cream, ſuch and ſo good, that the like was never heard of; this exceeds all other Food for Cheeſe; and, when all the Cream is taken off, the Milk will be as good again as any other in that Kind: This Seed will coſt nothing, and will ſow itſelf after the firſt Year, and will afford, in Seed, above a Thouſand for One.

Item, Another Seed, that, when Grounds are laid down, and quite out of Heart, the Graſs thereon will maintain the greateſt Sheep very luſty and fit for Slaughter, and yet there hardly appears any Thing they can eat. This Seed, being provided and ſown upon Meadows and Paſture, would mightily advantage the Graſs to very great Perfection, with the Application of the Way for Growthſomeneſs but newly deviſed.

Item, Another Seed to be had, the Graſs whereof cauſeth Cattle to give Milk in Abundance; you may ſow your dry, heathy, and barren Grounds therewith; and ſuch Land as you intend to let lie, being out of Heart, and not in a Place convenient for Muck, and, ſowing but once with this Seed, it will laſt good ſeven Years, without any further Trouble. The ordinary Burden is a Load and a Half *per* Acre; and after ſeven Years you may break it up, and ſow it with Corn, without Manuring, till it be out of Heart, and then ſow it with the ſame Seed as formerly; for it doth very much fatten the Ground, and inrich it, and will thrive extraordinary well upon dry Land, where nothing elſe will grow; and, when the Graſs and Plants are deſtroyed with the parching Heat of the Sun, this flouriſheth very much; and after ſeven Years, if not with Corn, you may ſow the Land again with the ſame Seed, and all with little Charge. The Truth is, it will laſt ten or fifteen Years. Sir *Richard Weſton* ſaith, it will be cut ſeven or eight Times in a Summer; but then the rich and fat Grounds are beſt, and thoſe that are high and dry.

Another Seed to be ſown without Manuring upon good Land, but ſomewhat looſe and light, not very dry, nor over moiſt, one Buſhel to ſix Corn will ſerve; it is to be cut twice a Year, and affords excellent Winter-paſture till *March*; and it is exceeding good for all Kinds of Cattle, as well young as old, and exceedingly fatteneth all Sorts of Cattle, and lean Beaſts eſpecially; and Horſes will grow fat therewith in eight or ten Days, and to Milch Kine it procureth exceeding great Store of Milk; after once Sowing it will laſt near fifteen Years, and the Hay will continue good three Years.

To diſcover a Graſs growing here in *England* in its natural Soil, that, being orderly huſbanded, will tranſcend Clover-graſs, *St. Foyne*, *Lucerne*, or any other outlandiſh Graſſes whatſoever.

Item, A Root ordinarily to be had, which will increaſe wonderfully with little Charge or Trouble; it will feed all Kinds of Cattle, Horſes and Swine eſpecially, very fat, as thoſe formerly, without either Graſs or Corn; and will feed Poultry likewiſe, as before; it will make very good Bread, Cakes, Paſte, Pyes, and both Cruſt without, and Food within; and will hardly be deſtroyed, once planted, but will conſtantly increaſe of themſelves; they will likewiſe grow, being cut in Slices and ſo put into the Earth.

Item, A Seed, which may likewiſe be diſpoſed of, without Plowing, upon very poor Ground deemed uncapable of any Fertility at all; which will advantage the Ground very much, and afford at leaſt thirty Pounds an Acre *per Annum*, or perform what was profeſſed before for all Sorts of Cattle, Poultry, *&c.*

Item, Another Seed, the Fruit whereof, upon the ſame Sort of Ground, though very mean, will feed all Kinds of Cattle, eſpecially Milch-kine, increaſing their Milk exceedingly, as before, and will afford two Crops a Year.

Item, Another Seed, that, being tilled but once, will laſt, without any further Labour, Trouble, or Charge, four Years; and will mightily inrich, improve, and fatten the Ground for goodly Corn four Years after, without Manuring; and is excellent for Horſes, Hunting-dogs, Poultry, and Swine; and may

may be very well rated at an hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and upwards, the Benefit and great Increaſe thereof truly conſidered.

Item, Another great Experiment in ordinary Grounds without Muck; which by a new Invention, five Acres thereof have this laſt Year afforded above two-hundred Pounds Benefit in one Acre, Rent and all Charges defrayed; and, being ſtill ordered according to Directions, will continue no leſs advantageous, and inrich the Ground very much.

Item, Trees to be had here in *England* but in one Place, which being rightly planted, though in ordinary Grounds, one Tree will in a ſhort Time afford out of the Root thirty Plants, and every one of thoſe thirty will in a ſhort Time afford thirty more; and theſe Trees are at their full Growth in twenty Years; and after ſeven Years every Tree improveth yearly worth one Shilling a Tree, until its Time be up. For Pleaſantneſs and Uſe, this Tree hardly hath its Parallel; they need be planted but ten Feet diſtant, and they much advantage the Graſs: Beſides, there is another Seed to be ſown amongſt them, that will, in ſome Places, far exceed the Benefit of the Graſs, the Trees being very tall and ſtrait, uſeful for Timber, Carts, Trays, Bowls, *&c.* being very white and tough. By thirty Pounds, depoſited in a Way concerning theſe Trees, may be returned, at twenty Years End, ten-thouſand Pounds Benefit.

Item, To raiſe Wood more in twenty Years, by new Ways lately diſcovered, than in forty Years naturally.

Item, Experienced Ways lately in Practice by divers Gentlemen, and a long Time continued by ſome of them, to preſerve and feed Horſes, for Labour and Travel, in the beſt Condition, without Hay or Corn, ſeveral Ways, and neither of them inſtanced before.

There is a Knight in the Country that hath advanced his Eſtate above a thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, by planting of one ordinary Commodity in the Country, on the coarſeſt Sort of Ground, which may be performed in ſome Places by others.

A Gentleman, by planting an Acre and half of Ground, received lately near two-hundred Pounds Profit in one Year, without Tillage. Theſe Two not hinted before, and to be practiſed by others, and the laſt with an additional Benefit.

Item, By two Sorts of Creatures ordinarily to be had, may be gained, *de claro*, above five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; and by another there hath been, and may be got, above five-hundred Pounds *per Annum*; and either of them with very little Trouble, and the Charges of all Three not conſiderable, and all to be acted within Doors.

A Gentleman in *Norfolk* made lately ten-thouſand Pounds of a Piece of Ground, not forty Yards ſquare, and yet neither Mineral nor Metal; and as beneficial Places may be diſcovered elſewhere in *England*.

To advance Ground from five Shillings an Acre to fifty Pounds an Acre *per Annum*, by Ways apparently maintainable, and not by Tillage.

Item, After ſeven Years to make twenty Pounds an Acre *per Annum* conſtantly, without Tillage, as the other, with very little Charge, and with the ordinary Sort of Ground not limited before.

Item, A Ground in *Kent*, of thirty Acres, did lately produce, in one Year, a Thouſand Pounds Benefit, without Tillage.

To make Grapes grow upon Oaks, more plentifully, as pleaſantly, and as full of Juice as any other Grapes whatſoever.

Item, To make Grapes ripe as ſoon as Cherries.

Item, Perfect Directions for a Vineyard, there having been many planted here in *England*, till moſt abuſively put down, for the Benefit of Cuſtom; the Increaſe of a Vineyard being by Computation four Tons *per* Acre, an old Vine lately in *Kent* producing near a Hogſhead of pure Wine.

Item, There is a Root ordinarily to be had, that will grow as plentifully as Carrots, that hath been formerly ſold for one Shilling the Pound, and will now ſell for at leaſt Sevenpence the Pound, not inſtanced before, being a Staple Commodity.

Item, Seven ſeveral Sorts of Seeds, that will yield either of them conſtantly above twenty Pounds an Acre, *per Annum*, not hinted before.

Item, Another Seed that will afford twenty Pounds, and upwards, an Acre, *per Annum*, Nothing thereunto belonging being edible or applicable for Health.

Item. Fifty Pounds an Acre offered this Year, in *Glouceſterſhire*, and ſo for many Acres, theſe

theſe nine being neither of the five Sorts following, *viz.* Oade, Oſiers, Rape Seed, Fennel Seed, or Saffron.

Divers excellent and new diſcovered Experiments, to avoid the Smuttineſs of Corn, and Mildews.

Out of Land worn out of Heart, and naturally poor, to have a Crop of Oats, and a full Crop of excellent fruitful Hay after it, the ſame Year, and to advantage the Ground for Crops of Graſs afterwards exceedingly.

Item, To inrich Meadows in a very high Nature without Muck, or any Courſe of Watering, and to make them yield five Times more Graſs than formerly.

Item, To make ruſhy Ground to bear very good Graſs, and to deſtroy Ruſhes, Fearn, *&c.*

Item, Another Way to make an Acre of Meadow, every Year, as good as two Acres, only by caſting a Seed amongſt it, which may be ordinarily provided for other Meadows.

Item, A Seed that affordeth, being ſown in in *Yorkſhire*, out of two Pecks and a Half, as much as was ſold for near forty Pouuds, which may be performed elſewhere.

Item, By laying out five Shillings *per* Acre, to reap it in the Pounds.

Item, When Lands are tilled till they will bear no Corn, and mowed till they yield no Graſs, to reſtore them both to good Heart and Strength, and to far greater Fruitfulneſs than ever they yielded before, without laying ſo much as a Load of Muck thereon, or without any conſiderable Charge or Trouble. And, by a Way likewiſe newly experimented, to make a barren Field quite out of Heart, or, being the laſt Year of a Leaſe, to yield an extraordinary good Crop of Corn, without Muck, and with no Charge, and but little Trouble.

Item, A late Experiment, no Way repugnant to the Dictates of common Reaſon, to cauſe Lands, by God's Permiſſion, they being capable of Improvement, to return Twenty, haply One-hundred for One, either in Wheat or Barley; and to make it moſt apparent by luculent Demonſtrations, that there hath, and may be made a greater Return by far of either.

Item, After a Man hath tilled and ſowed a Parcel of Ground, at the full Height and Charge, according to his uttermoſt Skill and Experience in Huſbandry, to undertake to diſpoſe of the one half Part of the ſame Parcel, ſo that, with the Bleſſing of God, it may happily quadruple the Benefit of the other Part; and to make the ſame Advantage of any other Field of Corn, and much more, if I may have the total Diſpoſal thereof.

Item, Directions concerning the great Variety of Compoſt for the ſeveral Conditions and Capacities of Grounds, with divers new Diſcoveries relating thereunto: The true Underſtanding and Practice thereof will, under God, inrich any induſtrious Man whatſoever.

Item, A clear Demonſtration (by Ways conſonant to Reaſon, and not formerly known or thought on, to make exceeding rich Muck in Abundance, a thouſand Loads and upwards, if you pleaſe, for all Sorts of Grounds, according to the Capacities they lie under, ſeveral Ways, with little Charge; wherewith any Man may be ſufficiently furniſhed, and ſo good, that the World cannot afford better, without the Uſe of Sheep.

Item, A very late, but a moſt certain and infallible Experiment, to be confirmed by Principles of ſound Reaſon, viſible to any dubious and unbelieving Mind whatſoever, to draw forth the Earth to her uttermoſt Fruitfulneſs, and to moiſten, fatten, and fertiliſe ſandy, dry, and hilly Grounds; and to water them ſufficiently in Times of Drought, and to make them capable of vaſt Advantages both for Graſs and Corn, and to continue them in the higheſt Condition, without carrying a Load of Muck thereunto; which Way may be enjoyed in a plentiful Manner, the Charge not conſiderable: This will likewiſe produce much Fertility to all Manner of Quickſets, all Sorts of Plants, all Kinds of Trees, and to Gardens likewiſe, being ſeaſonably applied; which may be made out clear, eaſy, and no Ways obſtructive to ordinary Apprehenſions. And theſe two laſt may be performed accordingly throughout *England*.

Item, To make the tenth Part of Seed-corn to ſerve with far greater Advantage than with the uſual Proportion.

Item, A late rare Invention, to make five Loads of Dung more effectual than twenty Loads of the uſual Compoſt, and one Acre of Ground generally to extend as far, and to be as beneficial for Corn as three Acres, and to laſt ſo conſtantly.

Item, Whereas there hath been a very great Deſtruction of Beans and Peaſe theſe late Years, by Worms and other creeping Things, Men being ignorant of any Remedy therefor,

to

to diſcover a rational and an experimented eaſy Way, generally to deſtroy them, both in Corn-fields, Gardens, and at the Roots of Trees, and very much to advantage and fertiliſe the Grounds and Trees thereby.

To make Grounds free from Rotting of [illegible], and to preſcribe Remedies to cure the [illegible] if not too far gone, and to prevent the ſame.

Item, An excellent Experiment to make Trees bear much and exceeding good Fruit.

That I know where there is now to be had five-hundred Acres of Ground intire, at eight Shillings the Acre, within fifteen Miles of *London*, whereby there may be juſtifiably raiſed eight-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and ſo proportionably with leſs Parcels, which may be performed in other Places accordingly.

Item, To make Cattle, Swine, and Poultry fat with Water only, mingled with Earth.

Item, Several excellent Experiments to help Maturation.

Item, A Sort of Ducks now to be had, that will lay two Eggs a Day conſtantly.

Item, A Sort of Rabbits to be now had (not mingled, which have been in Requeſt formerly) but ſuch as their *Skins* are, now are worth two *Shillings* and three Shillings the Skin, which begin nearly to come in Eſtimation equal to Beaver: And another Breed thereof, that are as big again as the ordinary Rabbits.

Item, Directions how a Cart may be made to draw with one Horſe as much as five Horſes; this King *James* beheld with his full Approbation, and, for the Putting the ſame in Practice throughout *England*, I had a Patent from him in my Diſpoſal.

To make Clay burn like other Fire, and to be equally uſeful upon all Occaſions.

Item, A Way to conveigh Water under the Ground, up a ſteep Hill to the uppermoſt Part of a very high Houſe, and to be uſeful at all Times, in all Offices about the Houſe, and near the Houſe, *&c.*

Item, To empty and cleanſe Rivers and Moats of all Mud, without Going into the Water, Uſe of Boats, Diverting the Stream, or Letting out the Water by Ditches, Sluices, *&c.* and with great Facility and little Charge.

Item, To make perfect Iron with Sea-coal, or Pit-coal, and to charcoal Pit-coal to dry Malt, and for divers other neceſſary Conveniencies, and to make Charcoal laſt long.

Item, To keep Cabbage, Artichokes, and all Sorts of Roots in the Houſe all the Winter.

Item, Moſt certain Directions to diſcover ſalt Springs, with the Degrees of the Brine, and how to order the Liquor, and to divide it from the freſh Springs according to Experience.

An approved Way to make old Cattle fat in a very ſhort Time, and to make their Fleſh eat as tender as the Youngeſt.

Item, To make Heifers larger, fairer, and more porportionable than their ordinary Breed.

Item, To make Starch without the Uſe and Abuſe of Corn.

Item, To make a Compoſition without Charge, which will perform all Things equal to Soap.

To make Flax like Silk.

To bring all the Fiſhes in a Pond together, *&c.* and to increaſe Store, and preſerve Fiſh-ponds ſeveral excellent Ways.

To ſtore a Pigeon-houſe, and to cauſe them to ſtay, and not to ſtray to other Houſes, and to make them breed moſt Part, if not all the Year; the Charge of Food not conſiderable.

To take red or fallow Deer, eſpecially the beſt and fatteſt in a Foreſt, Park, or ſtraggling Abroad, as eaſily as you may take Fiſh with a Bait; or, to make them fall down as if they were dead, and yet no Harm, ſo that you may approach and diſpoſe of them at Pleaſure.

Several excellent new Inventions to take both Foxes, Pole-cats, and other Vermin.

Item, To avoid Crows, Rooks, and Daws from Corn in the Sowing, or in the Ear.

Item, To cauſe all the Moles in a Field to reſort to one Place, and to take them very eaſily.

To preſerve Timber from Rotting.

To make Glew for the Joining of Boards, whether green or dry, that ſhall hold faſter than the Boards themſelves.

That by Travelling ſeveral Years for the Diſcovery of many rare Experiments, *&c.* amongſt many admirable Collections for ſeveral Infirmities happening upon four eaſy Ways for the perfect Curing of the King's Evil, and neither of them with the ſeventh Child, which are ſo excellent and (by the Bleſſing of God) ſo exceedingly ſucceſsful, that I deſire to impart them to ſuch as ſhall have Occaſion thereof.

Item, An infallible Experiment for the Gout and Scurvy, which hath perfectly cured above a Hundred.

Item, For the Stone and Strangury, which hath ſaved many Men's Lives.

Cum multis aliis, &c.

Having many other Rarities of moſt admirable Conſequence, which would grow ſo voluminous, that I am reſolved to reſerve them for an additional Impreſſion: In the mean Time, I ſhall willingly demonſtrate and impart of them, by Way of Exchange, or otherwiſe, to any that ſhall be deſirous thereof.

General Accommodations.

WHoſoever ſhall have Monies to let forth upon Intereſt, may have ſufficient Security to his Deſire, and ſuch preſent and poſitive Directions for the more ſecure Diſpoſing of his Monies, ſo far tranſcending all Manner of Adventure, that the Reſult thereof may, by many Degrees, be more ſatisfactory, and may more advantageouſly extend and conduce to his Content.

Whoſoever ſhall be provided for a Purchaſe, of what Proportion ſoever, either of Lands in the Country, or Houſes here in the City, may have ſeveral Particulars preſented to his Conſideration, and full Satisfaction to his Deſire.

Whoſoever hath Occaſion to ſell Lands, Houſes upon Leaſe, *&c.* or to borrow Monies upon Lands, Houſes, Leaſes, Rents, *&c.* may be timouſly ſupplied to his Deſire, from fifty Pounds, to five-thouſand Pounds.

Whoſoever ſhall deſire to increaſe the Talent, Divine Juſtice hath put into his Hands, and will depoſit Monies upon preſent Annuities, or for Eſtates in Reverſion, that ſhall appear, to the Eye of Judgment, exceeding advantageous, may have ſatisfactory Compliancy to the full Accompliſhment of his Expectation; or whoſoever will give reaſonable Satisfaction, for Monies during Life, may have conſiderable Sums ſeaſonably parted with, upon honeſt and conſcionable Terms.

Whoſoever hath Occaſion for a neceſſary Houſe, or ſhall deſire to be provided with convenient Lodgings, furniſhed, or otherwiſe; or ſhall be minded to be dieted, either wholly, or at Meals, as an Ordinary, of what Condition or Degree ſoever; they may have full Information and Satisfaction, with as much Content as may be expected or deſired; or whoſoever ſhall deſire to take a convenient Manſion near *London*; or within twenty Miles thereof, or Part of an Houſe, or Lodgings, with their Diet or otherwiſe; they may have ſuch Information and Intelligence, as cannot but abundantly correſpond with their Expectations: Or whoſoever ſhall have an Inclination to take a convenient Houſe or Farm in the Country, by Leaſe for Years or Lives, whereby they might continue to themſelves a convenient Competency for their Support and Livelihood; they may, in Purſuance of their Deſires, have plenary Intelligence from moſt Parts of *England* or *Ireland*; and may further, according to their Capacities, be directed and furthered to more fructiferous Employments under ſome eminent neighbouring Gentleman, that may, by Vertue of their Relation and Recourſe, happily become their Landlord, *&c.* or whoſoever ſhall be willing to part with ſuch Habitation or Place of Reſidence, of what Proportion ſoever, or in what Part of *England* or *Ireland* ſoever; by hinting their Pleaſures, all Induſtry will not be wanting, at leaſt, ſo much as may occaſion them to be Inheritors of their Deſires,

Whoſoever ſhall be minded to buy any Goods, that *London* doth afford, either for Apparel or otherwiſe, may be furniſhed at the firſt and beſt Hand, at equitable Rates, with all Clarity and Serenity, and with Forbearance of their Monies for the Preſent or otherwiſe; or ſhall deſire to have their Wants ſupplied with any Kind of Houſhold-ſtuff, at the firſt or Second-hand, as Linnen, Pewter, Braſs, all Sorts of Hangings, or other Requiſites appertaining to Houſhold Affairs; they may have their Choice either by Parcels, as they have Need; or the full Furniture of an Houſe from Executors, or from ſuch, as have Occaſion to give up Houſe-keeping, *&c.* and conſtant Information, where, with whom, and upon what Conditions they may be had. Or whoſoever, ſhall have Commodities to ſell, or what vendible Commodities ſoever, ſhall come from beyond the Seas, or out of the Country, either in great Parcels or otherwiſe, upon Information thereof, at my Lodgings; they may have divers make Addreſs unto them, and may inſtantly vend whatſoever they ſhall have remaining by them.

Whoſoever

Whoſoever ſhall loſe any Papers, Books of Accompt, or any other conſiderable Thing; whereas the Finder may deſire Reſtitution to the Owner, by leaving Notice thereof, at my Lodgings, there may happen a reciprocal Accommodation between them. Or whoſoever ſhall have Goods ſtolen, as Horſes, or any other Cattle, may by deſcribing the Marks, *&c.* with other neceſſary explanatory Obſervations, have ſuch an expeditious Courſe taken, by Poſting of Bills throughout the City, the Market-Towns and Fairs, within a conſiderable Diſtance, and by other Scrutinies for ſuſpicious Perſons about the City, together with ſuch other probable and imaginable Expedients, effectually proſecuted and purſued, as may conſequently render reſponſible Inferences of Diſcovery, how to recover their Goods again.

Whoſoever ſhall deſire to be entertained as a Gentleman's Chaplain, Tutor, Secretary, Steward, *&c.* or ſhall be capable of Preferment, eſpecially Youth, of what Degree ſoever, may have ſuch Directions and Furtherance as may very much tend to their Advancement; or whoſoever ſhall need any ſuch Servant, of what Quality or Condition ſoever, or any that would be ſet a Work in their Faculties, *&c.* they may be ſufficiently accommodated to their Deſires: Or if they need any that are expert and excellent in Teaching Muſick, Short-writing, *&c.* or any Artiſt whatſoever, or Maſters of bodily Exerciſe, as Dancing, Fencing, *&c.* they may have ſuch that will, according to the Diſpenſations, God hath conferred upon them, endeavour to ingratiate themſelves to their Eſteems, and ſome of the ſame Qualifications, that will occaſionally evidence their Willingneſs by their induſtrious Obſervancy to conform themſelves as Domeſtick, that are Men of known Truſt, Government and Integrity.

Whoſoever ſhall have Suits in Law to commence, or ſhall happen into any Kind of litigious Controverſies, Diſcordances, and Competitions, of what Nature ſoever, or ſhall be Priſoners, *&c.* they may have their Doubts explained, Matter of Fact ſtated, ſubſtantially propoſed, and methodically digeſted with ſeaſonable Directions upon eaſy Terms, without Retarding or Remora's, and with the Contribution of the concurrent Opinions and free Advice of the moſt candid and ingenuous Judgments, that will ſtand by them in their juſt Rights, and may happily addreſs them unto ſome that ſhall, without Partiality, reſume the Purſuit of the Buſineſs for them by Right, or elſe as Referendaries, *&c.* make an amiable and an amicable Compoſition and Tranſaction of the Matter for their beſt Advantage with their Adverſary in their Behalf.

Whoſoever ſhall have Debtors, that ſkulk and are latent in any Part of *England*, *Ireland*, &c. they may have ſuch real and pertinent Courſes obſerved and purſued for their Diſcovery, and for Recovery of their Debts, whereby they may be made willing, if able, for all conſcionable Performances.

Whoſoever ſhall need an Agent or Sollicitor, and ſhall deſire the common Intelligence of publick State-affairs, and other communicable Occurrences, may have all honeſt and faithful Services performed, with what reſpective Credentials and conſiderable Obligements, ſhall be neceſſarily required, in Reference and Order to ſuch Employments.

Whoſoever ſhall be minded to undertake an Office, or Place of preſent Benefit, and ſhall deſire to be negotiated in any ſuch Condition, may be ſeverally advertiſed very much tending to their future Content and Satisfaction. And ſuch that will part with an Office or Place of Benefit for preſent Profit, they may find, by Addreſs, how to compaſs their Deſires; and thoſe that ſhall be able to give Intelligence of any ſuch Office, *&c.* which may happen by the Sickneſs or Death of any Officer, or by Miſdemeanors, being themſelves not capable to execute the ſame, upon their Diſcovery, they may be ſufficiently conſidered and rewarded therefore. Or if any Man, living remote, ſhall be able to diſcover any material Thing obvious to his Obſervation, which may be advantageous to the Publick, or to himſelf, not being able to repair to *London*, to advance his Deſign; upon Intimation thereof, by Letters or otherwiſe, he may have all prevalent Advantages, effectually purſued, to promote the Execution thereof, without putting himſelf to the Charge of a great Journey at Adventure; and a condign Recompence procured out of the Benefit, which thence may accrue to the Publick, or otherwiſe, with as much Reality, and Sincerity, as if he himſelf were preſent, and able to proſecute the ſame.

Whoſoever ſhall be ſo inſtrumental to their own Happineſs, and future Content, to avoid the pernicious Effects of Ignorance in their Children, and ſeaſon their tender Years, by

endeavouring the right Framing of their Studies to the ready Attainment of Virtue and Knowledge, during their Flexibility (according to the Order of Duty, and the Talent committed to them, whereof they muſt be accountable) may, in Caſes of ſuch Importance and Concernment, have ſuch excellent Deſigns illuſtrated unto them, and ſuch obſervable Inferences for their Educations, that thoſe Parents, that are truly generous and careful of their Children's Good, cannot but exceedingly approve thereof, and very much incline thereunto. See,

Whoſoever ſhall be inclinable to travel into any Part beyond the Seas, may happily, by Addreſs, enjoy the Bleſſings of ſuch unanimous Confociation, as may moſt nearly be conſiſtent with his Diſpoſition, ſo that by a candid and ſympathetical Participation and Complacency in all Occurrences, and by the Intercourſe of mutual Friendſhip and Correſpondency, their Affections may be ſo firmly tied together in Bonds of Unity, and ſo intirely woven within one another, that they may rationate, conſult, and co-operate jointly in their Travels, and the one may, by their amicable Coherency and Combination, meliorate, improve, and be helpful unto the other in their Abilities; and may further, by Men of Worth, Knowledge, and Experience, be reſpectively intelligenced, inſtructed, and advertiſed of the Manner and Condition of Travelling into what Part ſoever, how to ſteer his Courſe with Cautiouſneſs and Circumſpection, and to order and deport himſelf in his Peregrinations for Matter of Expences, and to diſcover and decline all falſe Repreſentations, and how likewiſe to regulate and aſſociate himſelf with ſuch Sort of People as he ſhall obviate and be converſant with, and may be furniſhed with Gold for Silver upon all Occaſions, and be recruited and ſupplied with all Conveniences, whereſoever he ſhall come.

Whoſoever ſhall be deſirous to travel into *Ireland*, *Scotland*, or any Place of *England*, may, by Entering their Names, and the Time they intend to take their Journey, conſort themſelves with Company ſuitable to their Minds, and ſo paſs in a Coach together Part of the Way at an eaſy Charge; or may be directed how to convenience themſelves with Horſes to their Deſire, either by ſuch as are to be returned by the Carriers, or otherwiſe; or may know where to have Horſes at reaſonable Rates; or, if they will buy Horſes for their preſent Occaſion, they may have Notice where to fit themſelves, either from Gentlemen or Merchants here in the City, with ſuch Warranty and Content, as may be fully ſatisfactory to their Expectation.

Whoſoever ſhall have Relation to *Virginia*, the *Barbadoes*, *New England*, or any other Country inhabited with *Engliſh*, or ſhall have Cauſe to ſend into any of thoſe Places, or would inhabit, or tranſplant himſelf into thoſe Parts, he may have all Intelligence and Expedients, with as much Conveniency as may be: And ſuch here in *England*, that ſhall have Means fall unto them in any of theſe Countries, or any there that ſhall have the like in any Part of *England*, and would have Commodities tranſported from the one unto the other, or any other reciprocal Negotiation, or Intercourſe of Friendſhip, of what Importance ſoever: And ſo likewiſe into any other Country, as *France*, *Spain*, the *Low Countries*, &c. by their Addreſs and Application, according to their particular Ends and Concernments, they may have all Accommodation that may poſſibly be afforded, and Matters of conſcientious Concernments completely expedited; and, what equitable Offices Chriſtianity and Humanity may afford, they may aſſuredly enjoy with all Faithfulneſs and Serenity. *Cum multis aliis.*

England's

England's proper and only Way to an Eſtabliſhment in Honour, Freedom, Peace, and Happineſs: Or, the *Norman* Yoke once more uncaſed; and the Neceſſity, Juſtice, and preſent Seaſonableneſs of breaking it in Pieces, demonſtrated, in Eight moſt plain and true Propoſitions, with their Proofs. By the Author of *Anti-Normaniſm*, and of the *Plain Engliſh* to the Neglecters of it.

Deo, Patriæ, Tibi.

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To the READER.

Reader,

THOU haſt here once more my Endeavour for to draw this our Nation from under the Right, Title, Effects, and Badges of the Norman *(pretended) Conqueſt over us, to which, by the Iniquity of precedent Times, and the ignorant Negligence of the preſent, we remain ſtill ſubject: Conqueſt, ſaith Dr.* Hudſon, *in its beſt Attire, is the moſt eminent of Curſes; but, ſure, it is a Curſe far more eminent, to be ſo difficult to be perſuaded to come out of that Quality, eſpecially, while undeniable Juſtice, Power, and Opportunity add their Invitations: If, what is here made manifeſt, ſhall meet with due and timely Regard, and produce Effects according, we may happily recover that incomparable Freedom, Honour, Peace, and Happineſs, which we enjoyed under the glorious, and our laſt right* Engliſh *King, St.* Edward; *but, if ſuch cold Conſideration ſhall attend it, as ſeems to have befallen what hath been before ſent Abroad upon the ſame Errand, I ſhall eſteem it great Pity, and am much deceived, if either by our old, or ſome new Conquerors, we be not taught with more than Words, what belongs to ſuch as have not Capacity to be either ingenuous Subjects, or dutiful Slaves.* Vale.

Jo. Hare.

Propoſition 1.

That the Right and Title of a (pretended) Conqueſt over the Engliſh *Nation, by Foreigners called* Normans, *hath been heretofore ſet up and is ſtill upheld in this Kingdom, and that all* Engliſhmen, *by the Mouths of their Parliaments and Lawyers, have ſubmitted and do ſtill ſubmit unto the ſame, and are governed in great Part by* Norman *Innovations, being foreign Laws and Cuſtoms introduced by the ſaid* Normans *in Deſpight of the* Engliſh *People, for Marks and Monuments of the ſaid Conqueſt.*

Proof.

THAT the Right and Title of ſuch a Conqueſt is ſtill on Foot, and ſtands for the Baſis of this Kingdom, I ſuppoſe needs no Proof: That it is accordingly ſtill ſubmitted to, I have proved in my *Plain Engliſh*, Page 3, 4. a ſufficient Part of which Probation is this, *viz.* That, by the Mouths aboveſaid, we do acknowledge (how truly I ſhall ſhew in my fifth Propoſition) that the Duke of *Normandy* abſolutely purchaſed with his Sword the Crown of *England* and our Allegiance, for otherwiſe he could not be as we name him our Conqueror. *Secondly*, That accordingly we do ſubmit to his Heirs, placing him the ſaid Duke, ſpecificated with his ſaid Title of Conqueror, for the Root and *Alpha* of our rightful Kings; ſo that it is plain that the ſaid Conqueſt doth enjoy both our Acknowledgment and profeſſed Allegiance: That the *Norman* Innovations are retained, to the almoſt Exiling of our own proper Laws, is every where both * legible and viſible: That they were introduced in Manner and for the Purpoſe aboveſaid, and accordingly reſented and reluctated againſt by the *Engliſh* People, while they underſtood themſelves and their Proprieties, may appear by their many Exclamations made againſt them unto the (pretended) Conqueror, by the Acts of the *Kentiſhmen*, and by the *Londoners* Petition in King *Stephen*'s Time, which alſo occaſioned thoſe many Regal Oaths to be then and ſtill taken, though not yet performed, for retracting theſe Innovations and reſtoring the Laws of King *Edward*; ſo far are the ſaid Innovations from being any Part of our Legitimate Laws, though our wild Lawyers ſo repute them, the proper Birth or Stamp whereof is to be of the People's Chooſing, as the Coronation-Oath teſtifies: And thus much for to ſhew that, while we diſpute the Duty of Subjects, we profeſs the Allegiance of Captives; while we ſpurn at *Engliſh* Proclamations, we ſubmit to *Norman* Laws; and that, notwithſtanding all our great Victories and Triumphs, we do ſtill remain, as much as ever, under the Title and in the Quality of a conquered Nation; unto which what Reaſons we have to induce us, I ſhall ſhew in my enſuing Propoſitions.

Propoſition 2.

That the ſaid Title of Conqueſt and Norman *Innovations (while they continue in Force in this Kingdom) are deſtructive to the Honour, Freedom, and all other unqueſtioned Rights of this Nation, and much more to the preſent Legality and future Validity of this Parliament's Proceedings.*

Proof.

A Great Part of the Injuriouſneſs of this Title and Innovations, towards our Nation, I cannot better ſet forth than in the Words of Learned *Forteſcue* (cited by Mr. *Prynne* in his *Sovereign Power*, Part 1. p. 37, 38.) though himſelf a *Norman* and arguing only againſt unlimited Prerogative in the Crown, which is but Part of what is inſeparably wrapped up in the Title of Conqueſt, who havin gdeclared it to be the undoubted Right of *Engliſhmen* to have this two-fold Privilege, *viz.* To be under Laws of their own Chooſing, and Princes which themſelves admit (in which two conſiſts a great Part of their Honour and the Sum of their Freedom as I have ſhewed in my *Plain Engliſh*, p. 1.) adds, that of the Benefit of this their Right they ſhould be utterly defrauded, if they ſhould be under a King that might ſpoil them of their Goods, as our firſt pretended Conqueror did, and as the Heirs of his Title by the Law of all Conqueſts ſtill may, and yet ſhould they be much more injured, if they ſhould afterwards be governed by foreign and ſtrange Laws, and ſuch peradventure as they deadly hated and abhorred, of which Sort I have before ſhewed theſe Innovations to be. And moſt of all, if by thoſe Laws their Subſtance ſhould be diminiſhed, as it is by many of theſe Innovations, particularly that of Drawing the Generality of Lawſuits to *Weſtminſter*, for the Safeguard whereof as alſo of their Honour and of their own Bodies, they ſubmitted themſelves to his Government; thus and more he; to which I may add, that this Injuriouſneſs were yet more aggravated, if our Kings which were inſtalled by our Admiſſion, and ſhould thus patroniſe our Honour, &c. ſhould profeſs themſelves to be of Foreign Blood, declare that they owe their Right to the Crown unto none but their Sword,

* See *Daniel*'s Hiſt. p. 43.

and

and write on our Foreheads that we are their conquered and captive Vaſſals, as our Princes, while they retain the ſaid Title, do. In Sum, the Title and Effects of this pretended Conqueſt are a Yoke of Captivity, unto which while we continue our fond and needleſs Submiſſion, we renounce Honour, Freedom, and all abſolute Right to any Thing but juſt Shame and Oppreſſion, being thereby in the Quality of profeſſed Captive Bondſlaves, unto the Heirs of the Duke of *Normandy*, and wearing the open Livery of that Profeſſion. And, though we enjoy a Mitigation of our Slavery by Charters, yet are thoſe Charters revokable at the King's Pleaſure, as * King *Richard the Second* well obſerved, while the Kingdom continues grounded on the Conqueſt; which I have ſufficiently proved, in the Preface to *Plain Engliſh*, from the Tenour of *Magna Charta* itſelf (which declares the ſaid Charter to be an Act of mere Grace and Favour, and grounded upon Reſpect not ſo much of Duty as of meritorious Supererogation towards God, much leſs of Duty, though Benefit, to the Nation) and from a † Confeſſion of Parliament; and is alſo otherwiſe no leſs clearly evincible, for that it is a Maxim, that all Subjects of a Conqueſt, eſpecially while they profeſs themſelves ſuch, as we ſimply ſtill do, are in the Quality of Tenants in Villenage, ſubject and ſubſervient, in their Perſons and Eſtates, to the Will, Honour, and Benefit of their Conqueror and his Heirs, according to the Axiom in ‡ *Cæſar* (mentioned in my *Plain Engliſh*, Pag. 7.) *Jus eſt Belli ut hi qui viciſſent his quos viciſſent quemadmodum vellent imperarent.* That the Conquered are by the Laws of War under the arbitrary Rule and Government of their Conquerors; and according to the Practice in the *Turkiſh* Dominions, which are not more grounded on Conqueſt than we yield ours to be; which captive and ſlaviſh Quality, how unſeemly it is for *Engliſhmen* to continue in, eſpecially towards a *Norman* Colony, and that while they may with Juſtice and Facility come out of it, I have ſhewn in my *Anti-Normaniſm:* And as touching the conſequent § Illegality of this Parliament's Proceedings, until they either repeal this Title, or elſe renounce the Quality of *Engliſhmen*, if it ſeem not evident enough from the Premiſſes, it may be ſeen, in my *Plain Engliſh*, evinced and proved againſt all Objections whatſoever; of which Illegality, future Invalidity is both the Siſter and Daughter.

Propoſition 3.

That the ſame are alſo derogatory to the King's Right to the Crown, to his Honour, and to his juſt Intereſt in the People's Affections.

Proof.

FOR it is confeſſed on all Sides, particularly by Maſter *Marſhall* and Maſter *Prynne*, the Prolocutors of the Parliamentarians, and by Dr. *Hudſon*, the grand Royaliſt, that the Title of Conqueſt is ** unjuſt, as being gained by murderous Rapine; ſo that, while we ground the King's Title on a Conqueſt, we make him a predonical Uſurper, and defraud him of his juſt Right, founded on St. *Edward*'s Legacy, joined with this Nation's Admiſſion, beſides his Heirſhip to the *Engliſh* Blood, as I have ſhewn in my *Plain Engliſh*, Page the laſt, and in *Anti-Norman*. Page 19. And, as for his Honour and juſt Intereſt in the People's Affections, they conſiſt in his being *Pater Patriæ*, as himſelf alſo lately intimated; but the Title of the Conqueſt holds him in the Quality not only of a Foreigner, but alſo of the capital Enemy of his Subjects, and ſo affords their Minds more Provocation unto Hatred and Revenge, than unto Affection or Allegiance, as I have plainly ſhewn in my Preface to *Plain Engliſh*, and in *Anti-Norm.* Pages 20, 21; and may be diſcerned from thoſe ſuitable Fruits of it, which I ſhall hereafter ſpecify. Neither do the Innovations (the Effects and Badges of the pretended Conqueſt) want their Share in the like Effect, as being a juſt Cauſe of the Diſreliſhment and Contempt of our Laws, (ſo *Normaniſed* both in Matter and Form) by underſtanding Men, and no Doubt the

* See Mr. *Prynne*'s *S. P. fol.* 59. *b.* † See M. *Prynne*'s Citation laſt mentioned. ‡ *In Lib.* i. *de Bello Gallico.* § The Example of the Extorting of *Magna Charta* makes nothing to the Contrary, for that was done (as *Daniel*'s Hiſtory teſtifies) by the Nobility of thoſe Times, under the Notion and Quality of *Normans* and Coheirs of the Conqueſt, which Quality, I ſuppoſe, our Parliament will not, if they could, aſſume. ** Likewiſe by our own Laws, Obligations extorted by Dureſs, as is Fealty to a Conqueſt, are voidable.

Ground

Ground of that general and inbred Hatred which ſtill dwells in our common People againſt both our Laws and Lawyers.

Propoſition 4.

That the ſame have been the Root and Cauſe of all the Civil Wars (about Temporal Matters) that were ever in this Kingdom betwixt King and People, and are likewiſe, for the Time to come, deſtructive to all well grounded, firm, and laſting Unity, Peace, and Concord in this Realm, and conſequently to the Strength of the ſame.

Proof.

THE Narrative is evident from Hiſtory, the reſt from Reaſon; for how can there be Union in Affection betwixt thoſe that are profeſſed Strangers and Enemies one to another, as this Title and Innovations, the Enſigns of Hoſtility, render our Kings and People? Moreover the ſaid Title, by reaſon of the unlimited Prerogative inſeparably appendent, is apt to ſuggeſt Seeds of Tyranny to the Crown, as it hath continually done, and conſequently of Inſurrections to the Subject, to the Diſturbance of the publick Peace; which is confirmed by the ſaid many Civil Wars we have had in this Kingdom ſince theſe Abuſes were ſet on Foot, whereas before we never had any; and Weakneſs muſt needs wait upon that Body, where there is ſuch a Diſunion and Antipathy betwixt the Head and Members.

Propoſition 5.

That the Introduction of the ſaid Title and Innovations was, and the Retaining of them is, contrary to the Fundamental Conſtitution of this Kingdom.

Proof.

FOR the *Norman* * Duke was admitted as Legatee of St. *Edward*, and upon his Oath to preſerve our Laws and Liberties, and not as a Conqueror, nor yet for an Innovator, as the moſt authentick Hiſtorians teſtify; among whom honeſt *Æmilius Veronenſis* an impartial Stranger writing of this Matter, ſaith expreſly, *Non ipſi homines ſed cauſa defuncti victa exinctaque*; That it was not the *Engliſh* Nation, but the Uſurper *Harold* that was overcome, and as, in Oppoſition to the Innovations, I ſhall make more clear in the Confirmation of my next Propoſition; inſomuch that the violent Introduction of the ſaid Abuſes was, and the pertinacious Upholding of them, is an uſurpant, perjurious, and perfidious Robbing us of the Title and Quality of a free Nation.

Propoſition 6.

That the Retaining of the ſame is contrary to the Coronation-Oath of all our Kings, and to the Oaths and Duties of Parliament and People.

Proof.

FOR it is the firſt and chief Part of the proper and ſolemn Oath of all our Kings at their Coronation, as it was the firſt *Norman*'s like Oath, either at his Coronation, or at leaſt, † before his full Admiſſion and Confirmation by the *Engliſh* State, to preſerve our Laws and Liberties eſtabliſhed by St. *Edward*; which are inconſiſtent with the ſaid Title and Innovations: Neither can any Man ſay, that, becauſe the Oath binds alſo to the Confirmation of other King's Grants, therefore theſe Innovations are included; for Grants imply a precedent Aſking, and how far theſe Innovations were from ever being aſked I have before ſhewn; and moreover, the Confirmation is eſpecially limited to the Laws of King *Edward*, as being both the moſt deſired and deſirable. And, for Parliament and People, they are bound both by their natural and official Duties, and moreover by their late ſolemn Covenant, unto the Vindication of their Natural Rights and Liberties, of which the ſaid Title and Innovations are the greateſt Oppoſers, as I have before ſhewn.

* Not any Hiſtory or Record ſaith that he claimed the Crown, before he had it, as Conqueror of *England*, much leſs that he was acknowledged for ſuch by the *Engliſh*, or ſubmitted to under that Title; therefore the Aſſumption of that Title afterwards was uſurpatory: See my *Anti-Norm.* p. 15, 19.

† See Mr. *Prynne*'s Citations of Teſtimonies to this Purpoſe, in his *S. P.* p. 51, 53. and my *Anti-Norm.* p. 15.

Propoſition 7.

That, until this Title and Innovations are aboliſhed, there can be no Honour, Freedom, or Happineſs to this Nation; that the Inception of that Enterpriſe is the moſt hopeful Means for Curing the preſent Diviſions; and that there is no colourable Objection againſt the Performing it.

Proof.

FOR, until the Cauſe be taken away, the Effect is not like to ceaſe. I have before ſhewn how deſtructive theſe Abuſes are to our Honour, Rights, and Unity; while they remain, we are in the Quality of captive Slaves, and our Kings in the Semblance of foreign and uſurping Lords: And, as theſe Evils were the Cauſe of the firſt Fracture, and conſequent Antipathy in this Kingdom, betwixt Crown and Subject, ſo there can be no ſolid Cloſure between them, until they are repealed: Theſe being removed, the whole Nation, both King and People, will be reſtored into the Quality of one natural Body, which, as * *Forteſcue* hath aptly obſerved out of *Ariſtotle*, hath a ſet Form of Duty and Affection conſtituted betwixt the Head and Members. And, as touching this Work's Expediency toward Re-uniting divided *Engliſhmen*, it is evident; for, if the common Honour and Happineſs of the Nation be the Scope of their Deſigns, they have no other Highway to their End, but this. Alſo it may be learned from the common Practice of diſtracted States, whoſe uſual Remedy is the Aſſaulting of a common Enemy; of which Sort are theſe Abuſes, being a common Uſurpation, that hath a more general, hoſtile, and miſchievous Malignity againſt our Nation in it, than any other Adverſary we have at this Day, ſave that it wants Strength and Formidableneſs, for that there is no Man amongſt us hath any colourable Cauſe to defend it. Moreover, until this be redreſſed, all elſe, that is done, is but as Building of Caſtles in the Air, that have no firm Foundation, but may be blown down with the King's arbitrary Breath, as I have before proved. And, if any object the Troubleſomeneſs and Difficulty of rooting out the Innovations, I anſwer: That that Particular may be conſummated at Leiſure; that we have taken more Pains about Things of lower Concernment; and that the Reſtoration of our Rights ought not to ſeem unto us more laborious, or difficult, than did to our Enemies the Introducing of the Contrary.

Propoſition 8.

That all Engliſhmen, *that are active in maintaining the ſaid Title and Innovations, are the moſt flagitious Traitors, both to their King and Country, that ever were.*

Proof.

IT is apparent from the Premiſſes, it being alſo evident, that, in Compariſon of ſuch, *Strafford* in his worſt Appearance was a good Patriot; and, as for the Defaults of former Times in this Particular, they are not now pretendible for Excuſe; for that now Heaven holds forth Power and Opportunity far more liberally than ever heretofore, or, perhaps, than hereafter, for Aſſerting of Truth, and Eſtabliſhing of Righteouſneſs, in this Kingdom.

* See Mr. *Prynne*'s Citation of him, in his *S. P.* p 38.

Natural and Revealed Religion explaining each other. In two Eſſays. The Firſt ſhewing what Religion is eſſential to Man. The Second, the State of Souls after Death, as diſcovered by Revelation. *MS.* Never before publiſhed.

ESSAY

ESSAY the FIRST.

On the Religion eſſential to Man.

IN Religion, all true Principles muſt depend upon one only Principle; this only Principle is that of a Self-ſufficient Being.

Every Relation between two intelligent Beings is neceſſarily founded in the Nature of both. Now Religion is eſſentially no more than a Relation between God and Man. It can therefore be founded only in the Nature of theſe two Beings.

Then every Point of Doctrine, every Opinion, which is evidently oppoſite as well to the Nature of God, as to that of Man, ought to be deemed falſe, or at leaſt foreign to Man's eſſential Religion.

From hence it is plain, that the Religion, eſſential to Man, muſt be ſimple, evident, free from all Contradiction; that it muſt exclude every Thing falſe and imaginary; that it cannot require any Man to ſtrain his Belief to what ſavours of an Impoſſibility, much leſs to what ſavours of a Contradiction.

If God is Self-ſufficient, he is perfectly diſintereſted; for what is infinite can loſe nothing, as it can gain nothing. Therefore he did not make Man out of nothing to increaſe his own Happineſs; conſequently his Creating him capable of Happineſs could be for no other End, but to render him happy. If this be his End, which cannot be doubted, this End ſubſiſts invariably. God is therefore concerned for the Happineſs of thoſe Beings whom he has created.

The Concluſion from hence is plain, that, ſince God does nothing for his own Advantage, he has nothing in View but the Advantage of his Creatures; that whatever is called Religion, is reduced to this. (If it be objected to this, that the Scripture ſays, God made all Things for his own Glory: I anſwer, that it is not from the Expreſſions of Scripture we form the Idea of God, but on the contrary, by the Idea of God we rectify whatever theſe Expreſſions ſeem to aſcribe to him, that is either imperfect or contradictory;) therefore every other Idea of Religion is ſo far from honouring God, that it really diſhonours him, by ſuppoſing him to be like unto Men, who, in Conſequence of their Inſufficiency, cannot be perfectly diſintereſted.

The firſt Idea a Man has, is, that he exiſts: He finds he could not be the Author of his own Exiſtence, ſo that the Source of Exiſtence reſides elſewhere: Where muſt it reſide? It muſt be in ſome Being that has not received its Exiſtence from any other; Man, therefore, is obliged to own, that there is a Firſt, a Self-exiſtent Being. This firſt Diſcovery (which you ſee is only an unavoidable Conſequence of Experience) is ſufficient to lead him to others, I mean to more particular Ideas concerning the Attributes of that Firſt Being. As whatever we are capable of feeling, taſting, or knowing, muſt neceſſarily proceed from that Firſt Cauſe; this Idea leads us to diſcover, in the Firſt Being, not only Power, but alſo Wiſdom and Goodneſs, and this Diſcovery alſo ariſes from Experience.

Nothing is more familiar to Experience than the Sentiment of Joy; this Sentiment, which is only momentary in Man, gives him ſome Idea of a more real Felicity, whereof that which he feels is only a Specimen or Sample. From this Experience he concludes, that the Author of his Being, having made him capable of ſo delicious a Sentiment, muſt be the Source of all Felicity.

Another Thing, which he feels, leads him ſtill farther, I mean the invincible Inclination he has to Happineſs; and, as this Deſire is inſeparable to his Being, it muſt likewiſe be aſcribed to the Author of his Being; from whence he juſtly concludes, that Happineſs is the End of his Being. This Concluſion leads him to another; he finds it is not completely attained in this World, conſequently there muſt be one hereafter, which will accompliſh that End. All theſe Sentiments naturally ariſe from a Man's conſidering himſelf only, let us now introduce him into Society. He obſerves that the Earth produces all the neceſſary Things for Man's Subſiſtence, but this, being not equally divided, begets the Language of Mine, and Thine; this Language occaſions another, namely, that of Juſt and Unjuſt, True and Falſe.

When

When we hear Men ſay to one another, This is Falſe, That is Unjuſt, he enquires into the Meaning of theſe Terms. He finds that the Words *Falſe*, conſiſts in the Denying what we know to be True, or Affirming what we know not to be ſo.

That what is called *Unjuſt*, conſiſts in taking from another what is allowed to be his, or in not keeping one's Promiſe.

But notwithſtanding he has clear Ideas of what is Truth or Falſhood, Juſtice or Injuſtice, yet, upon examining Things more, he ſometimes obſerves, that Falſhood lends ſuch Aſſiſtance to Injuſtice, that Judges are ſometimes at a Loſs to diſcern who is in the Right, and who in the Wrong, ſo that ſometimes the Innocent ſuffer, and the Guilty eſcape; he then concludes, that if a Being, equitable in the higheſt Degree, ſuffers, for a Time, that Juſtice ſhould not be rightly adminiſtered, it is, becauſe he reſerves to himſelf the Care of diſtributing it hereafter in the moſt exact Proportion, when the Unjuſt, and the Murtherer, will receive the Retribution due to their Violence, and the poor and innocent Perſons, who ſunk under the Weight of Injuſtice, will receive a proportionable Recompence.

Hence we may ſee that real Religion is not ſo much above the Reach of Man, as ſome would perſuade us; for it does not conſiſt ſo much in a Knowledge acquired by the Inſtruction we receive from others, as in that we receive or attain from our ſelves by Sentiment and Experience.

But ſome perhaps will ſay, that ſuch a Religion as this founded on our Natural Faculties is not ſufficient for Salvation; this is only the Religion of Nature, which is infinitely inferior to Revealed Religion, which is not founded on Sentiment and Experience, but on Faith, ſince the Chriſtian is obliged to believe what he does not ſee.

Don't let Attachment to Words miſlead us. *Natural Religion*, ſay theſe Men, is greatly inferior to *Revealed*. This is a lame Propoſition. Here is one equivalent to it: Nature in Child is greatly inferior to Education.

The Uſe of Education is moſt certainly not to deſtroy Nature, but to bring it to Perfection. Revealed Religion ought to be with reſpect to Men, what Education is with reſpect to Children, it can only build upon the Foundation of Nature.

This being ſuppoſed, 'tis plain, Revealed Religion bears a Relation to our Natural Faculties, and ought neither to deſtroy them, or be ſubſtituted in their Room. This Idea of *Subſtitution*, which we adopt without being aware of it, would appear ridiculous in any other Caſe, as may be proved by an Example taken from Education: A School-boy has a good Natural Genius for Arithmetick, and deſires to learn the Rules of it. A Maſter gives him a Book of Sums, all done to his Hand; the Scholar then has no more to do but to believe, without Examining, the Exactneſs of every one of the Rules, being pretty ſure the Maſter is not miſtaken. I ſay this Book would in that Caſe be ſubſtituted in the Room of the Natural Capacity, which the Boy has for Cyphering. He will not exert it, as finding the Work ready done to his Hand, but what is the Boy the better for this? All that he will know is this, That he muſt believe, without knowing why, that ſuch and ſuch Figures ſo put together make ſuch a Sum.

Thus you tell me I muſt believe without Examining, becauſe God hath ſaid it; but this Examination, which you exclude, neceſſarily ſuppoſes another, or perhaps ſeveral, before I can be convinced of this. For, from my knowing there is a God, it does not follow that 'tis he that ſpeaks in ſuch a Book. That Book, ſay you, carries with it the Marks of Truth, for which it ought to be received. Very well. You no longer then inſiſt that I ſhould believe without Examining, ſince you yourſelf invite me to judge of this Book by the Marks it carries with it. But how ſhall I judge of them? By what Rule ſhall I be enabled to diſcern what you call the Marks of Truth? In order to do this, I muſt conſult the Principles of Truth, and from them form my Notion of theſe Marks.

People are undoubtedly guided by a falſe Notion, when they conſider Revealed Religion, and the Religion of Nature, as oppoſite to one another. To decide the Matter, a Perſon need only aſk himſelf, Whether the Means can be oppoſite to the End? And whether we can warrantably extol the Means above the End, to which they are ſubſervient?

Well now, allowing that our rational Man has examined, and is intirely ſatisfied by the Marks, that ſuch a Book contains the revealed Will of God; for he cannot think it ſtrange that the Deity ſhould intereſt himſelf for Men, who are the Work of his own Hands,

and that for the ſame Reaſon he ſhould employ different Means to form and perfect them, like a Father who takes Pains to form and perfect his Children; that, God having placed us amongſt ſuch a Number of different Objects, he ſhould condeſcend to warn and inſtruct us as to the Uſe we are to make of them, and that, conſidering the Shortneſs of Life, he ſhould alſo warn us of what is to be our future Portion, according to the Uſe we ſhall make of our Time here.

By examining this Revelation, he finds it exactly agree with the Religion of his Underſtanding. He finds the Author of it, *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf, declaring that both the *Law* and the *Goſpel* center in the Accompliſhment of this immutable *Law*: *Do to others as you would that they ſhould do to you.* And this he has made good by moſt of his Precepts.

But it will be ſaid, If the whole Doctrine of *Chriſt* centered there, What did he teach Men that they did not know before? I anſwer, That *Jeſus Chriſt* has (properly ſpeaking) required nothing of Men, but what they themſelves could perceive to be juſt. He appealed on all Occaſions to their Diſcernment. He never grounds his Precepts upon his own Authority, but upon their Agreement with common Senſe, upon the Force of Truth, which they are capable of feeling, when they do not wilfully oppoſe it. *If I do not ſpeak Truth*, ſaid he, *Do not believe me.* He invites Men to examine, and made the moſt Simple amongſt them Judges of his Actions.

Now ſuch is the Nature of the Underſtanſtanding, that it can believe nothing but what it diſcovers to be true. If God ſhould require Men to believe what they can't diſcern to be true, he would in that Caſe diſown the Intelligent Faculty which he has given them; Truth would no longer have any Force to convince and perſuade; they muſt become like thoſe Idols of whom 'tis ſaid, that *they have Eyes, but ſee not*, &c. If Men could believe what they pleaſe, to what Purpoſe ſhould we appeal to common Senſe, and aſk thoſe Queſtions in every Body's Mouth, *Is it not True? Is is not Juſt?* Accordingly we find *Jeſus Chriſt* ſpeaking to Men, always ſuppoſing them to have Underſtanding and Liberty. He appeals to the Underſtanding of the *Jews* againſt their Laws and Cuſtoms, which they reckoned to be moſt ſacred, ſuch as Obſerving the *Sabbath*, &c. For common Senſe would have told them, that the Sabbath muſt have been made for Man, and not Man for the Sabbath. If ſo, the Doing or Receiving Good, on that Day, would not have been looked upon as they pretended or imagined a Breach of it. He does not ſtop at the Letter of the Law we ſee, but enter into the Spirit of it; he appeals to themſelves, whether any of them would not, or ought not to take Care of his Ox or his Aſs on that Day.

But then 'tis urged, That if the Nature of the Underſtanding be ſuch, that it can believe nothing but what it diſcovers to be true, What muſt we do with the Myſteries of Revealed Religion? The Word, *Myſtery*, denotes ſomething hid, the Knowledge of which God has reſerved to himſelf; let us therefore confine ourſelves to evident and undoubted Truth; and if ſo, what would be the Conſequence of ſuch a Conduct? Would it hinder us from knowing and practiſing the Duties of Natural and Revealed Religion?

No, but we ſhould be ignorant of a great many Things. We ſhould indeed be ignorant of that Art which paſſes under the Name of *Controverſy*; we ſhould have no Idea of thoſe Diſtinctions of Words, and of thoſe Subdiviſions *in infinitum*, which have inriched Dictionaries. We ſhould be ignorant of thoſe Names of Sects, *Arianiſm*, *Pelagianiſm*, *Socinianiſm*, &c. We ſhould not have known to what a Pitch Animoſity, Rancour, Bigotry, and Ambition can be carried under the Name of *Zeal*. If we had been ignorant of theſe Things, would not the World have been a Gainer in other Reſpects? Wars about Religion, which of all Wars are the bloodieſt, had never been known. Chriſtians would have made (without theſe Controverſies) the Study of Religion to conſiſt in being good Men. The Goſpel would only lead them to that; in every Page of it, they will find Inſtructions tending to make them ſincere, equitable, and beneficent. Every Man then who ſhould be wanting in ſuch Virtues, or have their oppoſite Vices, would be deemed (as indeed they are) void of Religion. For what is called *Devotion*, would not ſupply the Place of Religion where the Fundamentals of it are wanting. Men would not damn one another then, that Privilege would be unknown to them, and they would be as little acquainted with that of Tyranniſing over the Conſciences of others.

But, if you ſet aſide *Myſteries*, Religion would be reduced to ſomething ſo very ſimple, that the moſt illiterate Men may underſtand it. What Advantage would the Learned have over them? And would it be reaſonable that they, who conſume themſelves in laborious Reſearches about Myſteries, ſhould have made no farther Progreſs than the greateſt Part amongſt the Illiterate! In Anſwer, I ſay that I know the Goſpel was preached to the Illiterate, and I know that the Religion proper for all Mankind ought to be within the Reach of the Illiterate. From whence I may juſtly conclude, that Chriſt did not require of any one to penetrate into Things which are obſcure; nay I go farther in my Belief, that what is a Myſtery to the Illiterate will, be equally ſo to thoſe Learned Men who have exhauſted themſelves perhaps in uſeleſs Reſearches. Is this a Conjecture only? Not in the leaſt. Theſe Learned Men have multiplied Contradictions, in Proportion as they attempted to explain thoſe Myſteries. Therefore let thoſe who are Lovers of Truth embrace in its full Force this Maxim: *Things which are hid are to God, but Things revealed are to us, and to our Children, to do them.*

Whenever we put this Queſtion to ourſelves, What is the End, or Deſign of Religion? The moſt natural Anſwer that occurs is, That Religion is intended to make us good Men, that is, upright, equitable, beneficent, ſincere, or true in our Diſcourſe, as well as in our Conduct; this Anſwer all Chriſtians unanimouſly approve of. If this be the End, as we are all agreed in it is, muſt we, before we are capable of attaining it, know thoroughly all the different Senſes which are put upon the different Paſſages in Scripture? And alſo which is the true genuine Senſe? But perhaps my whole Life would not be ſufficient for ſuch a Study. At what Time then muſt I begin to be a good Man? From hence I may ſafely conclude, that the eſſential Part of Religion is Uprightneſs and Sincerity, and the acceſſory Part is a Knowledge of particular Things offered to us in Scripture.

When a Thing contains two Parts, the one eſſential, the other acceſſory, in order to know which Part is eſſential, if you cut off one Part, and, by ſo doing, you do not deſtroy the Eſſence of the Thing, then it is plain, the Part cut off is only acceſſory.

Now I aſk: If you remove from the Idea of Religion that Fund of Uprightneſs abovementioned, and place in its Room all the acquired Knowledge, which the written Revelation offers, What would happen? Would a Man, in this Caſe, have any Religion? On the other Hand, If you remove from Religion that acquired Knowledge, and ſubſtitute in its Room a Fund of Uprightneſs, as before deſcribed, I aſk, Whether ſuch a Man would be void of Religion?

It may, however, and ought to be obſerved, That what is only acceſſory, with Reſpect to one Man, may be eſſential in Reſpect to another; for, if Sincerity requires me to aſſent to every Truth, that is either ſenſible, or evident, all the Truths, which appear to me as ſuch, become eſſential with Reſpect to me.

Let us now proceed to ſhew how this eſſential Religion is to be practiſed. The Compariſon, we are apt to make upon all Occaſions, between the Supreme Being and thoſe Men we call *Sovereigns*, is apt to lead us into numberleſs Miſtakes. Chriſtians, by it, are accuſtomed from their Infancy to conſider Religion as ſomething by which God is honoured: So early do they fancy to themſelves, that, when they pray to him, or praiſe him, he is much obliged to them for it; and that, by giving Alms, and doing what we call *good Works*, they honeſtly purchaſe Heaven.

If afterwards they do not think ſo groſly, this Opinion ſubſiſts in the main, though, perhaps, ſo ſecretly, that they themſelves are not aware of it. We find our common Diſcourſe receive ſome Tincture from this Opinion; we talk of Glorifying God, and Paying him the Homage that is due, as a Thing advantageous to him; we inſinuate, that he muſt be highly offended (not to ſay affronted) by thoſe who refuſe to pay him this Homage.

The uſual Diſtinction between what we owe to God, and what we owe to ourſelves, gives many People Room to make ſeparate Articles of them. They give him his Portion, if we may uſe the Word; they ſet a-part a certain Time for Worſhiping him; in ſhort, they render unto God what they think is his Due; ſo that it would be hard to convince many People, that this Part of Religion, which ſeems only to relate to God, does, like all the reſt, tend ſolely to the Advantage of Man: For, if, according to the Foundation-Principle here laid down, God is a Self-

a Self-ſufficient Being, our Worſhiping him can benefit none but ourſelves.

Yet, What ſtrange Metamorphoſes ſome People imagine are produced by Devotion! During theſe happy Minutes, an unjuſt Man puts on Sentiments of Equity, a ſevere Man Sentiments of Humanity, a proud Man Sentiments of Humility. Now let us examine, whether there is any Thing in all this, whether we do not impoſe upon ourſelves. *Sentiments put on!* Does not this Phraſe ſeem to imply a Contradiction? Is it in a Man's Power to aſſume what Sentiments he pleaſes? No, but he may ſtrongly imagine them; and theſe imagined, not to ſay imaginary Sentiments, is called *Putting on*, becauſe the Appearances of them are put on, and afterwards we are apt to take it for Reality.

What proves them to be merely borrowed is, That we are preſently ſtripped of them. This is experienced in Seaſons of high Devotion; which as ſoon as over, the very next Day we find, that we are no longer the ſame Men which we believed ourſelves to be, the Day before; and yet it is in theſe Efforts of Devotion, that many People make their Chriſtianity to conſiſt. They complain, and blame themſelves for their Lukewarmneſs, and that Want of Fervency, which they ought to have, but not their Neglect of Practiſing the Duties flowing from Beneficence: Lament, above all, the Badneſs of their Memories, in not Retaining the good Things which they read and hear, but neglect to blame themſelves for not Performing the Duties they do remember. Theſe borrowed Sentiments, on which they ſet ſo great a Value, is what makes them neglect the Study of themſelves. They torment themſelves about what is not in their Power, and oftentimes neglect what deſerves their greateſt Attention.

No imaginary Effort can deſerve the Name of *Virtue*, for Virtue muſt have Truth for its Foundation. I aſk, Can a Man, that is ſix Feet high, perſuade himſelf that he is but four?

It is plain, our Paſſions cannot be commanded; we cannot love, hate, or fear, purely by being bid to do it. But then, ſay you, If the Paſſions are not under Command, if Love, for Inſtance, is not to be commanded, becauſe the Heart is framed in ſuch a Manner, as not to love any Thing, but what appears amiable to it, What ſhall we do with ſeveral Precepts of the Goſpel, injoining us to love our Neighbour as ourſelves, *&c.?* Muſt we ſuppoſe, that the Goſpel commands us to do a Thing impoſſible? Or muſt we blindly ſuppoſe, that it is poſſible for us to love, upon Command? Surely, neither one, nor the other. The firſt Suppoſition would be injurious to the Author of the Goſpel, the ſecond oppoſite to the Laws of Nature: What Medium muſt be then taken? It is plain, Nature and the Goſpel have but one and the ſame Original: When, therefore, I read, *Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thyſelf. By this ſhall all Men know, that ye are my Diſciples, if ye love one another:* Let us examine into the other Parts of the Goſpel, and the Difficulty will ſoon ceaſe; we there ſhall find other Commands of the ſame Import, where the Difficulty above-mentioned will quickly vaniſh. Here is a Propoſition will do it: *All Things, which ye would that Men ſhould do to you, do ye alſo to them in like Manner; for this is the Law and the Prophets,* Are we not, by this, commanded to be equitable, or to endeavour to be ſo? Without Diſpute, we are. Here, then, the Voice of the Goſpel and that of Nature are but one and the ſame Voice; conſequently, we cannot refuſe our Aſſent to it, there is no Room here for the Pretence of Impoſſibility. So that, you ſee, in this Senſe, it is not impoſſible to obey our Saviour's Precept of Loving our Enemies; and he himſelf ſhews you how to do it, by doing Good to them that hate you. Now, it is plain, we can eaſily conceive a Difference between *Loving one*, and *Doing Good to him:* If the former is not in our Power, the latter ſurely is; for, to love any one, we muſt think him poſſeſſed of ſome amiable Qualities, whereas, to do Good to him, it is ſufficient if we ſee him in Want of it.

To conclude as I began: I ſay, That, in true Religion, all that are called the *Duties of Men*, whether relating to God, to our Neighbours, or ourſelves, when ſtrictly conſidered, melt as it were into one another, and all tend to procure him Good, and that Happineſs for which he was made. For, ſeeing God is a Self-ſufficient Being, he does nothing for his own Advantage; he can have no other View, than the Advantage of his Creatures: Therefore whatever is called *Religion* is reduced to this; any other Idea of Religion is ſo far from Honouring God, that

it

it really diſhonours him; for, otherwiſe, you ſuppoſe him to be like unto Men, who, in Conſequence of their known Inſufficiency, cannot be perfectly diſintereſted.

From hence it is evident, even to a Demonſtration, That the Principle of a Self-ſufficient Being is ſo far from Ruining Religion, that it is the real Baſis of it; it is ſo far from Deſtroying Morality, that it comprehends the ſtrongeſt Motives to it: For the Self-ſufficient Being, having no Need of his Creatures, has, in what we call *Religion*, no other Intereſt in View, but theirs; no other Aim, but that of Making them happy; which was the ſole Deſign of his Creating them, all his Laws having the ſame Tendency.

Agreeable to the forgoing Abſtract or Plan of the Chriſtian Religion, let us now conſider the State of Souls after Death as diſcovered to us by Revelation.

Mankind are agreed that the Ideas of *Goodneſs* and *Juſtice* are inſeparably connected with the Idea of *God*; but our Cuſtom of ſettling theſe Attributes in Oppoſition to each other, is a Proof that we are Strangers to their Nature.

We uſually ſay, that Juſtice gives Way to Goodneſs, or Goodneſs gives Place to Juſtice; and hence imagine, that they are ſo far from being one and the ſame, that there is even a conſiderable Diſtance between them. If we ſurvey them in another Light, and trace them up to their Origin, we ſhall find that Goodneſs is, as it were, the Center of Juſtice, the latter loſing itſelf in the former.

Let us then repreſent to ourſelves the infinite Being in the Eternity, prior to the Exiſtence of Time, before any Creatures came out of his Hands. Let us repreſent to ourſelves this Being Self-ſufficient deſigning to form intelligent Beings; let us ſuppoſe ourſelves acquainted with this Purpoſe, before it was put in Execution: What can we preſume concerning the State of theſe new Beings, that are to come from the Hands of a perfectly happy Being, but they will be rendered as happy as their finite Capacities will admit of?

For the perfectly happy Being, wanting nothing for himſelf, cannot create Beings with a View of making Addition to his own Felicity; it muſt then be to make them happy as he himſelf is, in Proportion to Finite and Infinite. Hence it follows that the Idea of infinite Goodneſs is inſeparable from that of an infinitely happy Being; the pure and perfect Good cannot do, or confer, any Thing but what is good, and, did it communicate any Thing elſe, it would be inconſiſtent with itſelf.

This Idea of *Goodneſs* in the Deity is a poſitive one, which *Juſtice* is not; Equity therefore conſtituting without Diſpute the Eſſence of Juſtice, I would ask whether infinite Goodneſs and perfect Equity do not harmoniouſly agree? And whether they can be ſet in Oppoſition?

Hence it follows that the Effects of ſovereign Goodneſs are never ſuſpended, but that we even ſhare of them when under Puniſhment; ſome Reſemblance we ſee of it in the Chaſtiſements that parental Affection inflicts. Thus the Deity, by the ſmall Portion of Benevolence we feel in ourſelves, invites us to judge how far his own immenſe Goodneſs may reach.

Now let us ſuppoſe that a Man who has this Idea of infinite Goodneſs, but has never heard Talk of a miſerable Eternity, How do we imagine ſuch a Man would reliſh the firſt Propoſal of it? What Horror would not ſuch an Image give him? He would conclude that thoſe, who admit of ſuch a State, have a God different from his; that they were never acquainted with the immenſe Goodneſs of the ſupremely happy Being. He would even conjecture, that thoſe, who eſpouſe this Opinion, feel not within themſelves thoſe Characters of Beneficence which are inſeparable from Human Nature.

In Reality, this ſtrange Opinion degrades the Divine Goodneſs, and places it below Human Goodneſs. For it ſuppoſes that God could not foreſee what would befall the Work of his own Hands; that he ventured to give Being to an infinite Number of Creatures, without any Certainty of being able to make them happy.

It will be granted, that this Plan is worthy of God, and its End above all fully ſatisfactory; but ſtill it may be objected, That, in order to arrive at this happy End, there is a terrible Interval; the unavoidable Miſeries of the preſent Life are light, and will ſoon have an End; but the additional Proſpect of future Sufferings, the End of which we know not, is terrible; Would it not be more worthy of immenſe Goodneſs to exempt Men from all Manner of Puniſhment after this Life, ſince they

they were formed and infallibly deſtined for Bliſs? Why does not that now happen, which one Day will certainly be brought about?

This Queſtion amounts to the ſame as that concerning the Fall of the firſt Man: Why did not God prevent his Making that Uſe of his Liberty? Or rather why did he create him a free Agent? For a confined Liberty is no Liberty. Such Difficulties as theſe take their Riſe from our Ignorance, and our ſhort-ſighted Views of Things. A Being without Liberty would no longer be a Man, and then we might ask, Why God thought fit to make Men? Now let us return to ſomething certain.

It is certain, that infinite Goodneſs cannot make a Preſent of any Thing to Man, but what is for his Good. Since therefore Man is endowed with Liberty, and that this might prove prejudicial to him, it neceſſarily follows, that it is in itſelf ſo eſſential to Man's Nature, that Divine Wiſdom could not diveſt him of it, without diveſting him of the Quality of Man.

We likewiſe clearly ſee, that the Good, accruing to him from it, muſt infinitely ſurpaſs the Damage he may poſſibly ſuſtain from it; without which we may preſume that Divine Wiſdom and Goodneſs would never have made him a Preſent of ſo pernicious a Nature.

Let us now examine whether the Scripture contradicts this Notion. Indeed, there are repeated Expreſſions of *Eternal Fire*, and *the Worm that dieth not*, &c. But are not the Terms, *Eternal*, *Eternity*, and *Never*, very equivocal, both in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, moſt commonly ſignifying a long Period of Time, and ſometimes an indefinite Time? It is ſaid the Slave ſhall continue in his Maſter's Houſe *for Ever*; and *Jeremy* ſpeaks of the Temple and Sacrifices, as of Things that *Never* were to be aboliſhed. God ſwore to *David*, that a Succeſſor upon his Throne ſhould *Never* fail.

Now let us agree upon an inconteſtable Principle for Underſtanding the Scriptures. It contains Truths which we may call *Eternal* and *Unchangeable*, which are the Foundation of all the reſt, independent of Expreſſions, Figures, Parables, &c. of this Sort are the Spirituality, Eternity, Omnipotence of God, and whatever elſe we can know of his Perfections. Next to theſe, which ſerve as a Foundation to all the reſt, we find in Scripture God's Deſign of ſaving Men through his Son. Theſe Truths, which are the Baſis of all Religion, and as there are in Scripture a prodigious Number of figurative, allegorical, equivocal, and even contradictory Expreſſions, Muſt we not then judge of their true Senſe, not by what the Words ſeem to import, but by thoſe unſhaken Truths that never can vary?

Thus we ſee the *Spirituality* of God takes away the literal Senſe of his *Eyes*, *Hands*, *Noſtrils*, &c. in like Manner his *Sanctity* will not allow us to aſcribe to him the Paſſions of *Wrath*, *Jealouſy*, *Fury*, and *Partiality*. Thus this unerring Rule is applicable to a thouſand Places in Scripture, and would clear up abundance of Difficulties, if rightly applied.

Let us try it upon the preſent Subject: What ſupports the Eternity of Hell-Torments? Why only three or four Expreſſions of *Eternity*, *the Worm that never dieth*, &c. which may be taken in different Senſes. But what ſupports the contrary Opinion? Why, thoſe very unchangeable Truths which are the Baſis of all Religion.

God is Wiſe, Juſt, and Good. Juſtice is not oppoſite to Goodneſs, nor Goodneſs to Juſtice. I go a Step farther, and ſay they are ſo inſeparable, that we cannot ſuppoſe a Man to be Juſt, unleſs he is Good, or Good unleſs he is Juſt. In God Goodneſs and Juſtice are boundleſs. If God's Juſtice is not attended either with Hatred, Fury, or Revenge, but is inſeparable from infinite Goodneſs, Can we conceive it will condemn Millions of Creatures, formed after God's own Image, to dreadful and never ending Miſery, and even doom them to the Hatred of God, to Rage, to Deſpair and Blaſphemy to all Eternity? May we not rather on the Contrary ſay, that the chief Buſineſs of this Sovereign Juſtice, is to make Juſt whatever is Unjuſt, and render the Crooked Straight? What is more unjuſt and contrary to the Views of the Creator, than that Myriads of his Creatures ſhould for ever hate him? Once more I aſk, Can Sovereign Juſtice will Injuſtice, or permit it to ſubſiſt to all Eternity?

Let us now proceed to conſider the Deſign of *Jeſus Chriſt's* Coming into the World; the New Teſtament tells us, in almoſt every Page, that it was *to ſave all Men*. And is it not ſurpriſing that the Expreſſion, *All Men*, ſo often repeated, ſhould make no Impreſſion on the Minds

Minds of Men, while thoſe of *Eternity* and *for Ever* have been received without Reſtriction. The *Particulariſts* tell us by *All Men* is meant the *Elect* only. The *Univerſaliſts* ſay 'tis an Offer of Grace to all Men. But thoſe *Univerſaliſts*, that are againſt the Eternity of Hell-Torments, think that God's Declaring his Deſire, *that all Men ſhould be ſaved*, will accompliſh it in its utmoſt Extent. It expreſſes, ſay they, a poſitive Will, which ſooner or later will have its Effect, and not a bare Wiſh that all Men may be ſaved.

No ſooner did *Adam* fall, but the Promiſe of Salvation was made to him and his Poſterity. St. *Paul* is very expreſs on this Subject: *As in* Adam *all die, ſo in* Chriſt *ſhall all be made alive.* This Proof I think is exceeding ſtrong, by the Compariſon made between *Adam* and *Chriſt*. Therefore, as it is paſt Diſpute, that in *Adam all die*, ſo it is unexceptionably true, that in *Chriſt all ſhall be made alive.* But what the Apoſtle ſubjoins is a Proof, that this will happen at very different Periods: *But every Man*, ſays he, *in his own Order*; *Chriſt the Firſt-fruits, afterwards they which are Chriſt's at his Coming.* 'Tis plain, by this Coming, he means the laſt Judgment, and, by thoſe that are *Chriſt's*, the Souls of the Juſt. Nevertheleſs, he afterwards ſpeaks of another future Period, which he calls the *End: And then the End ſhall come, when he ſhall have delivered up the Kingdom to God, even to the Father.* But what is this End? *That all Things ſhould be ſubjected to him.* But is it a forced or a voluntary Subjection? If the Former, he would never ſpeak of it as a Thing to come, becauſe, from the Foundation of the World, all Things are ſubject to him. If the Latter, there is no more Hell. What follows ſeems to prove this clearly: *The laſt Enemy that ſhall be deſtroyed is Death.* Is the Separation of the Soul from the Body the Death here meant? No, for after the Coming of Chriſt there is no Room for that Death.

Another Proof, that the Death here mentioned is not temporal Death, is, that St. *Paul* ranks it with the Enemies of God, over whom *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhould reign till they were all deſtroyed; temporal Death is no Enemy, but an Agent in God's Hands to execute his Orders, but 'tis ſpiritual Death which is called *Enmity againſt God*, a Rebellion of the Creature againſt the Creator; 'tis this Death to which the Title of *Enemy* perfectly agrees.

Now, when Chriſt hath delivered up his Kingdom to his Father, then God is ſaid to be *All and in All.* Now theſe Words could have no Senſe, if Hell-Torments were Eternal. God can never be *All and in All*, but by reſtoring the Order of Things. Indeed, theſe Words are an irrefragable Argument for the Abolition of Sin and Hell, and the Reſtoration of all the Creatures; which is farther confirmed by St. *Paul's* Exclamation, *O Death, where is thy Sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory?* Now if Death and the Grave have no other Sting but Sin, and this Sting muſt be deſtroyed, Does it not follow that Hell muſt be deſtroyed alſo? Since 'tis certain that, if Sin were killed in Men, there would be no Hell.

This Chapter alone affords ſufficient Arguments for the Support of this Doctrine, but we will not intirely ſtop here. In the Second of *Hebrews*, 'tis ſaid that *Jeſus Chriſt taſted Death for all Men.* And elſewhere, *That he is made the Propitiation for the Sins of the whole World*, and *that every Knee ſhall bow at the Name of Jeſus, of Things in Heaven*, &c. I ſhall only dwell a little on the laſt Verſes of the Fifth of the *Romans*, that are very clear in this Caſe, where the Apoſtle compares *Jeſus Chriſt* to *Adam*, and alſo the Fruits we reap from each: *As by one Man Sin entered into the World, and Death by Sin, ſo that Death is paſſed upon all Men: In like Manner, by the Righteouſneſs of one, the Gift is come upon all Men to Juſtification of Life.* For adds he, *As by the Diſobedience of one Many*, &c. This Word, *Many*, here undoubtedly comprehends all Mankind. All were made Sinners by *Adam*, therefore all ought to be made Righteous by *Chriſt.* And here we may very juſtly apply that excellent but abuſed Text, *Where Sin did abound, Grace did much more abound.* That is, The Grace of *Chriſt Jeſus* is ſo abundant that it ſhall at laſt deſtroy the Sins of all Mankind, ſo that, as Sin has reigned unto Death, in like Manner Grace ſhould reign by Righteouſneſs unto Eternal Life. As if he had ſaid, The Reign of Sin and Death muſt come to an End, to make Room for that of Grace through all Eternity.

Let us now, after having conſidered the End of Chriſt's Coming, in Support of this Subject, examine the Nature of Juſtice. At the End of the Second Commandment, we find a poſitive Declaration of the Eternal Laws of Juſtice and Mercy. In the firſt Part God ſhews himſelf

ſelf as a powerful and jealous God, puniſhing Iniquity to the fourth Generation; but, in the laſt, he is repreſented as exerting Mercy to Thouſands of Generations. Doth not this ſhew plainly, that Juſtice in his Puniſhments is reſtrained within certain Bounds, whereas Mercy knows no Limits? To this it may be objected, If Bounds be ſet to the Divine Juſtice, what becomes of its Infinity? I anſwer, that Divine Juſtice, conſidered in itſelf, is without Bounds; but its Infinity does not conſiſt in Puniſhing without Bounds, but in being infinitely equitable, entering into an infinite Detail of what can render every Creature, more, or leſs, culpable, and more, or leſs, pardonable, in weighing with a perfect equal Ballance, not only Actions, but particular Intentions, Motives, Knowledge, Circumſtances, Temptations; in a Word, in entering into the infinite Proportions of Rewards and Puniſhments, ſo that it incline not to one Side more than another. Now, was it to puniſh infinitely, there muſt needs be a heavier Weight in the Scale of Rigour, than in that of Clemency, which cannot ſuit with the Idea of Juſtice.

The firſt Verſe of the cviiith *Pſalm* is, as it were, an Abridgment of the Whole, ſaying, *O give Thanks unto the Lord, for he is good, becauſe his Mercy endureth for ever.* What does this Declaration tell us? That immenſe Goodneſs is not confined to the ſhort Space of this Life; ſince it endureth for ever, it muſt certainly be employed in the Life to come, for the Benefit of ſuch Subjects as ſhall be capable of receiving its Influence. But who are thoſe Subjects? The ſame *Pſalm* is very expreſs on that Article. They are ſuch as, having been Rebels againſt God, have been humbled, mortified, and cruſhed by his Juſtice, who have felt inexpreſſible Anguiſh on the Account of their Tranſgreſſions. But then here follows one of the ſtrongeſt Expreſſions againſt the Eternity of their Torments: *He will not always chide, nor keep his Anger for ever.*

But, granting my Arguments for a Reſtoration be true, I have made this Objection to myſelf: To what Purpoſe is it to ſet in too clear a Light Truths that may poſſibly encourage Licenciouſneſs and Remiſſneſs? Would it not be better to have Mankind in an Error, that may be a Means to awaken their Attention, and lead them to Virtue? I own that the Knowledge of this Truth is not abſolutely neceſſary. We may reſt ſatisfied with the Speaking of Hell in the Terms of Scripture, and leave every one to explain them in the Senſe he likes beſt. However we don't find, that the Opinion about the Eternity of Hell-Torments produces any very remarkable Effect, or proves a ſufficient Curb to prevent Mankind's Going on in wicked Courſes. The Fear of a violent Diſtemper, of twenty or thirty Years Continuance, would make a deeper Impreſſion on them. What can be the Reaſon of this amazing Indifference about an Evil of ſo deſperate a Nature, which they profeſs to believe, and yet do nothing towards avoiding it? It is true they imagine they believe it, but ſee how they make themſelves eaſy! Every one is perſuaded that he himſelf is not of the Number of the Wicked, whoſe Portion ſhall be in the Lake of Fire and Brimſtone; they cannot conceive, if they be not notoriouſly wicked, that God will condemn them to frightful and endleſs Torments. They are ſenſible, indeed, that they are guilty of ſeveral Faults; but, Where is the Man, ſay they, without Sin? Beſides, for theſe they aſk Forgiveneſs daily; and what are the Merits of Chriſt good for, if they do not deliver Men from everlaſting Miſery? Nay, even Sinners of the firſt Magnitude hope to eſcape Hell, either by repenting, as they propoſe to do ſooner or later, or through the infinite Mercy of God; for it is as eaſy, ſay they, for God to pardon the greateſt as the leaſt Sinners; by a ſingle Act of his Will he can make a Creature happy for ever, or let him periſh eternally; ſurely then he will not chuſe the laſt, becauſe that would ſuppoſe Cruelty in an infinitely merciful Being. Thus it is plain, that, the more terrible Hell becomes, by ſuppoſing it Eternal, every one more eaſily perſuades himſelf that Divine Mercy will exempt him from it.

Hence it is evident, that the greater Number of Chriſtians, who profeſs the Belief of the Eternity of Hell-Torments, are ſo far from uſing it as a Motive to Holineſs, that it is only made a Handle to Sloth and Security. This may ſeem to be a Paradox, but it is no hard Matter to explain it.

For, the greater Diſproportion the Puniſhment Men are threatened with ſeems to have, either with their Crimes, or the Ideas they form to themſelves of the Mercy of God, the more confidently they perſuade themſelves that Eternal Fire will not be their Lot. But, if inſtead

ſtead of determining the Duration of the Torments which Sinners muſt undergo, we ſhould reſt ſatisfied with telling them what we find in the ſecond Chapter to the *Romans*, *That there ſhall be Tribulation and Anguiſh upon every Soul of Man that doth Evil*; and that in ſo juſt a Proportion, *that every one ſhall bear the Puniſhment of his Iniquity, and ſhall eat the Fruit of his Works*: It would then be impoſſible for the Conſcience of the moſt Profligate not to acquieſce in this Judgment, nor could any one flatter himſelf with Impunity under any Pretext whatever. This unchangeable Truth, *That God ſhall render to every Man according to his Works*, ſo often repeated in Scripture, is written in indelible Characters on the Conſciences of all Men. They all know that the Idea of Proportion is inſeparable from that of Equity; no Proportion can be found betwixt a wicked Life, of a few Years, and eternal Torments: Nor is there leſs Diſproportion found between ſuch Puniſhment and boundleſs Mercy.

By this Time we ſee, that the Objection againſt making known this Doctrine dwindles almoſt into nothing; nay, if we compare the Effects ariſing from the two Opinions, Which is moſt likely to be productive of Good? Perſons in the firſt Caſe are only actuated by ſervile Fear, which makes them eaſily ſatisfied, if they forſake ſcandalous Sins, which put them in Fear of Hell; therefore, when once they come to lead a good Life according to the World, they fancy themſelves intirely ſkreened from eternal Damnation, ſo that they need not give themſelves any farther Trouble; they are content with the loweſt Place in Paradiſe; and, provided they do but eſcape Hell, they aſpire at nothing more. But thoſe that are actuated by the ſtrong Impreſſion of this Truth, *That God will render to every Man according to his Works*, are ſet to Work after another Manner: They know that God cannot be mocked; but that, whatever a Man *ſows*, that ſhall he *reap*. Does not St. *John* ſay (which is the Summary of all that I have ſaid) *We know, when the Son of God ſhall appear, we ſhall be like him, and ſhall ſee him as he is; therefore every one that hath this Hope, purifieth himſelf, even as he is pure.* We cannot ſee God as he is, without being like him; it is impoſſible to be like him, without being purified not only from Acts of Injuſtice, but alſo from the whole Source of Wickedneſs which is as it were incorporated with us; therefore ſuch as in this Life have only touched on, or begun this great Work, muſt certainly continue it in the next till they become like *Jeſus Chriſt*, otherwiſe they cannot ſee him as he is. If it be objected that there is no Condemnation for thoſe who are in *Chriſt Jeſus*: My Firſt gives a Solution to this Difficulty, *viz.* That God, properly ſpeaking, does not puniſh Men, but leaves them to reap the Fruits of what they have ſown.

Upon this Principle it muſt be obſerved, that the Souls which after this Life ſuffer Torment, proportioned to the Evil which is in them, do not paſs into that State of Suffering by a Sentence poſitively pronounced by God. God has no Torment to inflict upon his Creatures; Whence then can they proceed? I anſwer, which cannot be too often repeated, from themſelves.

I aſk, What is *Sowing to the Fleſh?* It is Gratifying our vicious Inclinations, and thereby Riveting thoſe Habits which at laſt tyranniſe over us. What is *Reaping Corruption?* It is Experiencing the Torment reſulting from that Tyranny, being deprived of the Objects which we could not part with, without feeling cutting Remorſe, for having voluntarily attached ourſelves to them. When therefore we ſuppoſe Hell-Torments will one Day end, we do not depart from the Ideas which both Scripture and good Senſe give us of it; ſuch as *an Eternal Fire*, *a Worm that never dieth*; for it is but too probable, that the Sufferers of thoſe dreadful Torments will reckon every Hour an Age, and every Age an Eternity.

To conclude then: Let us ſee, whether the Doctrines of Purification and Reſtoration in another Life will not reconcile the Diſputes, that have ſo long ſubſiſted between thoſe two grand Parties of Divines, called *Particulariſts* and *Univerſaliſts*: The Former reſtrain God's Will to a ſmall Number, called the *Elect*, whereas the Latter maintain, That God will ſave *all* Men.——The Former reply,

'That the Will of God is efficacious, and 'therefore he cannot fall ſhort of his Pur-'poſe; that, if he willed all Men to be 'ſaved, he would ſave them effectually; that 'it is Annihilating his Omnipotence to ſay, 'he deſires to ſave all Men, but that he 'cannot.'

The *Univerſaliſts*, on the other Hand, maintain, 'That it is injurious to the Good-

'neſs

'neſs of God to ſay, that he cannot ſave all 'Men, and will only ſave a Part; that it is 'Accuſing him of Cruelty, who deſires that '*none ſhould periſh, but that all may come to* '*Repentance*; that, if this Will has not its 'Effect, the Fault is not on God's Part, but 'on Man's, who reſiſts the gracious Will of 'his Creator.'

Hence it appears, that the Divines of both Denominations, after they have aſſented to the *Theſis* in general, deny it, when they come to Particulars. The Former injure the Idea we have of the Goodneſs of God; the Latter, thoſe we entertain of his Omnipotence. Let us now ſee, whether we cannot unfold the Riddle: And, *firſt*, it is granted to the *Particulariſts*, That the Will of God is efficacious; that he cannot be fruſtrated of his Purpoſe; and that all thoſe, whom he has predeſtinated to Salvation, and for whom Chriſt died, will be infallibly ſaved. It is likewiſe granted the *Univerſaliſts*, That God wills all Men ſhould be ſaved; that he deſtines no one to Miſery; and that Chriſt *hath taſted Death for every Man.*

This ſeems contradictory; but we ſhall be able to clear up the Matter, if we here join together the different *Theſes* of each Party.

Particulariſts. The Acts of the Divine Will are efficacious.

Univerſaliſts. God wills all Men to be ſaved.

Therefore all Men will one Day be ſaved.

Part. All thoſe, whom God has predeſtinated to Salvation, will infallibly be ſaved.

Univ. God predeſtinateth none to Wrath, but to Salvation.

Therefore all will be infallibly ſaved.

Part. All thoſe, for whom Chriſt died, will partake of Salvation.

Univ. *Jeſus Chriſt* taſted Death for all, and was lifted up from Earth to draw all Men to him.

Therefore all will partake of Salvation, and at laſt be drawn after him.

I foreſee the Argument will be denied, and retorted as follows, viz.

Salvation is promiſed only to thoſe who are ſanctified.

Infinitely more die, who are not ſanctified, than who are.

Therefore all Men will not be ſaved.

Now, to ſhew, that the firſt Concluſion is juſt, and the ſecond falſe, we need only join to theſe two Propoſitions a third, drawn from the Principles of the *Univerſaliſts:*

Salvation is promiſed only to thoſe who are ſanctified.

God wills, that all Men come to Repentance and the Knowledge of the Truth.

All of them do not attain to it in this Life.

Therefore this muſt be done in the other.

In Order to ſupport this Concluſion, let us make Uſe of ſome Principles of the ſame Divines:

God offers all Men the Means of Sanctification, but commits no Violence on their Liberty; all do not make the Advantage of the Proffer; all do not make Uſe of thoſe Means to come to Repentance and Sanctification.

I aſk now, Shall the Purpoſes of God be fruſtrated by the Reſiſtance of Man? Will he not find ſome Method for Bringing them to Repentance and Holineſs without Forcing their Liberty? If they do not correſpond with thoſe Means in this Life, which is but of a Minute's Duration, when compared with Eternity, Will he confine his Concern for the Reſtoration of his Work to that ſhort Span? Shall not he, who is ſo well acquainted with all its Springs, be able to bring it back to himſelf at laſt?

By the Knowledge of theſe Truths, we manifeſtly perceive the unchangeable Attributes of the Deity, his Goodneſs, his Omnipotence, Wiſdom, Juſtice, Holineſs, Faithfulneſs, and Mercy. ——— *Firſt*, I ſay, his Goodneſs, as God wills the Happineſs of all his Creatures, and their Return to the primitive Perfection they had received at his Hands. His Omnipotence, as it hence appears, that the Will of God is efficacious, that his Arm is not ſhortened, but that he is able, ſooner or later, to accompliſh all his Deſigns. His Faithfulneſs, as it hereby appears, that his *Gifts and Calling are without Repentance*; that, having once deſtinated Man to Bliſs, he doth not deſiſt from his firſt Deſign. His Mercy, as he furniſhes the moſt Rebellious with the Means of Sanctification; as he extends the Effects of his Mercy, not to ſome only, but to all without Exception, not only in this Life, but alſo in the Life to come. His Juſtice, by leaving every one to reap the Fruits of what he has ſown; by making Tribulation

bulation and Anguiſh fall upon every Soul that doth Evil, and making them eat the Fruit of their own Doings and Devices. His Holineſs, in his not being re-united to his Creatures before he has ſanctified them, till they become Children of Light. Divine Juſtice will be the ſame to them, that Fire is to Hay and Stubble; and this Fire will not ceaſe to burn till all Unrighteouſneſs is conſumed; then only Juſtice will ceaſe to be rigorous, without Ceaſing to be juſt.

And when we take a View at large, and ſee how diſproportioned the Means of Salvation are offered to Mankind in general, or even to Chriſtians in particular, ſome of whom are, in reſpect of others, like to many Beaſts of Burthen, bowed down from their Youth under the Weight of Toil and Labour, which ſcarce allow them Time to enquire, whether they have Souls to cultivate, and prepare for a future Life; and who, on obſerving ſuch Diſproportions between thoſe, who, by Nature are of equal Dignity, can diſcern Impartiality in God? Surely Nothing can account for this Conduct, but the Knowledge of a State of Purification, where thoſe, who have been unprovided with the Means of Coming to the Knowledge of the Truth in this Life, will find them in another. This alſo juſtifies the Equity of God, in all the dreadful Judgments inflicted on whole Nations, a great Part whereof knew neither Good nor Evil. In Reality, did we not know that in the other Life there will be a perfect Compenſation, both in regard to the Means of Salvation, and Bleſſings and Miſeries, ſhould we not be tempted to cry out, *Is there Knowledge in the Lord, and does he weigh all Men in an equal Balance?*

Now let us ſum up all briefly, recounting the practical Uſes of theſe Opinions. Is any Thing more proper for overturning the falſe Maxims ſo much in Vogue, in which Numbers ſecurely lull themſelves aſleep, than the Knowledge of an unchangeable Juſtice, that conſtantly judges of Things as they really are. And of a Mercy, which is ſo far from being contrary to Juſtice, that it concurs with it in the grand Deſign of purifying Mankind?

This being laid down, What will become of the Hopes of thoſe, who imagine that Mercy will prevail againſt Juſtice and ſtop its Courſe, ſo that they ſhall feel none of its Effects?

If God is capable of Anger, Provocation, and Revenge, as we have proved, he is incapable of being appeaſed, of being moved with repeated Cries, or feeling Compaſſion like ours, which proceeds only from the Weakneſs of our Nature. This being ſuppoſed, What will become of thoſe flattering Hopes, that we ſhall appeaſe the Deity with Tears; that, on Begging Grace and Mercy, he will be eaſily prevailed on to relent?

If the greateſt Favour God can do Men is to purify them, and if this is the only Way by which they arrive at Happineſs, How can they deſire Mercy to exempt them from Purification? Could they obtain their Requeſt, they would obtain eternal Torment, ſince, without Holineſs, they will never ſee God.

Upon the Whole, I know not whether any other Syſtem contains Motives ſo efficacious for engaging Mankind to walk in the Ways of real Holineſs; any Syſtem, which can make Religion more venerable, in the Eyes even of Libertines, or more lovely to the Lovers of Truth; that places, in a clearer Light, the wonderful Harmony of the Divine Attributes, and the Reaſons we have to love Sovereign Perfection.

The Lord General *Cromwell*'s Speech, delivered in the Council-Chamber, upon the Fourth of *July*, 1653, to the Perſons then aſſembled and intruſted with the ſupreme Authority of the Nation. This is a true Copy, publiſhed for Information, and to prevent Miſtakes. Printed in the Year 1654. *Quarto*, containing twenty-eight Pages.

Gentlemen,

I Suppoſe the Summons, that hath been inſtrumental to bring you hither, gives you well to underſtand the Cauſe of your being here. Howbeit, having ſome Things to impart, which is an Inſtrument drawn up by the Conſent and Advice of the principal Officers of the Army, which is a little (as we conceive) more ſignificant than that other of Summons: We have that here to tender you. And we have ſomewhat likewiſe further to ſay to you, for our own Exoneration; and we hope it may be ſomewhat further to your Satisfaction. And therefore, ſeeing you ſit here ſomewhat uneaſy, by Reaſon of the Scantneſs of the Room, and the Heat of the Weather, I ſhall contract myſelf, with Reſpect to that.

I have not thought it amiſs, a little to mind you of that Series of Providence, wherein the Lord hitherto hath diſpenſed wonderful Things to theſe Nations, from the Beginning of our Troubles to this very Day. If I ſhould look much backward, we might remember the State of Affairs as they were before the ſhort, and that which was the laſt Parliament: In what a Poſture the Things of this Nation ſtood, doth ſo well, I preſume, occur to all your Memories and Knowledges, that I ſhall not need to look ſo far backward, nor yet to the Beginning of thoſe hoſtile Actions that paſſed between the King that was, and the then Parliament. And indeed, ſhould I begin this Labour, the Things, that would fall neceſſarily before you, would rather be fit for a Hiſtory, than for a Diſcourſe, at this Preſent.

But thus far we may look back: You very well know, after divers Turnings of Affairs, it pleaſed God, much about the Midſt of this War, to winnow, as I may ſo ſay, the Forces of this Nation; and to put them into the Hands of Men of other Principles than thoſe that did engage at firſt. By what ſtrange Providences that alſo was brought about, would ask more Time than is allotted me, to remember you of. Indeed, there are Stories that do recite thoſe Tranſactions, and give Narratives of Matter of Fact: But thoſe Things wherein the Life and Power of them lay; thoſe ſtrange Windings and Turnings of Providence, thoſe very great Appearances of God, in croſſing and thwarting the Deſigns of Men, that he might raiſe up a poor and a contemptible Company of Men, neither verſed in Military Affairs, nor having much natural Propenſity to them, even through the Owning of a Principle of Godlineſs, of Religion: Which ſo ſoon as it came to be owned, the State of Affairs put upon that Foot of Account, how God bleſſed them, and all Undertakings, by the Riſing of that moſt improbable, deſpicable, contemptible Means; for that we muſt for ever own, you very well know.

What the ſeveral Succeſſes have been, is not fit to mention at this Time, neither; though I muſt confeſs I thought to have enlarged myſelf upon this Subject, foraſmuch as the Conſidering the Works of God, and the Operation of his Hands, is a principal Part of our Duty, and a great Encouragement to the Strengthening of our Hands, and of our Faith for that which is behind. And then having given us thoſe marvellous Diſpenſations, amongſt other Ends, for that was a moſt principal End, as to us, in this Revolution of Affairs, and Iſſues of thoſe Succeſſes God was pleaſed to give this Nation, and the Authority

 that

that then ſtood, were very great Things brought about; beſides thoſe Dints that were upon thoſe Nations and Places where they were carried on, even in the Civil Affairs, to the bringing Offenders to Juſtice, even the greateſt; to the bringing the State of this Government to the Name, at leaſt, of a Commonwealth; to the ſearching and ſifting of all Places and Perſons; the King removed, and brought to Juſtice, and many great ones with him; the Houſe of Peers laid aſide; the Houſe of Commons, the Repreſentatives of the People of *England*, itſelf, winnowed, ſifted, and brought to a Handful, as you may very well remember.

And truly, God would not reſt there (for, by the Way, although it be fit for us to intitle our Failings and Miſcarriages to ourſelves, yet the Glorioufneſs of the Work may well be attributed to God himſelf, and may be called *his ſtrange Work*).

You may remember well, that, at the Change of the Government, there was not an End of our Troubles, although that Year were ſuch Things tranſacted, as indeed made it to be the moſt memorable Year (I mean 1648) that ever this Nation ſaw; ſo many Inſurrections, Invaſions, ſecret Deſigns, open and publick Attempts, quaſhed in ſo ſhort a Time, and this by the very ſignal Appearances of God himſelf, I hope we ſhall never forget.

You know alſo, as I ſaid before, that as the Effect of that memorable Year 1648 was to lay the Foundation of bringing Delinquents to Puniſhment; ſo it was of the Change of the Government: Although it be true, if we had Time to ſpeak, the Carriages of ſome in Truſt, in moſt eminent Truſt, was ſuch, as would have fruſtrated to us the Hopes of all our Undertakings, had not God miraculouſly prevented: I mean, by that Cloſure that would have been endeavoured by the King, whereby we ſhould have put into his Hands all that Cauſe and Intereſt we had oppoſed, and had nothing to have ſecured us, but a little Piece of Paper.

But Things going on, how it pleaſed the Lord to keep this Nation in Exerciſe, both at Sea and Land; and what God wrought in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, you likewiſe know, until the Lord had finiſhed all that Trouble, upon the Matter, by the marvellous Salvation wrought at *Worceſter*.

I confeſs to you, I am very much troubled in my Spirit, that the Neceſſity of Affairs doth require that I ſhould be ſo ſhort in theſe Things, becauſe I told you before, This is the leaneſt Part of the Tranſaction, to wit, an Hiſtorical Narration, there being in every Diſpenſation (whether the King's Going from the Parliament, the Pulling down the Biſhops. Purging the Houſe at that Time by their Going away to aſſiſt the King, or Change of Government) whatever it was, not any of thoſe Things, but hath a remarkable Point of Providence ſet upon it, that he that runs may read; therefore I am heartily ſorry, that, in Point of Time, I cannot be particular in thoſe Things, which I did principally deſign this Day, thereby to provoke and ſtir up your Hearts and mine to Gratitude and Confidence.

I ſhall now begin a little to remember you of the Paſſages that have been tranſacted ſince *Worceſter* Fight; whence coming with my fellow Officers and Soldiers, we expected, and had ſome reaſonable Confidence that our Expectations ſhould not be fruſtrated: That the Authority, that then was, having ſuch a Hiſtory to look back unto, ſuch a God that appeared for them ſo eminently, ſo viſibly, that even our Enemies many Times confeſſed, That God himſelf was engaged againſt them, or they ſhould never have been brought ſo low, nor diſappointed in every Undertaking; for that may be ſaid, by the Way, Had we miſcarried but once, where had we been? I ſay, we did think, and had ſome reaſonable Confidence, that, coming up then, the Mercies that God had ſhewed, the Expectations that were in the Hearts of all good Men, would have prompted thoſe that were in Authority to have done thoſe good Things, which might, by honeſt Men, have been judged a Return fit for ſuch a God, and worthy of ſuch Mercies, and, indeed, a Diſcharge of Duty to thoſe, for whom all theſe Mercies have been ſhewed, that is, the Intereſt of the three Nations, the true Intereſt of the three Nations.

And, if I ſhould now labour to be particular in enumerating ſome Buſineſſes, that have been tranſacted from that Time till the Diſſolution of the late Parliament, indeed I ſhould be upon a Theme that would be very troubleſome to myſelf. For I muſt ſay for myſelf and fellow Officers, we have rather deſired

and ſtudied Healing, than to rake into Sores, and look backward, to render Things in thoſe Colours that would not be very well pleaſing to any good Eye to look upon: Only this we muſt ſay, for our own Exoneration, and as thereby laying ſome Foundation for the Making evident the Neceſſity and Duty, that was incumbent upon us, to make this laſt great Change, I think it will not be amiſs to offer a Word or two in that, not taking Pleaſure to rake into the Buſineſs, were there not ſome Kind of Neceſſity ſo to do.

Indeed, we may ſay, without commending ourſelves, I mean myſelf, and thoſe Gentlemen that have been engaged in the Military Affairs, that, upon our Return, we came, fully bent in our Hearts and Thoughts, to deſire and uſe all fair and lawful Means we could, to have had the Nation to reap the Fruit of all that Blood and Treaſure that had been expended, in this Cauſe; and we have had many Deſires, and Thirſtings, in our Spirits, to find out Ways and Means, wherein we might any Ways be inſtrumental to help it forward; and we were very tender, for a long Time, ſo much as to petition, till *Auguſt* laſt, or thereabouts; we never offered to petition, but ſome of our then Members, and others, having good Acquaintance and Relation to divers Members of the Parliament, we did, from Time to Time, ſollicit that, which we thought (if there had been no Body to prompt them, no Body to call upon them) would have been liſtened to, out of Ingenuity and Integrity in them, that had Opportunity to have anſwered our Expectations; and truly, when we ſaw Nothing would be done, we did, as we thought, according to our Duty, remind them by a Petition; which Petition I ſuppoſe the moſt of you have ſeen, which we delivered, either in *July* or *Auguſt* laſt; what Effect that had is likewiſe very well known. The Truth is, we had no Return at all, that was Satisfaction for us, but a few Words given us: The Buſineſs petitioned for, moſt of them, we were told, were under Conſideration; and thoſe that were not, had very little or no Conſideration at all.

Finding the People diſſatisfied in every Corner of the Nation, and bringing Home to our Doors the Non-performance of thoſe Things that had been promiſed, and were of Due to be performed, we did think ourſelves concerned; we endeavoured, as became honeſt Men, to keep up the Reputation of honeſt Men in the World; and therefore we had, divers Times, endeavoured to obtain a Meeting with divers Members of Parliament; and truly we did not begin this till *October* laſt, and in thoſe Meetings did, in all Faithfulneſs and Sincerity, beſeech them, that they would be mindful of their Duty to God and Man, and of the Diſcharge of their Truſt to God and Man: I believe theſe Gentlemen, that are many of them here, can tell, that we had, at the leaſt, ten or twelve Meetings, moſt humbly begging and beſeeching them, that, of their own Accords, they would do thoſe good Things that had been promiſed, that ſo it might appear, they did not do them, by any Suggeſtion from the Army, but of their own Ingenuity, ſo tender were we to preſerve them in the Reputation and Opinion of the People, to the uttermoſt. And having had many of thoſe Meetings, and declaring plainly, that the Iſſue would be the Judgment and Diſpleaſure of God againſt them, the Diſſatisfaction of the People, and the putting Things into a Confuſion: Yet, how little we did prevail, we well know, and, we believe, is not unknown to you; at the laſt, when we ſaw, indeed, that Things would not be laid to Heart, we had a ſerious Conſideration amongſt ourſelves, what other Way to have Recourſe unto; and when, indeed, we came to thoſe cloſe Conſiderations, they began to take the Act of the new Repreſentative to Heart, and ſeemed exceeding willing to put it on; the which, had it been done, or would it have been done with that Integrity, with that Caution, that would have ſaved this Cauſe, and the Intereſt we have been ſo long engaged in, there could Nothing have happened to our Judgments more welcome than that would have been; but finding plainly, that the Intendment of it was not to give the People that Right of Choice, although it had been but a Ceding Right, or the Seeming, to give the People that Choice intended and deſigned, to recruit the Houſe, the better to perpetuate themſelves: And truly divers of us being ſpoken to, to that End that we ſhould give Way to it, a Thing to which we had a perpetual Averſion, which we did abominate the Thoughts of, we always declared our Judgments againſt it, and our Diſſatisfaction; but yet they would not hear of a Repreſentative, before it lay three Years before them, without proceeding with one Line conſiderably in it; they that could not endure to hear of it, then, when we came to

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our cloſe Conſiderations, then, inſtead of protracting, they did make as much prepoſterous Haſte on the other Hand, and ran into that Extremity; and finding that this Spirit was not according to God, and that the whole Weight of this Cauſe, which muſt needs have been very dear unto us, who have ſo often adventured our Lives for it; and we believe is ſo to you; when we ſaw plainly, that there was not ſo much Conſideration how to aſſert it, or to provide Security for it; and indeed, to croſs thoſe, that they reckoned the moſt troubleſome People they had to deal with, which was the Army, which, by this Time, was ſufficiently their Diſpleaſure; when we ſaw this, truly, that had Power in our Hands, to let the Buſineſs go to ſuch an Iſſue as this, was to throw back the Cauſe into the Hands of them we firſt fought with, we came to this firſt Concluſion amongſt ourſelves, that, if we had been fought out of it, Neceſſity would have taught us Patience; but, to be taken from us ſo unworthily, we ſhould be rendered the worſt People in the World, and we ſhould become Traitors both to God and Man; and, when God had laid this to our Hearts, and that we found the Intereſt of his People was grown cheap, and not laid to Heart, and, if we came to Competition of Things, the Cauſe even amongſt themſelves would even, almoſt in every Thing, go to the Ground; this did add more Conſideration to us, that there was a Duty incumbent upon us, and truly I ſpeak it in the Preſence of ſome that are here, that were at the cloſe Conſultations; I may ſay, as before the Lord, the Thinking of an Act of Violence was, to us, worſe than any Engagement that ever we were in yet, and worſe to us than the utmoſt Hazard of our Lives, that could be, ſo unwilling were we, ſo tender were we, ſo deſirous were we, if it were poſſible, that theſe Men might have quit their Places with Honour: And truly, this I am the longer upon, becauſe it hath been, in our Hearts and Conſciences, our Juſtification, and hath never yet been imparted thorough to the Nation; and we had rather begin with you to do it, than to have done it before, and do think, indeed, that theſe Tranſactions be more proper for a verbal Communication, than to have put it into Writing; I doubt, whoſoever had put it on, would have been tempted to have dipped his Pen in Anger and Wrath; but Affairs being at this Poſture, that we ſaw plainly and evidently, in ſome critical Things, that the Cauſe of the People of God was a deſpiſed Thing, truly then we did believe, that the Hands of other Men muſt be the Hands that muſt be truſted with it, and then we thought it high Time for us to look about us, and to be ſenſible of our Duty. If I ſhould take up your Time to tell you, what Inſtances we have to ſatisfy our Judgments and Conſciences, that theſe Things were not vain Imaginations, and Things that were petitioned for, but that fell within the Compaſs of our certain Knowledge and Senſe; ſhould I repeat theſe Things to you, I ſhould do that which I would avoid, to rake into theſe Things too much; only this, if any Body were in Competition for any Place of real and ſignal Truſt, how hard and difficult a Thing it was to get any Thing to be carried, without making Parties, without Things, indeed, unworthy of a Parliament. And, when Things muſt be carried ſo in a ſupreme Authority, indeed, I think, it is not as it ought to be; but, when it came to other Trials, in that Caſe of *Wales*, which I muſt confeſs, for my own Part, I ſet myſelf upon, if I ſhould inform what Diſcountenance that Buſineſs of the poor People of God there had, who had Watchings over them, Men, like ſo many Wolves, ready to catch the Lamb, as ſoon as it was brought out into the World; how ſignally they threw that Buſineſs under Foot, to the Diſcountenancing of the honeſt People there, and to the Countenancing of the Malignant Party of this Commonwealth. I need but ſay, it was ſo; many have felt, by ſad Experience it was ſo, who will better impart that Buſineſs to you? Which, for myſelf and Fellow-officers, I think it was as perfect a Trial of our Spirits as any Thing, it being known to many of us, that God kindles a Seed there, indeed, hardly to be paralleled ſince the primitive Times. I would this had been all the Inſtances; but finding which Way their Spirits went, and finding that Good was never intended to the People of God, I mean when I ſay ſo, that large Comprehenſion of them, under the ſeveral Forms of Godlineſs in this Nation; when I ſaw, that Tenderneſs was forgotten to them all (though it was very true, that, by their Hands and Means, through the Bleſſing of God, they ſat where they did) and Affairs, not to ſpeak it boaſtingly, had been inſtrumentally brought to that Iſſue they were brought to by the Hands of thoſe poor Creatures, we thought this an evil Requital: I will

not ſay they were at the uttermoſt Pitch of Reformation, although I could ſay, that one Thing, the Regulation of the Law ſo much groaned under in that Poſture it now is in, there were many Words ſpoken for it, we know many Months together was not Time enough to paſs over one Word called *Incumbrances*: I ſay, finding that this was the Spirit and Complexion of them, that though theſe were Faults, for which no Man ſhould have dared to lift his Hand, ſimply for their Faults and Failings, when yet we ſaw their Intendment was to perpetuate themſelves, and Men of this Spirit, for ſome had it from their own Mouths, from their own Deſigns, who could not endure to hear of being diſſolved, this was an high Breach of Truſt, if they had been a Parliament, never violated, ſitting as free, and as clear as ever any ſat in *England*; yet, if they would go about to perpetuate themſelves, we did think this ſo great a Breach of Truſt, as greater could not be; and we did not go by Gueſs in this, and to be out of Doubt in it, we did (having that Conference amongſt ourſelves, whereof we gave Account) we did deſire once more, the Night before the Diſſolution, and it had been in our Deſires, ſome two or three Days before, that we might ſpeak with ſome of the principal Perſons of the Houſe, that we might, with Ingenuity, open our Ears to them, to the End we might be either convinced of the Ground of their Principles and Intentions, to the Good of the Nation; or, if we could not be convinced, they would hear our Offer, or Expedient to prevent this Miſchief; and indeed, we could not prevail for two or three Days, till the Night before the Diſſolution; there is a Touch of this in that our Declaration; we had often deſired it; at that Time, we attained it, there were above twenty of them who were Members not of the leaſt Conſideration, for Intereſt and Ability, with whom we deſired to diſcourſe thoſe Things, and had Diſcourſe with them; and it pleaſed the Gentlemen Officers of the Army, to deſire me to offer their Senſe to them, and, indeed, it was ſhortly carried thus; we told them, That the Reaſon of our Deſire to wait upon them, was, that we might know from them what Security lay in the Way of their Proceedings ſo haſtily with their Repreſentative, wherein they had made a few Qualifications, ſuch as they were, and, how the whole Buſineſs ſhould be executed, we have do Account of; and we deſired them they would be pleaſed, and we thought we had an Intereſt in our Lives, Eſtates, and Families, as well as the worſt People of the Nation, and that we might be bold to aſk Satisfaction in that; and if they did proceed in honeſt Ways, as might be ſafe to the Nation, we might acquieſce therein: When we preſſed them to give Satisfaction in this, the Anſwer was made, That Nothing could be good to the Nation, but the Continuance of this Parliament; we wondered that we ſhould have ſuch a Return, we ſaid little to that.

But ſeeing they would not give us that which might ſatisfy us, that their Way was honeſt and ſafe, they would give us Leave to make our Objections: We did tell them, that we thought that Way they were going in would be impracticable; we could not tell them how it would be brought to paſs, to ſend out an Act of Parliament into the Country, to have Qualifications in an Act to be the Rules of Electors and Elected, and not to know who ſhould execute this: Deſired to know whether the next Parliament were not like to be all Preſbyters? Whether thoſe Qualifications would hinder them, or Neuters? And tho' it be our Deſire to value and eſteem Perſons of that Judgment, only they having been as we know, having deſerted this Cauſe and Intereſt upon the King's Account, and upon that Cloſure between them and the Neighbour Nation, we do think we muſt profeſs we had as good have delivered up our Cauſe into the Hands of any, as into the Hands of intereſted and byaſſed Men; for it is one Thing to live friendly and brotherly, to bear with, and love a Perſon of another Judgment in Religion; another Thing to have any ſo far ſet into the Saddle upon that Account, as it ſhould be in them to have all the reſt of their Brethren at Mercy: Having had this Diſcourſe, making theſe Objections of bringing in Neuters, or ſuch as ſhould impoſe upon their Brethren, or ſuch as had given Teſtimony to the King's Party, and objecting to the Danger of it, in drawing the Concourſe of all People to arraign every individual Perſon, which indeed did fall obviouſly in, and the Iſſue would certainly have been the putting it into the Hands of Men that had little Affection to this Cauſe. The Anſwer again was made, and it was confeſſed by ſome, that theſe Objections did lie; but Anſwer was made by a very eminent Perſon,

ſion, at the ſame Time as before, that nothing would ſave the Nation but the Continuance of this Parliament; this being ſo, we humbly propoſed an Expedient of ours, which was indeed, to deſire that the Government being in that Condition it was, and Things being under ſo much ill Senſe abroad, and ſo likely to come to Confuſion in every Reſpect, if it went on; ſo we deſired they would devolve the Truſt over to Perſons of Honour and Integrity, that were well known, Men well-affected to Religion and the Intereſt of the Nation, which we told them, and was confeſſed, had been no new thing when theſe Nations had been under the like Hurly-Burly and Diſtractions, and it was confeſſed by them, it had been no new thing; we had been at Labour to get Precedents to convince them of it, and we told them theſe Things we offered out of that deep Senſe we had of the Good of the Nation, and the Cauſe of Chriſt: And being anſwered to that, Nothing would ſave the Nation but the Continuance of that Parliament, although they would not ſay they would perpetuate it, at that Time leaſt of all.

But, finding their Endeavours did directly tend to it, they gave us this Anſwer, That the Things we had offered were of a tender and very weighty Conſideration; they did make Objections how we ſhould raiſe Money, and ſome other Objections; we told them, that that we offered as an Expedient, becauſe we thought better, than that for which no Reaſon was, or thought would be given; we deſired them to lay the Thing ſeriouſly to Heart. They told us, they would take Conſideration of theſe Things till the Morning, that they would ſleep upon them, and I think that there was ſcarce any Day that there ſat above fifty, or fifty-two, or fifty-three. At the Parting two or three of the chief ones, the very chiefeſt of them, did tell us, that they would endeavour the Suſpending the Proceedings of the Repreſentative, the next Day, till they had a further Conference; and we did acquieſce, and had Hope, if our Expedient would take up a loving Debate, the next Day we ſhould have ſome ſuch Iſſue of our Debate, as would have given a Satisfaction to all; they went away late at Night, and the next Morning we conſidering how to order that which we had to offer to them, when they were to meet in the Evening, Word was brought they were proceeding with a Repreſentative with all the Eagerneſs they could; we did not believe Perſons of ſuch Quality could do it; a ſecond and third Meſſenger told us, they had almoſt finiſhed it, and had brought it to that Iſſue with that Haſte that had never been known before, leaving out the Things that did neceſſarily relate to due Qualifications, as we have heard ſince, reſolved to make it a Paper-Bill, not to ingroſs it, that they might make the quicker Diſpatch of it, thus to have thrown all the Liberties of the Nation into the Hands that never bled for it; upon this Account, we thought it our Duty not to ſuffer it, and upon this the Houſe was diſſolved.

This we tell you, that you may ſo know, that what hath been done in the Diſſolution of this Parliament, was as neceſſary to be done, as the Preſervation of this Cauſe; and that Neceſſity, that led us to do that, hath brought us to this Iſſue, of exerciſing an extraordinary Way and Courſe, to draw yourſelves together upon this Account; that you are Men who know the Lord, and have made Obſervations of his marvellous Diſpenſations, and may be truſted with this Cauſe. It remains, for I ſhall not acquaint you further with that that relates to your taking upon you this great Buneſs, that being contained in this Paper, in my Hand, which I do offer preſently to you to read, having done that which we thought to have done upon this Ground of Neceſſity, which we know was not feigned Neceſſity but real, and true, to the End the Government might not be at a Loſs, to the End we might manifeſt to the World the Singleneſs of our Hearts, and Integrity, who did thoſe Things not to graſp after the Power ourſelves, to keep it in a Military Hand, no not for a Day, but, as far as God enables us with Strength and Ability, to put it into the Hands that might be called from ſeveral Parts of the Nation; this Neceſſity I ſay, and we hope may ſay, for ourſelves, this Integrity of labouring to diveſt the Sword of the Power and Authority, in the Civil Adminiſtration of it, hath been that that hath moved us, to conclude of this Courſe; and having done that, we think we cannot, with the Diſcharge of our Conſciences, but offer ſomewhat unto you, as I ſaid before, for our own Exoneration, it having been the Practice of others who have voluntarily and out of Senſe of Duty diveſted themſelves, and devolved the Government into the Hands of others; it having been the Practice, where ſuch Things

have

have been done, and very conſonant to Reaſon, together with the Authority, to lay a Charge, in ſuch a Way, as we hope we do, and to preſs to the Duty, which we have a Word or two to offer to you. Truly, God hath called you to this Work by, I think, as wonderful Providences, as ever paſſed upon the Sons of Men in ſo ſhort a Time: And truly I think, taking the Arguments of Neceſſity (for the Government muſt not fall) take the Appearances of the Will of God in this Thing; I am ſure you would have been loth it ſhould have been reſigned into the Hands of wicked Men and Enemies: I am ſure, God would not have it ſo. It comes, therefore, to you by Way of Neceſſity; it comes to you by the Way of the wiſe Providence of God, though through weak Hands; and therefore I think, it coming through our Hands, though ſuch as we are, it may not be taken ill, if we offer to you ſomething, as to the Diſcharge of that Truſt which is incumbent upon you; and, although I ſeem to ſpeak that which may have the Face of a Charge, it is a very humble one; and he that means to be a Servant to you, who are called to the Exerciſe of the ſupreme Authority, to diſcharge that, which he conceives is his Duty, in his own and his Fellows Names, to you, I hope, who will take it in good Part: And truly I ſhall not hold you long in that, becauſe I hope it is written in your Hearts to approve yourſelves to God; only this Scripture I ſhall remember to you, which hath been much upon my Spirit: *Hoſea* xi. *ver.* 12. *Yet* Judah *ruleth with God, and is faithful among the Saints.* It is ſaid before, Ephraim *did compaſs God about with Lyes, and* Iſrael *with Deceit:* How God hath been compaſſed about with Faſtings, and Thankſgivings, and other Exerciſes and Tranſactions, I think we have all to lament; why, truly, you are called by God to rule with him and for him, and you are called to be faithful with the Saints, who have been ſomewhat inſtrumental to your Call: *He that ruleth over Men*, the Scripture ſaith, *he muſt be juſt, ruling in the Fear of God.*

And truly it is better to pray for you, than to counſel you in that, that you may exerciſe the Judgment of Mercy and Truth; I ſay, it is better for you to do it, than to adviſe you to aſk Wiſdom from Heaven for you; which, I am confident, many Thouſands of Saints do this Day, and have done, and will do, through the Permiſſion of God, and his Aſſiſtance to adviſe you: Only, truly, I thought of a Scripture likewiſe, that ſeems to be but a Scripture of common Application to every Man, as a Chriſtian, wherein he is counſelled to aſk Wiſdom; and he is told what is that Wiſdom that is from above; it is *pure, peaceable, gentle, eaſy to be intreated, full of good Fruits, without Partiality, without Hypocriſy:* And my Thoughts ran thus upon this, That the Executing of the Judgment of Truth, for that is the Judgment that you muſt have Wiſdom from above for, and that is pure, that will teach you to execute the Judgment of Truth; and then, if God give you Hearts to be eaſy to be intreated, to be peaceable Spirits, to be full of good Fruits, bearing good Fruits to the Nation, to Men as Men, to the People of God, to all in their ſeveral Stations, this Wiſdom will teach you to execute the Judgment of Mercy and Truth; and I have little more to ſay to this, I ſhall rather bend my Prayers for you in that Behalf (as I ſaid before) and I know many others do alſo. Truly, the Judgment of Truth will teach you to be as juſt towards an Unbeliever, as towards a Believer; and it is our Duty to be ſo. I confeſs, I have often ſaid it fooliſhly, If I would miſcarry, I would rather do it to a Believer, than to an Unbeliever; perhaps it is a Paradox; but let us take Heed of doing it to either, exerciſing Injuſtice to either. If God fill our Heart with ſuch a Spirit as *Moſes* and *Paul* had, which was not only a Spirit for the Believers among the People of God, but for the whole People (he would have died for them; and ſo *Paul* to his Countrymen according to the Fleſh, he could have died for them) truly, this will help us to execute the Judgment of Truth, and Mercy alſo.

A *ſecond* Thing is, To deſire you would be faithful with the Saints; and I hope, whatever others may think, it ought to be to us all Matter of Rejoicing, that, as one Perſon (our Saviour) was touched with our Infirmities, that he might be pitiful, I do think this Aſſembly, thus called, is very much touched with the common Infirmity of the Saints; and I hope that will teach you to pity others, that ſo Saints of one Sort may not be our Intereſt, but that we may have Reſpect unto all, though of different Judgments; and, if I did ſeem to ſpeak any Thing, that might ſeem to reflect upon thoſe of the Preſbyterian Judg-

ment,

ment, I think, if you have not an Intereſt of Love for them, you will hardly anſwer this Faithfulneſs to his Saints; I confeſs, in my Pilgrimage, and ſome Exerciſes I have had Abroad; I did read that Scripture often, in *Iſaiah* xli. 19. when God gave me, and ſome of my Fellows, what he would do there, and elſewhere; which he performed for us; And what would he do? To what End? *That he might plant in the Wilderneſs the Cedar, and the Shittah-tree, and the Myrtle-tree, and the Palm-tree together.* To what End? *That they might know, and conſider, and underſtand together, that the Hand of the Lord hath done this*; and that the Lord hath created it; that he wrought all Salvation and Deliverance, which he hath wrought, for the Good of the whole Flock; therefore I beſeech you (but I think I need not) have a Care of the whole Flock, love all the Sheep, love the Lambs, all, and tender all, and cheriſh all, and countenance all, in all Things that are good; and, if the pooreſt Chriſtian, the moſt miſtaken Chriſtian, ſhould deſire to live peaceably and quietly under you, ſoberly and humbly deſire to lead a Life in Godlineſs and Honeſty, let him be protected.

I think I need as little adviſe you concerning the Propagation of the Goſpel, and Encouraging ſuch Miniſters, and ſuch a Miniſtry, as are faithful in the Land, upon whom the true Character is, Men that have truly received the Spirit for ſuch an Uſe; which Chriſtians will be well able to diſcern, and do; Men that have received Gifts from him that aſcended on high, and led Captivity Captive, for the Work before-mentioned: And truly the Apoſtle, *Romans* xii, when he had ſummoned up all the Mercies of God, and the Goodneſs of God, and hath diſcourſed of the Foundations of the Goſpel, and of the ſeveral Things that are the Subject of his Diſcourſe, in the eleven firſt Chapters, after he hath beſought them to offer up their Souls and Bodies a living Sacrifice to God, he beſeecheth them not to eſteem more highly of themſelves, than they ought; but that they would be humble, and ſober-minded, and not ſtretch themſelves beyond their Line, but they would have a Care to thoſe, that had received Gifts to the Uſes there mentioned. I ſpeak not, it is far from my Heart, for a Miniſtry, deriving itſelf through the Papacy, and pretending to that, which is ſo much inſiſted upon to be Succeſſion: The true Succeſſion is through the Spirit, given in that Meaſure that the Spirit is given; and that is a right Succeſſion. But I need not diſcourſe of theſe Things to you; I am perſuaded you are taught of God, in a greater Meaſure than myſelf, in theſe Things; indeed I have but one Word more to ſay, and that is (though in that, perhaps, I ſhall ſhew my Weakneſs) it is by Way of Encouragement to you to go on in this Work.

And give me Leave to begin thus: I confeſs I never looked to ſee ſuch a Day as this, it may be nor you, when *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhall be owned, as he is this Day, and in this World: *Jeſus Chriſt* is owned this Day by you all, and you own him by your Willingneſs in appearing here; and you manifeſt this (as far as poor Creatures can) to be a Day of the Power of *Chriſt* by your Willingneſs: I know you remember that Scripture in *Pſalm* cx. 3. *The People ſhall be willing in the Day of thy Power*; God doth manifeſt it to be a Day of the Power of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Having through ſo much Blood, and ſo many Trials as have been upon theſe Nations, made this to be one of the great Iſſues thereof, to have a People called to the Supreme Authority upon ſuch an avowed Account, God hath owned his Son by this; and you, by your Willingneſs, do own *Jeſus Chriſt*; and therefore, for my Part, I confeſs I did never look to ſee ſuch a Sight: Perhaps, you are not known by Face one to another; but we muſt tell you this, that indeed we have not allowed ourſelves in the Choice of one Perſon, in whom we had not this good Hope, that there was Faith in *Jeſus Chriſt*, and Love unto all his Saints and People: And thus God hath owned you in the Face and Eyes of the World; and thus, by your Coming hither, have you owned him; as it is in *Iſaiah* xliii. 21. It is an high Expreſſion, and look to your own Hearts, whether now or hereafter God ſhall apply it to you: *This People* (ſaith he) *I have formed for myſelf, that they might ſhew forth my Praiſe.* It is a memorable Place, and, I hope, not unfitly applied; God apply it to each of your Hearts. I ſhall not deſcant upon the Words, they are plain, you are as like the Forming of God as ever People were: If any Man ſhould ask you one by one, and ſhould tender a Book to you, you would dare to ſwear, that neither directly nor indirectly did you ſeek to come hither: You have been

paſſive

paſſive in coming hither, in being called hither, and that is an active Word, *This People I have formed.* Conſider the Circumſtances by which you are called together; through what Difficulties, through what Strivings, through what Blood, you are come hither. Neither you nor I, nor no Man living, three Months ago, had a Thought to have ſeen ſuch a Company, taking upon them, or rather being called to the Supreme Authority, and therefore know now your Call.

Indeed, I think, as it may be truly ſaid, that never was a Supreme Authority, conſiſting of ſo numerous a Body as you are, which I believe are above One-hundred and Forty, were ever in the Supreme Authority, under ſuch a Notion, in ſuch a Way of owning God, and being owned by him; and therefore I ſay alſo, never a People formed for ſuch a Purpoſe (ſo called) if it were Time to compare your ſtanding with thoſe that have been called by the Suffrages of the People: Who can tell how ſoon God may fit the People for ſuch a Thing, and who would deſire any thing more in the World, but that it might be ſo? I would all the Lord's People were Prophets, I would they were fit to be called, and fit to call; and it is the Longing of our Hearts, to ſee them once own the Intereſt of *Jeſus Chriſt*: And give me Leave to ſay, if I know any Thing in the World, What is there more like to win the People to the Intereſt and Love of God? Nay, What a Duty will lie upon you, to have your Converſation ſuch, as that they may love you, that they may ſee you lay out your Time and Spirits for them? Is not this the moſt likely Way to bring them to their Liberties? And do you not, by this, put it upon God to find the Time and the Seaſon for it, by pouring forth his Spirit; at leaſt by convincing them, that, as Men fearing God have fought them out of their Thraldom and Bondage, under the Royal Power; ſo Men fearing God rule them in the Fear of God, and take Care to adminiſter Good unto them: But this is ſome Digreſſion. I ſay, own your Call, for indeed it is marvellous, and it is of God, and it hath been unprojected, unthought of by you and us; and that hath been the Way God hath dealt with us all along, to keep Things from our Eyes, that what we have acted, we have ſeen nothing before us, which alſo is a Witneſs, in ſome Meaſure, to our Integrity. I ſay, you are called with a high Call: And why ſhould we be afraid to ſay, or think, that this Way may be the Door to uſher in Things that God hath promiſed and propheſied of, and to ſet the Hearts of his People to wait for, and expect? We know who they are that ſhall war with the Lamb againſt his Enemies: They ſhall be a People called, choſen, and faithful; and hath in the Military Way (we muſt ſpeak it without Flattery) I believe you know it, he hath acted with them, and for them, and now in the Civil Power and Authority, and theſe are not ill Prognoſtications for that Good we wait for: Indeed, I do think ſomething is at the Door, we are at the Threſhold, and therefore it becomes us to lift up our Heads, and to encourage ourſelves in the Lord, and we have ſome of us thought it our Duty to endeavour this Way, not vainly looking on that Prophecy in *Daniel*, *And the Kingdom ſhall not be delivered to another People.* Truly, God hath brought it into your Hands, by his Owning, and Bleſſing, and Calling out a Military Power; God hath perſuaded their Hearts to be inſtrumental in Calling you, and this hath been ſet upon our Hearts, and upon all the Faithful in the Land; it may be that it is not our Duty to deliver it over to any other People, and that Scripture may be fulfilling now to us: But I may be beyond my Line.

But, I thank God, I have my Hopes exerciſed in theſe Things, and ſo I am perſuaded are yours: Truly, ſeeing that theſe Things are ſo, that you are at the Edge of the Promiſes and Prophecies, at leaſt if there were neither Promiſe for this nor Prophecy, you are coveting the beſt Things, endeavouring after the beſt Things; and, as I have ſaid elſewhere, if I were to chuſe the meaneſt Officer in the Army, or Commonwealth, I would chuſe a godly Man that hath Principles, eſpecially where Truſt is to be committed, becauſe I know where to have a Man that hath Principles: I believe if any Man of you ſhould chuſe a Servant, you would do ſo; and I would all our Magiſtrates were ſo choſen, that may be ſome Effects of this: It is our Duty to chuſe Men that fear the Lord, to praiſe the Lord, yea, ſuch as the Lord forms for himſelf, and he expects not Praiſes from others; this, being ſo, puts me in Mind of another Scripture, *Pſal.* lxviii. which indeed is a glorious Prophecy, and I am perſuaded of the Goſpel, or it may be of the *Jews*; alſo there it is propheſied, *He will bring his People again out of the*

the Depths of the Sea, as once he led Iſrael *through the Red-Sea*; and it may be, ſome do think God is bringing the *Jews* Home to their Station from the Iſles of the Sea: Surely, when God ſets up the Glory of the Goſpel-Church, it ſhall be Gathering People out of deep Waters, out of the Multitude of Waters; ſuch are his People, drawn out of the Multitudes of the Nations, and People of the World. And that *Pſalm* will be very glorious in many other Parts of it, *When he gave the Word, great was the Company of them that publiſhed it; Kings of the Armies did fly apace, and ſhe that tarried at Home divided the Spoil; and, although ye have lain among the Pots, yet ſhall ye be as the Wings of a Dove covered with Silver, and her Feathers with yellow Gold.* And, indeed, the Triumph of that *Pſalm* is exceeding high and great, and God is accompliſhing it; and the Cloſe of it, that cloſeth with my Heart, and I am perſuaded will with yours alſo: That *God ſhakes Hills and Mountains, and they reel*; and God hath a Hill too, *and his Hill is as the Hill of* Baſhan, *and the Chariots of God are twenty-thouſand of Angels, and God will dwell upon this Hill for ever.* Truly, I am ſorry that I have troubled you, in ſuch a Place of Heat as this is, ſo long; all that I have to ſay in mine own Name, and in the Names of my Fellow-Officers, who have joined with me in this Work, is, that we ſhall commend you to the Grace of God, and to the Guidance of his Spirit; having thus far ſerved you, or rather our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* in it, we are, as we hope, and ſhall be, ready in our Stations, according as the Providence of God ſhall lead us, to be ſubſervient to the Work of God, and the Authority, which we reckon, God hath ſet over us. And although we have no formal Thing to preſent you with, to which the Hands and outward viſible Expreſſions of the Hearts of the Officers of the three Nations are ſet; yet we may ſay for them, and we may ſay alſo with Confidence for our Brethren at Sea, with whom neither in *Scotland*, nor *Ireland*, nor at Sea, hath any Artifice been uſed, to perſuade their Approbations to this Work; yet we can ſay, that their Conſent and Affections hath flowed in to us from all Parts beyond our Expectations; and we are confident we may ſay with all Confidence, that we have had their Approbations, and full Conſent, unſought indeed to the other Work, ſo that you have their Hearts and Affections in this; and not only they, but we have very many Papers from the Churches of God, throughout the Nation, wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing Obſtacles, and approving what we have done in this very Thing. And, having ſaid this, I ſhall trouble you no more; but if you will be pleaſed that this Inſtrument may be read, which I have ſigned by the Advice of the Council of Officers, we ſhall then leave you to your own Thoughts, and to the Guidance of God, to order and diſpoſe of yourſelves for further Meetings as you ſhall ſee Cauſe.

The *Loyal Obſervator*: Or, Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Life and Actions of *Roger* the *Fidler*; alias, The *Obſervator**. *London*: Printed for *W. Hammond*, 1683. *Quarto*, containing 12 Pages.

Ralph.

HERE's a Clutter with Obſervators three or four times a Week! And an everlaſting Din about Whigs and Trimmers, and the Devil and all of Buſineſs! Prithee, *Nobbs*, let thee and I ſet up an Obſervator; 'tis a pretty Trade, and, next to that of an Informer, one of the moſt thriving in theſe dull Times. There's an old Fellow in *Holborn* gets, they ſay, forty Shillings a Paper certain Penſion, beſides By-jobs of two or three-hundred Guineas at a Lump; and yet frets, and foams, and raves, becauſe he is no better rewarded.

* Alias Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange.*

Nobbs. When all the ſwarming Intelligencers were ſilenced, and *Thompſon* muzzled, and *Care* run away, and *Curtis* and *Janeway*, poor Snails! had pulled in their Horns, and were crept into their original Shells, I was in Hopes the Nation ſhould no more have been peſtered with this Make-bait Trumpery; but, ſince the incorrigible Squire ſcribbles on as eagerly as ever, I ſee no Reaſon why we may not put in for a Snack; for a Pamphlet is a Pamphlet, whether it be writ by *Roger* the Fidler, or *Ralph* the Corn-cutter.

Ralph. But I bar all Diſcourſe of Religion or Government, and Reflexions on particular Perſons.

Nobbs. Prithee haſt thou got a new Invention to make Butter without Cream? Or the Apothecaries Trick, to give us *Oxycrocium*, and not a Dram of Saffron in it? Alas Man! it is the very Eſſence of an Obſervator to be full of Myſteries of State, and its Privilege to fall foul on any Body. How many Hundreds have been libelled that Way? Nay, Perſons of higheſt Honour and Office have ſcarce eſcaped him of late. Suppoſe I have a Mind to a good warm Place of Credit and Profit (and for ſuch Dainties old Men may long, as well as young Women) what have I to do, but print an Obſervator, upbraid the Government with my Services and Diſappointments, acquaint the World what Preferments I would be at, and put my Superiors roundly in Mind of it; as much as to ſay, *Sirs! you are ungrateful, and neither underſtand your own Intereſt, nor my Merits.* Then ſuppoſe I receive a Rub from ſome Perſons of Quality that do not think me worthy; ſtraight I at them with another Obſervator, and expoſe them as Trimmers and Betrayers of the Government; and ſo revenge myſelf, that no-body for the Future ſhall dare oppoſe my Pretenſions.

Ralph. A clever Courſe! but, methinks, ſomewhat ſaucy; and he, that practiſes it, deſerves no other Advancement, but to the Pillory, or Whipping-poſt: However, ſince there is an old Proverb,——*That one may better ſteal a Steed, than another peep over the Hedge*, I know not whether every Obſervator may be allowed the like Prerogative; therefore ſtill I ſay, I will not meddle with Edge-tools.

Nobbs. What then, ſhall we talk of nothing at all?

Ralph. No, but of ſomething next to nothing, that is, the Obſervator himſelf; I go ſometimes to *Sam*'s, where People cry him up as the *Atlas* of the Church, the *Argus* of the State, the very Buckle and Thong of Loyalty; and you ſee how he vapours of his forty Years Service to the Crown; therefore I would gladly be informed what mighty Exploits he performed during the old Rebellion, what Commands he had, how many Thouſand Pounds he expended, what Scars of Honour he received.

Nobbs. You muſt note, The Gentleman was a younger Brother (the Scandal of a worthy Family, who have long been aſhamed of him) and ſo far from being able to contribute to the Royal Cauſe, that, during his Youth, *Phil. Porter*'s Plough was his beſt Maintenance; and it is obſerved, That he lived more ſplendidly under the Uſurper, than ever before, or ſince: Whence ſome have thought, that the ſame Wind, which hurried old *Noll* to *Old Nick*, might alſo puff away this Gallant's Coach and Horſes; for, though he kept ſuch an Equipage before, they were never afterwards viſible.

Ralph. This is nothing to his Perſonal Gallantry; perhaps he reſcued the Standard at *Edge-hill*; ſtormed Towns, as Mountebanks draw Teeth, with a Touch; or routed whole Armies of the Rebels, like *Almanzor*.

Nobbs. No, no; Valour is none of his Talent; he has more Wit, than to hazard his precious Perſon with any Gun, but *Joan*'s; wiſely conſidering, that, if a Man happen to be ſpitted through the Lungs, or have his Brains dulled with a Lump of Lead, it would go near to ſpoil his Writing of Obſervators for ever; and then What would become of the Government? He marches, indeed, equipped with a Sword, but it is only for Ornament, for he has not ſo much Courage as a Guinney-pig; a Boy of Fourteen may at any Time diſarm him with a Bean-ſtalk. Did you never hear how Captain *C.* of *Richmond* Obſervatored him? Or how the Life-guard-man wrought a Miracle, and, for a Moment, made him honeſt?

Ralph. Of the firſt I have had ſome Inkling: He had libelled ſome of the Captain's Relations, who thereupon gave him the Diſcipline of the Battoon, and made him dance without his Fiddle, which he received as became

came a Philoſopher; and it is the beſt Argument he has to prove him a *Chriſtian*, becauſe *Preces & Lachrymæ* were all his Defence.—But, for the Adventure of the Life-guard-man, I am in the Dark.

Nobbs. The Buſineſs was thus: —— About the Year 1677, one *Cole*, having a Sheet againſt Popery, called, *A Rod for* Rome (or ſome ſuch-like Title) bearing hard upon the Jeſuits, ſent it up for a Paſſ-port; Mr. Obſerver refuſed it, as he generally did Things of that Nature, yet could give no Reaſon; for he was not ſo ungenteel, as to boaſt the Kindneſſes he did the *Romans*. Thus it lay by till after the Diſcovery of the Plot, when the old Man ſent it again by Mrs. *Purſlow*, a Printer, who, having made forty Jaunts in vain, at laſt ſent her Maid for his poſitive Anſwer; but, ſhe not being ſo much in his Favour, as the Laſs once in *Duck-lane*, to whom he never denied any Thing, he returned it, ſwearing moſt bloodily, That he would not allow it. As the Wench came forth, whom ſhould ſhe meet with, but a Gentleman of the Guard, her Acquaintance; who, underſtanding what ſhe had been about, read the Copy, goes back with her, and, as ſoon as he came into the Room, diſplaying the Paper by one Corner, as an Enſign of War, begins: —— *D—me, Do you deny ſuch an honeſt Thing againſt the Papiſts? Ha!* The Obſervator was juſt ready to *Atkiniſe* his Breeches; and, with a thouſand *French* Cringes and Grimaces, cries: —— *Good Sir! Noble Sir! As I am a Gentleman, I never refuſed it; only the Maid importuned me, when I was buſy*; —— and preſently beſcrawled the Paper with his licentious Fiſt. The Wench was fumbling for the Half-crown, but her Friend plucked her away abruptly; and our Obſervator was glad he was ſo well rid of him, though with the Loſs of his Fee.

Ralph. But ſtill, Where are the Inſtances of his Atchievements for *Charles the Martyr?* He boaſts, in many of his Pamphlets, how near he was to the Honour of the Gallows: What, was he to be hanged, like *Mum-chance*, for Doing nothing?

Nobbs. No, but for Doing nothing to the Purpoſe. Did you never ſee a little *Hocus*, by Sleight of Hand, popping a Piece ſeveral Times, firſt out of one Pocket, and then out of another, perſuade Folks he was damnable full of Money, when one poor Sice was all his Stock; juſt ſo the Iliads of our Obſervator's Loyalty, when examined, dwindle into one ſingle, ſorry, ill-managed Intrigue at *Lynn*; which was nakedly thus:

About *November* 44, the Town of *Lynn* being in the Rebels Hands, the Gentleman you wot on, pretending Abundance of Intereſt there, when indeed he had none at all, procured a Commiſſion from his Majeſty to reduce it, graciouſly promiſing him the Government of the Town, if he could effect it, and Payment of all Rewards, he ſhould promiſe, not exceeding five-thouſand Pounds, *&c.* The hair-brained Undertaker could think of no other Way to reduce it, but by ſending for one Capt. *Leamon* of *Lynn* (one that had taken the Covenant, and a known Zealot for the Rebels Cauſe) to a Papiſt's Houſe two or three Miles off, and very diſcreetly blunders out the Buſineſs; ſhews him his Commiſſion; promiſes him one-thouſand Pounds, and other Preferments, if he would betray the Town, adding, That the King did value the Surpriſing of that Town at Half his Crown. A very likely Tale! *Leamon*, perceiving what a weak Tool he had to deal with, ſeems to comply; but the ſame Night acquaints the Governor, Colonel *Walton*, and, according to Promiſe, meets our ſkulking Town-taker next Day, but carried with him a Corporal in a Seaman's Habit; to whom he alſo very frankly ſhewed his Commiſſion. In the mean Time, Lieutenant *Stubbing*, and five Soldiers habited like Seamen, came from *Lynn* to the Houſe, and then the diſguiſed Corporal ſeizes our gallant Undertaker, who tamely ſurrenders both his Perſon and Commiſſion; and ſo, being brought to *London*, it being proved at a Court-martial at *Guildhall*, and by himſelf confeſſed, That he came into the Parliament's Quarters, not in an hoſtile Manner, as a Soldier, but without Drum, Trumpet, or Paſs, as a Spy, and had tampered with their Officers to betray the Gariſon, he was, for the ſame, ſentenced to be hanged, *December* 28, 44, and, paſſing from the Court through the Croud, uttered theſe heroick Words: —— *I deſire all People would take Warning by me, that there may be no more Blood ſhed in this Kind.* However, by Appealing to the Lords, he ſhuffled off preſent Execution, and, having lain ſome Time in *Newgate*, obtained his Liberty; but upon what valuable Conſiderations muſt remain a Riddle, unleſs his After-familiarity

arity with *Cromwell*, and the unaccountable Port, that he afterwards lived in, during thoſe Times, help to explain it.

Ralph. The Total of the Account, then, ſtands thus: —— 1. That the Gentleman abuſed the good King with a falſe Story: It ſeems, he thought it as eaſy a Matter to ſurpriſe a Town, as to over-run the Printer's Wife; but was ſhamefully defeated in both. 2. He managed the Affair like a raſh Coxcomb, and was out-witted by a dull, heavy Roundhead. 3. Had it ſucceeded, though acknowledged juſtifiable (ſuch Practices being often uſed in Wars, much more in the Caſe of Rebels, where the ſeeming Treachery is but Duty) yet there is little of Glory to be derived from ſuch a pitiful tampering Employ; only, it ſeems, he was not judged capable of any more Brave and Honourable, and therefore muſt make the moſt of this. 4. When he was in Danger of the Nooſe, he repented even of this his loyal Undertaking, and ſneaked moſt pitifully, and at laſt got off ſuſpiciouſly.—So much for his old Services; now let us hear of his Exploits ſince the Reſtoration.

Nobbs. —No ſooner was that bliſsful Change, but our Obſervator firſt endeavoured to ſet the old Cavaliers at Variance, and wrote againſt that faithful Servant to the Crown, the Learned and Loyal Mr. *James Howel*, and, as far as he durſt, ſnarled at the Court and Chief Miniſters, for not Preferring himſelf, forſooth, as well as others. And, to be taken Notice of, in Defiance to the Act of Indemnity, and of his Majeſty's moſt excellent Declaration touching Eccleſiaſtick Affairs (a ſovereign Balm that was like to heal all our Wounds, and mortify for ever the Deſigns of *Rome*) he began to rip up old Sores, and blow the Coals of Diviſion amongſt Proteſtants, under Pretence of expoſing the Presbyterians; yet ſtill the Devil of Self-intereſt jogged his Elbow: For the Man is known, who, being newly come from *Lambeth*, and having received only Thanks and Benedictions inſtead of Money, ſwore—*Damme! Let the B——s henceforwards write for themſelves.* After this, deſpairing of higher Place, he aims at the Superviſal of the Preſs (for which his ſcribbling Humour had ſomewhat adapted him) then gives the Government perpetual (falſe) Alarms on that Side; but, having once gained the Point, ſoon learned the Faculty to wink, as often as his Spectacles were inchanted with the Duſt of *Peru*. How that Affair was managed, let the Bookſellers Guineas near *Mercers-Chapel*, the Books ſeized, afterwards privately ſold from *Cambray-houſe*, to be publiſhed, *&c.* be Inſtances; but eſpecially the known Story of the Printer's Wife (beforementioned) in *Bartholomew-Cloſe*, to whom he proſtituted the Intereſt of Church and State, offering to connive at her Huſband's printing Treaſon, Sedition, Hereſy, Schiſm, or any Thing, if ſhe would but gratify his brutiſh Luſt.

Ralph. But ſtill he was tight to the Church of *England*.

Nobbs. Of his Zeal therein, there are theſe undeniable Teſtimonies:

1. His having been forty Times at Maſs by his own Confeſſion in Print.

2. His not Receiving the Sacrament, or ſo much as Coming to his Pariſh-Church for twelve long Years and upwards.

3. His Approving Books deſtructive of all Chriſtianity, as one intituled, *Anima Mundi*, burnt afterwards, with his Hand to it, by Order, if I miſtake not, of the Reverend Biſhop of *London*: Another called——*A Treatiſe of Human Reaſon*, that deſerved the ſame Fate, as making every Man's private Fancy Judge of Religion, the grand Scandal which Papiſts have theſe Hundred Years falſly caſt on Proteſtantiſm.

4. By Connivance at Popiſh Pamphlets all the Time of his Dictatorſhip; not one having been during thoſe many Years honeſtly proſecuted by him, though it is computed above One-hundred thouſand of them were in that Space diſperſed, to poiſon his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects. Nay, on the contrary, as often as that active loyal Gentleman, Mr. *M.* of the Company of Stationers, or any other of the Maſters or Wardens, or Mr. *Stephens*, Meſſenger of the Preſs, had diſcovered any of the Papiſts Pamphlet-Magazines, this Obſervator, either by ſecret Intelligence prevented the Seizure, or afterwards ſhuffled off both Book and Proſecution, pretending the ſame appertained to his immediate Care, and ſo no more was heard of it.

Ralph. But all the loyal World commends his Obſervators as witty, and highly ſerviceable to the Government.

Nobbs. As to the Wit (no great Praiſe in a Blade of Threeſcore and Twelve). It is the Obſervation of judicious *Raleigh*, *Nihil eſt Sapientiæ*

pientiæ odioſius Acumine Nimio: Nothing is more an Enemy to Wiſdom, than Drollery and Over-ſharpneſs of Conceit. Hot-headed Youths, unthinking ſhallow People, are eaſily taken, as Larks are by Low-Bells, with a Gingle of Words; and, perhaps, ſome She-Politicians may admire him: But the graver and more conſiderate Loyaliſts judge no Papers have really been more prejudicial to his Majeſty's Intereſt. His Deſign therein is evident, the Act, that formerly gave him Bread, being expired, ſomething muſt be done for a Livelihood; his Acquaintance, his Intereſt, lay on the Red-Lettered Side, who quickly engage him to ridicule that Plot which his Majeſty and four ſeveral Parliaments, after ſtricteſt Inquiſition, had declared Horrid and Damnable: Hence ſtarted up the Braſs Screws, the *Salamanca* Certificate, and Twenty other Crotchets, which neither Secretary *Caſtlemain*, nor *Sing*, nor any of their *St. Omer's* Pupils, had the Luck to think of, and yet altogether as empty, incoherent, and nonſenſical as their Oaths and Allegations. But his Feeders, ſtill not thinking this enough, have, of late, put him upon another Jobb; to expoſe not only Fanaticks and Whigs, but all ſober Churchmen and moderate loyal Proteſtant Subjects, under the fooliſh, but odious, Name of *Trimmers*.

Ralph. ——But ſtill he avows he writes for the Government.

Nobbs. Nothing more falſe; he writes only for his Belly: It is the Cruſt, not the Cauſe, he leaps at. As long as he ſcribbles with ſuch Provocations, it is impoſſible to ſtop the other Pamphleteers: Nay, he has done the Faction the greateſt Service of any Man living, being the general Publiſher of their clandeſtine Pamphlets, and ſets People agog to inquire after, and buy them. That lewd, impudent, and traiterous Libel, *The Second Part of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government*, ſcarce ſaw the Light, before he proclaimed and repeated it; and, if *Hunt's* ſaucy Book have ſold Ten-thouſand, he is beholden, at leaſt, for the Putting off Eight-thouſand of them, to the Obſervator. Some affirm, that for this (ſecret) Service, he has a Penſion from the Whigs, equal to his Preſents from the Tories: But it is certain, when any body prints an obnoxious Pamphlet, they firſt ſend it to him by the Penny-Poſt, to ſave Ten Shillings Charge of putting it in the Gazette.

Ralph. ——I could not before gueſs at the Reaſon why he has of late expreſſed ſo much Malice againſt the honeſt Meſſenger of the Preſs, that, according to his Duty, faithfully and impartially diſcharged his Office towards ſuppreſſing all Pamphlets, both Fanatical and Popiſh: But, if this Gentleman gets Friends by the one, and Money by the other, it is no Wonder, if he have a Spight at every body that would dam up both his Mills at once. ——But it grows late, and I am to meet a Friend at *Sam's*, ſo Farewel till I ſee you next.

Wonderful News from *Wales*: Or, a True Narrative of an old Woman living near *Lanſelin* in *Denbighſhire*, whoſe Memory ſerves her truly and perfectly to relate what ſhe hath ſeen and done one-hundred and thirty Years ago. Having now the full Number of her Teeth; the moſt of them were loſt, when ſhe was Three-ſcore Years and Ten. She is alſo remembered, by ſome of ninety Years old, to be taller than ſhe is by ſeventeen or eighteen Inches; with ſeveral other Circumſtances of her Life, which ſhew her to

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be the Wonder of her Age. Licenſed *Auguſt* 9, 1677. *London*, printed for *C. L. Anno Dom.* 1677. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

NOTHING appears ſo contradictory and idle, but ſome Philoſopher or other has ſo earneſtly eſpouſed, that his Life might have been eaſily taken, as a Mortgage for the Security of the Truth, were the Forfeiture thought conſiderable: And as of this ſort there are many extravagant Precedents that would make Nature very ridiculous; ſo there are to be found amongſt the graver Sort of Aſſertors, all the World over, Whimſies, more fooliſh and barbarous than with the Savages, who enjoyed ſcarce, or not at all, the Light of Nature: Amongſt other Buſtlings and Trials of Pens, it hath been a great Diſpute about the Age of *Adam*, *Methuſelah*, &c. Some would have Monthly Years, deducing Arguments from *Eve*; others from the Moon: Some more *Perſian* like, will give the Sun the Glory of compleating the Year; holding alſo Nature to be in a continual Decay through her own Weakneſs, or our Wantonneſs; and, though they lived ſo many Years heretofore, we have ſo changed our Bodies, that no one can be expected to live the Quarter, nay ſcarce the Tythe of our Forefathers Time. But it will be found Nature cannot decay, nor has her Luxury ſo circumſcribed our Age, but that we do find Perſons, whoſe Extent of Years ſerves to confute ſuch indigeſted Fancies.

Not far from the Seat of Old *Parr*, at this Time lives (near *Lanſelin* in *Denbighſhire*) a Woman, named *Jane Morgan*, whoſe Memory yet ſerves her to give an exact Account of ſeveral Things ſhe hath ſeen and known One-hundred and thirty Years ago: She walks uprightly, without the Uſe of the leaſt Stick; her Teeth are almoſt all now perfect in her Head, although about threeſcore Years ago ſhe had loſt moſt of them; ſhe can ſee as well without Spectacles, if not better than with them; her Hearing is quick and apprehenſive, and her Organs of Smelling are ſo corroborated by Age, that no Stench can invade them to the leaſt Prejudice. She was the firſt that learnt that famous and memorable Tune called *Sidanen*, in all thoſe Parts. When Queen *Eliſabeth* was crowned, ſhe led all the Dances, and continued the Head of all that Country Sports, until the Death of King *James*; and was ſo ſenſible of the Glory ſhe had atchieved by ſuch continual Cuſtom, that ſhe would not part with it, until ſhe had bred her Daughter up to have it conferred on her; which ſhe did in a publick Aſſembly, when the Coronation of King *Charles the Firſt* was ſolemniſed: But before her Daughter, as her Deputy, had practiſed, and in her Abſence taught the Country Meaſures for the Space of one-and-twenty Years, having ſeveral Tunes dedicated to her; *Old Simon the King* was called her Delight; *Jo Bent*, her Fancy; *Bob-in-Joy* her Conceit; ſleeping and waking ſhe ſung the *Sidanen*; wherefore the Neighbours called her by that Name.

Her Mother *Jane Lloyd* was married at twenty Years of Age to one *Evan Morgan*, an able Farmer's Son, who was the activeſt and ſtrongeſt in his Country at Wreſtling: But at a certain Trial of Skill, when he had foiled all the Neighbours, and Strangers too; ſhe put on Man's Apparel, entered the Round, and gave him three Falls; upon which ſhe bore away the little Silver Bell that was the Conqueror's Due; but upon Enquiry, who this valiant Stranger was, the young Man fell ſo deeply in Love with her, that, maugre all his Friends, he married her, and lived with her forty-five Years, before her Womb was mature for Conception; about the ſixty-ſixth Year of her Age, ſhe brought forth her Firſt born, a Daughter, who did not conceive till the fifty-fifth Year of her Age.

Many maſculine and heroick Acts did this Virago Mother do, and, though ſometimes the Juſtices were ſevere, yet their Warrants were always void; and, like Curſes of Malefactors, returned upon themſelves, for whatever Ground ſhe trod on, was to Catch-polls and Petty-Conſtables as fatal, as *Iriſh* Earth to venomous Creatures.

But, as the longeſt Day will have a Night, ſpightful Age wrought a Tendency towards a Decay, upon her vigorous Nerves; yet in all this While Time could not make her ſubject to

the leaſt Diſeaſe, tho' it has ſubmitted her to the moſt unheard of Shifts for Food as ever were or can be; and, by the Calculation of her Stomach, ſhe may be thought now to be in the Meridian of her Age: Hundreds of her Neighbours can juſtify, that of what Diſeaſe ſoever, Cattle, Horſes, Swine, Sheep, or the like, die, her Stomach (ſo far is fantaſtick Prejudice unable to make the leaſt Impreſſion on her) has a *Menſtruum* to digeſt gratefully ſuch fætid Fleſh, that others would not only abhor, but it would put ſuch Streſs and Violence upon them, that irreſiſtible Death would infallibly follow.

It is a certain Truth, that Carrion, buried two or three Days in the Winter-time, ſhe will take up, which without any other Preparation ſhe will ſlice, and fling as Collops upon the Coals, which ſhe will eat as ſavourly, as he that thinks he eats the beſt in Town, when he hath the rareſt Cutlets dreſſed for him: And, if her Prize cannot be at once eaten, ſhe'll gently and carefully ſalt the Remainder, and expoſe it to the greateſt Fury of her ſmoaking Cell, and prudently reſerve it as a future Happineſs.

If againſt a good Time her Neighbours Bounty will beſtow any Corn upon her, ſhe will yet upon her Head make Shift to carry two Buſhels to the Mill; which tho' it be very remarkable in one of her Age, it is very inconſiderable to what ſhe hath done formerly.

When ſhe was near an hundred Years old, her Occaſions invited her about that Time to *Oſwaldſtrey* Market, which is three Miles; but, becauſe of its Ruggedneſs and Length, ſhe had better have gone from *London* to *Barnet:* After ſhe had there filled her Apron with cumberſome Neceſſaries to that Bulk, that the Burden ſeemed at ſome Diſtance to walk before her; ſhe was told by a Stander-by, that it was impoſſible for her to carry ſuch a troubleſome Burden Home: This Man's Horſe was then loaden with two Pieces of coarſe *Welch* Cotton; ſhe then ſcornfully anſwered it: 'If you put thoſe two Pieces, 'which your Horſe ſeems almoſt to ſhrink under, upon my Shoulders, I will for a Wager 'undertake to carry them as far as my Houſe, 'before you and your Horſe can come thither:' The Man, being her Neighbour (fearful to loſe, and unwilling to diſpleaſe her) replied, he was more willing to eaſe than trouble her. But one of the incredulous Corporation, ignorant of her prodigious Strength, wagered with her; and ſuſpecting her Neighbour would be partial, he, with three or four of his moſt curious Neighbours, got Horſes, and followed her preſently; and at the End of the two Miles and a Half they overtook the Man, belabouring his weary Horſe: They aſked him for the Woman. He anſwered them, curſing, ſaying he had two or three ſcurvy Falls, and that he had no Sight of her in a Quarter of a Mile: They, going forward, found her returned, ſitting in her Chimney-Corner, ſmoaking Tobacco in a comfortable ſhort Pipe; at which they were aſtoniſhed.

A Thouſand more conſiderable Stories muſt here (for Brevity ſake) be omitted: It will therefore be convenient to add a Relation her Neighbours give, in reſpect of her Age; ſome of Fourſcore-and-ten remember they heard their Fathers ſay, ſhe was a very proper tall Woman.

In a Houſe out of which ſhe had ſeen buried eleven Heirs, her Proportion, as to her Height, was taken above a Hundred Years ago; and, the laſt Year coming to the ſame Place, ſhe was found to want of that Meaſure betwixt ſeventeen and eighteen Inches; and now ſhe is four Feet and four Inches high, not at all ſtooping, at which the By-ſtanders much admired; which ſhe perceiving, told them, that her Mother was compleatly two Yards; and that, before ſhe died, ſhe ſhrunk to three Feet and ſix Inches: So that ſhe concluded, by the Graduation of their Decays, before ſhe had ſhrunk to her utmoſt, ſhe muſt yet live above threeſcore Years; and who knows but ſhe may? For ſhe is as merry as a Girl of Fifteen, and will ſing from Morning till Night; her Memory is ſo lively, that ſhe'll tell Stories of Queen *Eliſabeth* and King *James*, as freſh, and more pleaſantly, than the Sufferers in the late Wars can.

I was the more willing to publiſh this, becauſe I hoped ſome Virtuoſo's would be ſo kind, as curiouſly to ſatisfy themſelves of the Truth, and then the World after; with Reaſons how this comes to paſs; and why others live not to the ſame Age?

What Sort of *Menſtruum* her Stomach has?

How are her Organs ordered, ſince no Stench offends her?

And, ſince it is a Contradiction to ſay ſhe grows leſs, How comes the whole Contexture of her Body with ſuch Conſent of Parts to be diminiſhed?

And

And, ſince the Bones muſt conſequently be contracted, How come we to find Bones, long buried, of the ſame Length as when firſt interred?

If any Perſon queſtion the Truth of this Narrative, or deſire to ſatisfy their Curioſity, let them repair to *Weſt-Smithfield*, where ſhe is daily expected, to convince the World of the Truth thereof.

The Trial and Condemnation of Colonel *Adrian Scroope*, Mr. *John Carew*, Mr. *Thomas Scott*, Mr. *Gregory Clement*, and Colonel *John Jones*, who ſat as Judges upon our late Sovereign Lord King *Charles*. Together with their ſeveral Anſwers and Pleas, at the Seſſions-Houſe in the *Old-Bailey*, *Friday* the 12th of *October* 1660, before the Commiſſioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, appointed by his Majeſty for that Purpoſe.

James ii. v. 13.

For he ſhall have Judgment without Mercy, that ſhewed no Mercy.

London, Printed for *John Stafford* and *Edward Thomas*. 1660. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

THIS Day being *Friday* the Twelfth of *October*, 1660, the King's Lords Juſtices, for Trial of ſeveral Perſons, who had a Hand in the Death of our late Sovereign, ſat in the Seſſions-Houſe in the *Old-Bailey*, and called to the Bar the Perſons following, *viz.*

Col. *Adrian Scroope*
John Carew
Thomas Scott
Gregory Clement
John Jones

Col. *Adrian Scroope* was firſt called to his Trial; who, having excepted againſt ſeveral of the Jury, at laſt had ſuch a one as he agreed to.

Proclamation being made, and Silence commanded, the Indictment was read, and one of the King's Council ſtood up, and ſpoke to this Effect:

Gentlemen of the Jury,

You have heard by the Indictment of ſeveral that did aſſemble themſelves together, to compaſs and take away the Life of the King our late Sovereign, among which Perſons the Priſoner at the Bar was one, who, under his Hand and Seal, did conſent to the ſaid Murther: Firſt, By ſetting Hand to the Commiſſion, which gave Being to that bloody Court, and afterwards by Signing that bloody Warrant, which occaſioned the Severing his Head from his Body, which we can prove by ſeveral Witneſſes.

The Court calls for the Warrant of the King's Execution, and went to ſhew it to one of the Witneſſes; which, when Col. *Scroope* ſaw, he ſaid, *My Lord, let me ſee it; if it be my Hand, I will not deny it.*

[The Warrant is carried to him.]

Scroope. My Lord, I do not deny but it is my Hand.

Mr. *Maſterton*, one of the Witneſſes, is ſworn.

King's

King's Council. Whether did you ſee this Gentleman ſitting amongſt the Judges of the King?

Maſterton. My Lord, I was at the High-Court of Juſtice ſo called, ſeveral Times, and I ſaw the Priſoner at the Bar ſitting amongſt them, and particularly on the Twenty-ſeventh of *December*, being the Day on which Sentence was given.

Scroope. My Lord, pray aſk this Gentleman whether he and I were ever in Company together, that he ſhould know me ſo well, for I never ſaw him in my Life before to my Knowledge.

To which it was anſwered, That he in Perſon anſwered to that Name, and was the Man.

Several other Witneſſes were ſworn to the ſame Purpoſe.

Col. *Scroope* deſired that one might be aſked, if he could tell whereabouts he ſat; to which the Witneſs anſwered,

My Lord, I cannot ſay that poſitively; I cannot remember ſuch a Circumſtance ſo long; but, to the beſt of my Remembrance, he was the uppermoſt Judge on the Right-hand.

Sir *Richard Brown* was ſworn, to give Evidence concerning ſeveral treaſonable Words that *he ſhould ſpeak* about the King's Murther.

The Act for conſtituting the High-Court of Juſtice was likewiſe read; and Col. *Scroope* owned that to be his Hand which ſubſcribed thereunto; ſaying, He did not deſire that Witneſſes ſhould be ſworn to more than was needful.

The King's Council then ſpoke to the Jury, and told them, That they had heard by ſix ſeveral Witneſſes, that the Priſoner had ſat amongſt the King's Judges; and by three, that he ſat the Day which was by them called, *The Day of Judgment.*

The Priſoner ſaid, That he had a great Diſadvantage in anſwering to ſuch learned Men, who were to plead againſt him, and ſaid, That he would not undertake to juſtify his Perſon, but deſired Time and Council to anſwer to Matter of Law.

The Judge. That is where you have Matter of Law.

The Priſoner anſwered, My Lord, I was not of the Parliament, I beſeech you take Notice of that; and that which was done, my Lord, was by a High Court of Juſtice, who had a Commiſſion from the Parliament. My Lord, it was that Authority which was then accounted the ſupreme Authority, that the Generality of the Nation ſubmitted to; having received Command from that Authority, it was, in Obedience to the ſame, that I ſat; I was promoted thereunto by that Command: I have not Time to bring theſe Matters to a Head, becauſe I have been theſe ſix Weeks cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*, that I could not get Council to prepare myſelf: Therefore, my Lord, let me have ſome Time, and Council, to provide myſelf to plead. My Lord, I was no Contriver of that Buſineſs, only executed the Command.

To which was anſwered, That that, which he called the Parliament, was no Parliament; that there was no Colour of Authority to juſtify them; and that, if the whole Houſe of Commons had been ſitting, as theſe pretending that Authority were not a ſixth Part, yet they could not act againſt the Life of the leaſt Cripple at the Gate, without the King, much leſs againſt himſelf.

Col. *Scroope.* I ſay, my Lord, I am but a ſingle Perſon; and, if there be Miſtakes, I am not the only Perſon that have been miſled; I hope that an Error in Judgment will not be accounted an Error in Will, and ſhall not be accounted Malice: Truly, my Lord, I muſt ſay this, and I deſire your Lordſhip to take Notice of me, that I am without any Malice at all.

After ſeveral Things of the like Nature, hoping the Authority of the Rump-Parliament would clear him, and be taken as a ſufficient Plea for his aforeſaid treaſonable Conſpiracy, The Judge aſked him, If he had any Thing further to offer in the Caſe? Which he being not able to do, the Charge was given to the Jury, who never went out of the Court to give in their Verdict; and being aſked, according to the Form, Whether the Priſoner at the Bar was Guilty of the High Treaſon whereof he ſtood indicted, or not Guilty?

The Foreman ſaid, *Guilty*; and ſo they ſaid all.

Whereupon the Priſoner was taken from the Bar, and ſhackled with Chains.

The next, who was called to the Bar, was Mr. *John Carew*, who, after the Formalities of the Court were paſſed as aforeſaid, and the Indictment read, he was charged by the King's Council as followeth:

'The Priſoner at the Bar ſtands indicted 'for (not having the Fear of God before his 'Eyes) Imagining, Contriving, and Compaſſing the Death of our late Sovereign of Bleſſed 'Memory; for the Proof of this, there are ſeveral Things in the Indictment which do 'diſcover their private Imaginations, which is, 'that they did meet and conſult, *&c.* there 'is a Statute of the 25th of *Edward the Third*, 'againſt Imagining, Deſigning, or Compaſſing 'the Death of the King, which ye are to enquire after.

'There was a Thing called the *High Court 'of Juſtice*, in which bloody Court our Sove'reign was tried, and this Gentleman was one 'of thoſe Miſcreants that had the Confidence, 'nay, the Impudence to ſit amongſt them, and 'afterwards ſealed to that bloody Roll where'upon he was executed.'

Several Witneſſes, being examined, ſpoke to this Effect:

That they ſaw him ſeveral Days in that Court ſitting amongſt thoſe who were called the King's Judges, and particularly on the Twenty-ſeventh Day of *January*, 1648, on which Day the Sentence was paſſed; alſo knew that to be his Hand, which was to the Warrant for the King's Execution, and for Eſtabliſhing a High Court of Juſtice.

Whereupon the Priſoner was aſked, What he had to ſay for himſelf? Who anſwered, that he came not there to deny any Thing that he had done; that whereas what was done in the Caſe, was uſhered in with theſe Words [*Not having the Fear of God before his Eyes*] he did declare it was not done in ſuch a Fear, *But in the Fear of the Holy and Righteous Lord, the Judge of the Earth.*

Whereat the Court was much troubled and diſturbed, that he ſhould make God the Author of their Treaſon and Murder.

But he went on to this Purpoſe:

When this came about, there was an Ordinance wherein my Name was ſet, which, when I ſaw, I ſtruck it out; I leave it to the Lord to judge, I thought not well of it, and ſo was very unwilling to appear in it, there being, as I thought, enough beſides me to be employed in it, and therefore I ſpeak the Truth, as it is in *Jeſus*, to ſhew how I had the Fear of the Lord before me; I ſay, as to what I did was upon this Account; I did it, firſt, in Obedience to the then ſupreme Authority of *England*, and after the Lord gave Anſwer to ſolemn Appeals.

Running on after this Rate, the Court was wearied with his Diſcourſe, and put him on to plead to his Indictment.

He deſired he might declare the Grounds whereupon the Parliament proceeded, and give the Grounds and Reaſons of the Fact.

To which the King's Council ſaid, Then you muſt needs confeſs it. Whereupon he acknowledged, that he was there, and proceeded according to the Act of Parliament: But was told, as the Court had often ſaid before, That neither the Lords nor the Commons, jointly or ſeverally, had any Power without the King; and that the Power then in Being had not the leaſt Colour of Authority for what they did; and that it was not a Thing to be debated without denying our Allegiance, that the Subject can hold up his Hand againſt his Sovereign.

After, the Lord *Anneſley* made a learned Speech, declaring the Illegality of their Proceedings, that when a Treaty was concluded with the King, and accordingly all Things like to be ſettled, he and ſome other had contrived and deſigned to keep the far greater Part of the Members out againſt their Allegiance, the Laws of the Land, and againſt the Privileges of Parliament, *&c.* making themſelves an arbitrary Parliament, and driving away the reſt, *&c.*

But Mr. *Carew* being not able to ſay any thing in Defence of his high Charge; the Jury never went out for it, but preſently brought him in *Guilty*.

Mr. *Scott* was brought next, and, after all the Formalities of the Court were over, he firſt pleaded the Privilege of a Parliament-Man; ſeveral Witneſſes were produced againſt him, That he ſo gloried in the Death of the King, as to ſay, *That he deſired it might be written upon his Tombſtone, to the End all the World might know it*; as alſo other Things, which expreſſed his malicious Forwardneſs in that horrid Murther. The main Part of his Pleading, was to juſtify the Authority of the Rump-Parliament, which, being ſo often anſwered before, need not here be inſerted: The Jury ſoon concluded with him likewiſe, and found him *Guilty*.

Mr. *Gregory Clement* petitioned the Court to wave his Plea of *Not Guilty*; which the Court granting, he confeſſed the Indictment.

Col. *John Jones* confeſſed, that he was preſent at giving Sentence againſt the King, only denied the Form of the Indictment; whereupon

upon a Jury was, without his Excepting againſt any, quickly ſworn, and, according to his own Confeſſion, found him *Guilty*.

The Judge, in a very learned Speech, endeavoured to make them ſenſible of the Heinouſneſs of the Sin, and, perſuading them to Repentance, prayed God to have Mercy upon them, and read their Sentence upon all together:

You ſhall go from hence to the Place from whence you came, and from that Place ſhall be drawn upon a Hurdle to the Place of Execution, and there ſhall hang by the Neck till you are half dead, and ſhall be cut down alive, and your Privy-members cut off before your Face and thrown into the Fire, your Belly ripped up and your Bowels burnt, your Head to be ſevered from your Body, your Body ſhall be divided into four Quarters, and diſpoſed as his Majeſty ſhall think fit.

All were ſhackled with Fetters, and carried to the Preſs-Yard.

A juſt Vindication of Learning: Or, an humble Addreſs to the High Court of Parliament, in Behalf of the Liberty of the Preſs. By *Philopatris*.

Sub bono Principe ſentire licet quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere.

London, 1679. *Quarto*, containing twenty-four Pages.

PROEM.

May it pleaſe you, my Lords and Gentlemen,

THIS *Seſſion of Parliament is of ſuch high Importance to theſe Parts of the World, that Heaven ſeems to have committed the univerſal Fate of* Chriſtendom *to your Diſpoſal; from whoſe Proceedings both* France, Spain, Germany, Holland, *and this Part of the Univerſe muſt take their Meaſures: Nor will it be a Vanity in me to affirm the ſame Thing of you, which heretofore* Tacitus *did of the* Batavi; 'who, in the 'Time of the *Romans, ſaith he*, were able to confer a Victory upon whatever Party 'they adhered to.'

The Parliaments of England *have ever been formidable to their Neighbours, but you, above all others, ſeem to have been reſerved by Providence for thoſe great and weighty Affairs, which are now in Agitation, as well at Home as Abroad, and for which Purpoſe you are here convened. You only are able to caſt out that Angel of Darkneſs, with his many Legions, who is at this Time endeavouring to deſtroy our beſt of Kings and Governments; you only are able to center this reeling Kingdom, which ſtaggers and groans under the Pleuriſy of Popery, and which, if not now prevented, may in Time attaint and corrupt the whole Maſs of* Engliſh *Blood; you only are able to preſerve that ſo neceſſary Religion, and ſacred Property of our* Britiſh *Iſle, by continuing, as there now is, a Proteſtant Head upon a Proteſtant Body; without which our Prince would be no other than a Father-in-Law to his People, and they Sons-in-Law to him; beſides, the Incoherence would be as great and diſagreeable, as to behold a black* Indian *Head annexed unto a white Body. Neither would ſuch a Conjunction be more unnatural, than inconvenient, ſince he that is arbitrary over the Soul (as in Popery) hath ever a co-equal Power over the Body*

and the Eſtate; which is evident from the Examples of France, Spain, *and other Popiſh Governments, where the Prieſt rides the Soul, and the Prince the Body; a Tyranny as diſagreeable to our gracious Sovereign's Nature to impoſe upon us, as it would be inſupportable for our* Engliſh *Spirits to bear.*

Now the Original of theſe Popiſh Villainies, as I humbly conceive, proceeds not more from their Sacerdotal Malice and Intereſt, than from their Laicks Ignorance and Servitude; without which their Clergy would, at the beſt, be rendered but like Wolves without Teeth. Wherefore, to diveſt their Prieſts of this Power of doing Ill, nothing would be more conducive, than the Propagating of Wiſdom and Knowledge amongſt the Populace; ſince, as Ignorance renders Men obedient and ſuſceptible of the meaneſt Slavery, ſo doth its Contrary put all Men upon their Guard: Omnes enim nos ſumus, aut corvi qui lacerant, aut cadavera quæ lacerantur. *Now, for the more ſpeedy Effecting hereof, there hath never been diſcovered any better Expedient amongſt Men, than that of the* Liberty of the Preſs; *whereby whoever oppoſes the publick Intereſt are expoſed and rendered odious to the People, as, on the Contrary, they, who merit well of their Country, are ever recorded with immortal Honour to Poſterity. So that, if Fame and Ambition, as all generous Souls muſt acknowledge, have ſo great an Influence over the Minds of active Men, what can be more reaſonable, what can be more ſerviceable to the World, than that, which hurries Men into a Neceſſity either of acting virtuouſly, or of forfeiting their ſo much deſired Honour for ever? And ſuch I take to be the Conſequence of a* Free Preſs: *From which Conſideration, ſince the late Act, which laid that ſevere Reſtraint upon* Printing, *is ſo near Expiring, my humble Addreſs to your Lordſhips, and to you, Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, is, That, before you proceed to the Continuation of any Thing of that Nature, you would condeſcend ſo far, as to look down upon theſe enſuing Arguments againſt any ſuch Inquiſition, or Embargo upon Science; wherein you may, haply, find ſome Reaſons, which, though not founded upon private Ends, like thoſe of our Adverſaries, may yet prove ſufficiently ſatisfactory to all but that* dead Weight *of Intereſt which oppoſes us, and will not be converted, for that it is not for its Intereſt ſo to be.*

This, my Lords and Gentlemen, is all from him, who would ſacrifice his Life and Fortune for his King and Country, coveting no other Title of Honour, whereby to be diſtinguiſhed, than that of

Philopatris.

ALL civiliſed People, as well ancient as modern, have ever had that Veneration and Deference for Learning, that almoſt no Nation, diſengaged from Barbariſm, wants its publick Donations either of magnificent Structures, or plentiful Revenues for the Encouragement of Literature and Learned Men. Such Patrons and Admirers of Learning were the Heroes of old, that they ſeem to contend about nothing more, than to excel in their Liberality to the Muſes: Thus we ſee *Alexander the Great* * preſented *Ariſtotle* with eight-hundred Talents, as alſo *Xenocrates*, the Philoſopher, with fifty Talents; *Antiochus* likewiſe preſented his Phyſician, *Theombrotus*, with ſixty-thouſand Crowns; *Homer* for his Works received a thouſand Pieces of Silver from the *Candiots*; nor did that ſuffice, but Cities muſt fall together by the Ears for the Honour of his Birth: So liberal were the Ancients to all Manner of Sciences; nor have our modern Benefactors been inferior to them, as our two famous Univerſities may teſtify to Poſterity. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe Encouragements, Learning hath of late Years met with an Obſtruction in many Places, which ſuppreſſes it from flouriſhing or increaſing, in Spight of all its other Helps; and that is, the Inquiſition upon the Preſs, which prohibits any Book from coming forth without an *Imprimatur*; an old Relique of Popery, only neceſſary for the

* *Plut.* Vita *Alex.*

Concealing of ſuch Defects of Government, which of Right ought to be diſcovered and amended. However, as our Government is not ſick of the ſame Diſtemper, ſo need we not the ſame Cure, but rather the Contrary: For, as an ill Face cannot be too cloſely maſked, ſo neither can a good one be too much expoſed.

That Books are of great Uſe to a Government, is evident, Firſt, For that they are the only Records of Time, which excite us to imitate the paſt Glories of our Anceſtors: Secondly, We owe our Manner or Form of Divine Worſhip to Books alone: Thirdly, We owe our Philoſophy, or Contemplation of God in his Works, to the ſame Cauſe. For Men's natural Abilities, like natural Plants, need Pruning by Study: Thus we ſee, that Hiſtories make Men wiſe; Poets, witty; Mathematicks, ſubtle; Natural Philoſophy, deep; Moral Philoſophy, grave; Logick and Rhetorick, able to diſpute; all which Excellencies are to be acquired only from Books. Since no Vocal Learning is ſo effectual for Inſtruction as Reading; for that written Diſcourſes are better digeſted, and ſupport themſelves better on their own Weight, than Words diſguiſed by the Manner of Expreſſion, Cadence, or Geſture, which corrupt the Simplicity of Things; when alſo the Suddenneſs of Pronunciation allows not the Audience Time ſufficient to reflect upon what was ſaid. Moreover, Books flatter much leſs, and have more univerſal Precepts, than Diſcourſe; which generally affects Complaiſance, and Gaining the Hearers Good-will: Particularly in Morality, where great Perſons are better inſtructed, and more plainly reprehended for their Faults by Books, than by Diſcourſes: Books being therefore in the Main ſo uſeful to Human Society, I cannot but herein agree with Mr. *Milton*, and ſay, that (unleſs it be effected with great Caution) you had almoſt as good kill a Man, as a good Book; for he, that kills a Man, kills but a reaſonable Creature, God's Image: Whereas he that, deſtroys a good Book, kills Reaſon itſelf, which is as it were the very Eye of God.

Having thus demonſtrated how much the World owes to Learning and Books; let me not be altogether unmindful of *Fauſt* and *Guttenburg*, the Promoters of both; who by their Ingenuity diſcovered and made known to the World that profound Art of Printing, which hath made Learning not only eaſy, but cheap; ſince now any Perſon may accommodate himſelf with a good moderate Library at the ſame Price, as heretofore *Plato* paid for three Books of *Philolaus*, the *Pythagorean*, *viz.* three-hundred Pounds †. This was the Invention wherewith *Cardan* upbraided the Ancients, ſaying, *Antiquitas nihil par habet* ‡. Nay, *Thuanus* ‖ goes higher, when, ſpeaking of the Inventors of this Art, he ſaith, *Quibus plus debet Chriſtianus orbis, quam cuiquam fortiſſimorum belli ducum ob propagatos fines patria unquam debuit.* And truly ſo we do; but ſtill provided, that the Inquiſition upon it be removed, without which, this Art, deſigned at firſt for the Service of the Publick, will prove uſeful to none but the Licenſer. Therefore, in Oppoſition to any ſuch Reſtraint, I ſhall here demonſtrate the Unreaſonableneſs of any ſuch Licence, or *Imprimatur*.

Firſt, From the ancient Uſage as well of the *Greeks*, as *Romans*, who were both highly eminent for Learning; and whom, in this Particular, we need not be aſhamed to imitate. We do not find amongſt the *Greeks*, that their *Vetus Comœdia* (which was ſo much cenſured for Libelling and Traducing Men by Name, as to be prohibited Acting on the Stage) was ever ſuppreſſed from being read; but rather the Contrary; for that *Plato* himſelf recommended the Reading of *Ariſtophanes*, the looſeſt of all thoſe old Comedians, to his Royal Scholar *Dionyſius*. Neither do we read any where, that either *Epicurus*, or that Libertine School of *Cyrene*, or what the *Cynick* Impudence uttered, with many other Sects and Opinions, which tended to Voluptuouſneſs, and the Denying of a Providence, were ever prohibited or queſtioned. Alſo amongſt the *Latins*, we find *Lucretius* verſifying his *Epicurean* Tenents to *Memnius*, without any Moleſtation; and had the Honour to be publiſhed a ſecond Time by *Cicero* the great Father of the Commonwealth, although he himſelf diſputes againſt that ſame Opinion in his own Writings. Neither do we read of any Decree againſt the Satyrical Sharpneſs of *Lucilius*, *Catullus*, or *Flaccus*. Likewiſe, in Matters of State, the Story of *Titus Livius*, though it extolled and magnified *Pompey's* Party, was not therefore

† *Gell.* Lib. v. c. 17. ‡ Subt. Lib. xvii. ‖ Hiſt. Lib. xxv.

ſuppreſſed

ſuppreſſed by *Octavius Cæſar* of the other Faction. Nay, even in the Times of Chriſtianity, unleſs they were plain Invectives againſt Chriſtianity, as thoſe of *Porphyrius* and *Proclus*, they met with no Interdict till about the Year 400, in a *Carthaginian* Council, wherein Biſhops themſelves were forbid to read the Books of Gentiles, but Hereſies they might read: Whereas others, long before them, ſcrupled more the Books of Hereticks, than of Gentiles. And that the Primitive Councils and Biſhops were uſed only to declare what Books were not commendable, paſſing no further Cenſure, but leaving to each one's Conſcience to read, or to lay by, till after the Year 800, is already obſerved by Father *Paul*, that great Unmaſker of the *Trentine* Council: After which Time, the unſatiable Popes engroſſed more and more every Day, till *Martin the Fifth*, by his Bull, not only prohibited, but was the firſt that excommunicated the Reading of Heretical Books; for, about that Time, *Wickliff* and *Huſs*, growing formidable, were they who firſt drove the Papal Court to a ſtricter Policy of Prohibiting: Which Courſe *Leo the Tenth* and his Succeſſors followed, until the Council of *Trent* and the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, engendering together, produced theſe two Monſters, an *Index Expurgatorius* and a *Licenſer*, when they enacted, That no Book, Pamphlet, or Paper ſhould be printed, till it were approved and licenſed under the Hands of two or three gluttonous Friars: So that, in Fine, there was never any ſuch Inquiſition upon Learning known in the World, till *Slavery ſupplanted Liberty, and Intereſt Religion.*

Secondly, It is the greateſt Affront and Diſcouragement that can be offered to Learning and Learned Men: For ſo far to diſtruſt the Judgment and Honeſty of one who hath but a common Repute in Learning, having never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his Mind, without a Tutor or Examiner, leſt he ſhould drop a Schiſm or ſomething of Corruption, is the greateſt Diſpleaſure and Indignity to a free and knowing Spirit, that can be put upon him. What Advantage is it to be a Man, over it is to be a Boy at School, if we have only eſcaped the *Ferula*, to come under the *Feſcu* of an *Imprimatur*? When a Man writes to the World, he ſummons up all his Reaſon and Deliberation to aſſiſt him; he ſearches, meditates, is induſtrious in conſulting and conferring with his judicious Friends; after all which, he takes himſelf to be informed in what he writes, as well as any that writ before; if, in this, the moſt conſummate Act of his Fidelity and Ripeneſs, no Years, no Induſtry, no former Proof of his Abilities, can bring him to the State of Maturity, as not to be ſtill diſtruſted, unleſs he carry all his conſiderate Diligence, all his Midnight Watchings and Expence of *Palladian* Oil, to the haſty View of an unleiſured Licenſer, perhaps much his Younger, perhaps much his Inferior in Judgment, perhaps one who never knew the Labour of Book-writing, or perhaps one altogether ignorant of that Art or Science whereof the Author treats. When, if he be not repulſed or ſlighted, he muſt appear in Print like a Puny with his Guardian, and his Cenſor's Hand on the Back of his Title, to be his Bail and Surety that he is no Idiot or Seducer: This cannot but be a Derogation to the Author and to the Book, as well as to the Privilege and Dignity of Learning. And what if the Author ſhall be of ſo copious a Fancy, as to have many Things, well worth the Adding, come into his Mind after Licenſing, while the Book is yet under the Preſs, which frequently happens even to the beſt of Writers, and that perhaps a dozen Times in one Book? The Printer dares not go beyond his licenſed Copy; ſo often then muſt the Author trudge to his Leave-giver, that thoſe his new Inſertions may be viewed; and many a Journey will he make before that Licenſer (for it muſt be the ſame Man) can either be found, or be found at Leiſure; in the mean While, either the Preſs muſt ſtand ſtill, which is no ſmall Damage, or the Author loſe his moſt correct Thoughts, and ſo ſend forth his Book imperfect. How can any Man eſteem himſelf Doctor enough to teach with Authority in his own Book, when he himſelf and all that he writes muſt ſubmit to the Juriſdiction and Cenſure of another?

Thirdly, 'Tis a great Prejudice even to the Book it ſelf, to come out under the Partiality and ignorant Approbation of a Licenſer: Every acute Reader, upon the firſt Sight of a pedantick Licence, will be apt to miſinterpret the Word *Imprimatur*, and think it ſignifies no more, but that this Book is fooliſh enough to be printed; when, ſeeing it comes out under the Wardſhip of another, he will be apt to ſay, I know nothing of the Licenſer,

ſer, but that I have his own Hand for his Arrogance; who ſhall warrant me his Judgment? The State, Sir, replies the Stationer; but hath a quick Return, The State ſhall be my Governors, but not my Criticks; they may be miſtaken in the Choice of a Licenſer, as eaſily as this Licenſer in the Choice of an Author: Whereunto he might alſo add from my Lord *Bacon*, *That ſuch authoriſed Books are but the Language of the Times.* For though a Licenſer ſhould happen to be more than ordinary judicious, which will be a great Hazard in the next Succeſſion; yet his very Office and Commiſſion enjoins him to let paſs nothing but what is vulgarly received already. Nay, is the Work of any deceaſed Author, though never ſo famous in his Life-time, come to their Hand for Licence to be printed or reprinted; if there be found in the Book any one Opinion that thwarts the Licenſer's Humour, whether it be of a Vacuum, Motion, Air, or never ſo inconſiderable a Subject; the Senſe of that great Man ſhall to all Poſterity be loſt, out of the preſumptuous Raſhneſs of a pedantick Licenſer. So that if theſe Things be not ſeriouſly and timely reſented by them who have the Remedy in their Power; but that Licenſers are permitted to gnaw out the choiceſt Periods of of exquiſite Books, and to commit ſuch a treacherous Fraud againſt the Orphan Remainders of the worthieſt Men after Death, the more Sorrow will belong to that helpleſs Race of Men, whoſe Misfortune it is to have Underſtanding. Henceforth let no Man care to learn, or care to be more than worldly wiſe; for certainly in higher Matters to be ignorant and ſlothful, to be a common ſtedfaſt Dunce, will be the only pleaſant Life, and only in Requeſt.

Fourthly, It is not only a Reflexion upon Books and particular Men, but it is likewiſe an Undervaluing and Vilifying of the whole Nation: I cannot ſet ſo ſmall Value for all the Invention, the Art, the Wit, the grave and ſolid Judgment which is in *England*, as to imagine that it can be comprehended in any twenty Capacities, how good ſoever, much leſs that it ſhould not paſs, except their Superintendence be over it, except it be ſifted and ſtrained with their Strainers, and that it ſhould be uncurrent without their manual Stamp: Truth and Underſtanding are not ſuch Wares as to be monopoliſed and traded in Tickets, Statutes, and Standards. We muſt not think to make a ſtaple Commodity of all the Knowledge in the Land, to mark and licenſe it like our Broad-cloath and Wool-packs: What is it but a Servitude, like that impoſed by the *Philiſtines*, not to be allowed the Sharpening of our own Axes, but we muſt repair from all Quarters to twenty licenſing Forges? Had any one written and divulged erroneous Things, and ſcandalous to an honeſt Life, miſuſing and forfeiting the Eſteem had of his Reaſon amongſt Men; if, after Conviction, this only Cenſure were adjudged him, that he ſhould never henceforth write but under the Authority of an Examiner; this could not be apprehended leſs than a diſgraceful Puniſhment. Whence, to include the whole Nation, and thoſe that never yet thus offended, under ſuch diffident and ſuſpectful Prohibition, renders it no leſs than a National Diſparagement; and ſo much the more, ſeeing Debtors and Delinquents may walk Abroad without a Keeper, but inoffenſive Books muſt not ſtir forth without a viſible Jailor in their Title: Nor is it a leſs Reproach to the Commonalty; ſince, if we be jealous over them, as that we dare not truſt them with an *Engliſh* Pamphlet: What do we but cenſure them for a giddy, vicious, unthinking Crowd, in ſuch a ſick Eſtate of Diſcretion, as to be able to take nothing down, but through the Pipe of a Licenſer? Now that this proceeds from the Care or Love of the Commonalty, we cannot pretend; ſince, in thoſe *Popiſh* Places where the Laity are moſt hated and deſpiſed, the ſame Strictneſs and Severity is uſed over them.

Fifthly, It reflects upon our Church and Clergy, of whoſe Labours we ſhould hope better, and of the Proficiency which their Flock reaps by them; than after all this Light of the Goſpel, all this continual Preaching, they ſhould be ſtill frequented with ſuch an unprincipled, unedifyed, and laick Rabble, as that the Whiff of every new Pamphlet ſhould ſtagger them out of their Catechiſm and Chriſtian Walking. This may have much Reaſon to ſtagger and diſcourage the Miniſters, when ſuch a low Conceit is had of all their Exhortations, and the Benefiting of their Hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turned looſe to three Sheets of Paper, without a Licenſe; that all the Sermons, all the Lectures, preached, printed, and vented in ſuch Numbers and ſuch Volumes, ſhould not

not be Armour ſufficient againſt one ſingle *Enchiridion* unlicenſed: I am confident that a Kingdom governed by the Rules of Juſtice and Fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the Rock of Faith and true Knowledge, cannot be ſo puſillanimous. That all Freedom of Writing ſhould be thus reſtrained with the proud Curb of an *Imprimatur*, muſt needs adminiſter Cauſe of Doubt, and diſcouragement to all learned and religious Men, who may juſtly ſuſpect the Reaſon and Power of that Cauſe which durſt not ſtand a Trial of Skill. Every Author writes either Truth and Falſhood; if he writes Truth, Why ſhould he be oppreſſed or ſtifled? And, if he delivers what is falſe, let him be confuted by Anſwer, whereunto every Author is ſubject; ſince no Cauſe ever ſuffered by being anſwered, only by Fire and Faggot. That Liberty is the Nurſery of Science appears, in that there is nothing hath ſo much clouded and diſcouraged the *Italian* Wits, as their Inquiſition; which, reſtraining all Manner of Philoſophick Freedom, hath for theſe many Years produced nothing but obſequious Flattery: In which Country the Famous *Galileo* was oppreſſed under the Inquiſition's Tyranny, for Thinking otherwiſe in Aſtronomy, than the *Dominican* and *Franciſcan* Licenſers thought.

Sixthly, This Licenſing of Books is one of the moſt dangerous and miſchievous Monopolies and Oppreſſions our Government is ſubject to: Since, put the Caſe we were under an evil Prince (as now we are under a good one) he, paying this Licenſer his Stipend, might influence him ſo far, as to make him licenſe all Books againſt the Intereſt of the Subject, or to the Defamation of any publick-ſpirited Lords or Commoners; and to prohibit only ſuch Books as are in the Vindication of ſuch Perſons who are for the Liberty and Property of the Subject: For that it is ever the Intereſt of a Licenſer, above all, to regard the Favour of his Prince (though to the Prejudice and Ruin of his Country.) Who pays him his Wages? His Prince. Who hath the Diſpoſal of all Places and Offices of Preferment? His Prince. Then who ſhould he ſtudy to pleaſe, right or wrong, but his Prince and Pay-maſter? That is, if he be ſuch as moſt Licenſers are, low-ſpirited Men, who conſider nothing but their own preſent Intereſt. Why ſhould I not have the ſame Freedom to write, as to ſpeak? If I ſpeak any thing that is evil, I am liable to be puniſhed, but yet I am never examined before I ſpeak what I am about to ſay. So let not my Book be cenſured by one intereſted Man alone in private, till it hath tried the publick Teſt; and then, if there be any Thing ill in it, I am ready to anſwer for it. Why muſt no Writing, either in the Behalf of ſuch great Matters, as Liberty, Property, and Religion, or in the Behalf of ſuch ſmall Trifles, as Funeral Tickets, Play-houſe Bills, City Mercuries, Hackney-Coach Bills, Quack-Doctors Bills, and the like, be printed without a Licenſe? Is it, for that the Subjects of theſe Bills or Tickets are dangerous to the Government? Or rather, that this Monopoly would be injured in its Prerogative, if the leaſt Word or Letter be printed without paying Toll to this Licenſer? Heaven grant that, in Time, there be not the ſame Reſtraint and Monopoly over witty Diſcourſe, as there is now over ingenious Writing: Since, by the ſame Reaſon, the Royal Jeſter may demand a Spell of Money for every Jeſt that is broken in Diſcourſe, as well as the Licenſer doth expect a Reward for every ingenious Piece or Jeſt, that is printed in Books: When, with more Gravity than Wit, having with great Study and Labour, corrected ſome ſuch dangerous Authors as *Thomas a Thumbis*; he from his learned Grammatical Pen, which caſts no Ink without *Latin*, drops forth that lordly Word *Imprimatur*; either becauſe he judged no vulgar Tongue was worthy to expreſs ſo pure a Conceit; or rather perhaps, for that our *Engliſh* (the Language of Men, ever famous and bold in the Atchievements of Liberty) will not eaſily find ſervile Letters enough to ſpell ſuch an arbitrary preſumptuous Word, as is that of *Imprimatur*.

Seventhly, This Trouble of Licenſing doth very much prejudice and injure the very Licenſers themſelves in the Calling of their Miniſtry, if they will diſcharge that Office as they ought; becauſe of Neceſſity they muſt neglect either the one Duty or the other.

Eighthly, It robs us of that great Argument we make Uſe of againſt the *Mahometans*; and what is worſe, *Popiſh* Religion, *viz.* That Ignorance is the Mother of their Devotions; ſince how can we juſtly brand their Religions, for being founded merely upon their Laicks Ignorance when we in the like Manner diſcountenance Knowledge ourſelves? How can we upbraid *Papiſts* for not daring to permit their common People to read the Bible, when we do the ſame Thing in Effect, by tying all Perſons up

to

to one Man's Expoſition and Interpretation of the ſame, *viz.* the *Licenſer*'s; who will not permit any Expoſition to come forth that thwarts his own particular Judgment. I am confident, that if the *Turk*, or the *Pope*, could be aſſured to make all Men expound the *Alcoran* and Scriptures according to the Senſe of the *Muſti* and *Conclave*, they would neither of them be againſt the common People's Reading them; ſo that we all three aim at one and the ſame Thing, only by different Ways; and that is our Miſtake: For let their Falſhoods uſe what Artifice they can; yet we do in a Manner libel our own Truth, when by Licenſing and Prohibiting, fearing each Book, and the Shaking of each Leaf, we diſtruſt her own Strength: Let her and Falſhood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the Worſt in a free and open Encounter? Her Confuting is the beſt and ſureſt Oppreſſion, when it leaves all Standers-by no Room to doubt. * *The Puniſhing of Wits enhances their Authority, and Forbidding Writing is thought to be a certain Mark of Truth, that flies up in the Face of them who ſeek to tread it out.* When a Man hath been working at the hardeſt Labour in the deep Mines of Knowledge, and hath furniſhed himſelf out in all Equipage, drawn forth his Reaſons as it were in Battle-array; ſcattered and defeated all Objections in his Way, ſummons his Adverſary into the Field, offers him the Advantage of Wind and Sun if he pleaſes, only that he might try the Matter by Dint of Argument; for his Opponent then to ſculk and lie in Ambuſcade, to keep a narrow Bridge of Licenſing, where the Challenger ſhould paſs; this, though it be Courage enough in a Soldier, is but Weakneſs and Cowardice in the Wars of Truth. For Truth needs no Policies, no Stratagems, no Licenſings to render her victorious; theſe are only the Shifts and Defences that Error uſes againſt her Power: So that, if it once come to Prohibiting, there is nothing more likely to be prohibited than Truth itſelf, even the very Bible; as we may ſee it is by the firſt Inventors of this Monopoly. To juſtify the Suppreſſion of Books, ſome may cite the Burning of thoſe *Epheſian* Books by St. *Paul*'s Converts; but that agrees not with our Caſe, for there it was not the Magiſtrate, but the Owners of the Books themſelves who burnt them in Remorſe.

Ninthly, And Laſtly, Give me Leave to tell you, that Licenſing and Perſecution of Conſcience are two Siſters that ever go Hand in Hand together, being both founded upon one and the ſame Principle: Therefore, to aſperſe the one, permit me to deſame the other. Now although I allow no Indifference to thoſe Religions whoſe Principles deſtroy Government, nor thoſe Religions that teach ill Life (both which Errors the *Papiſts* are guilty of:) † *Yet I cannot but wiſh, that all Men would uſe one another ſo gently and ſo charitably, that no violent Compulſion ſhould introduce Hypocriſy, and render Sincerity as well troubleſome as unſafe.* It would be hard Meaſure for any Man to blame that Surgeon who refuſed to cut off a Man's Head, only to cure a Wart or Pimple upon his Chin or Cheek: Now the Caſe is altogether the ſame, and we may as well decree a Wart to be Mortal, as a various Opinion in *re alioqui non neceſſariâ* to be Capital and Damnable. I would fain know why is not any vicious Habit as bad or worſe, than a falſe Opinion? Why are we ſo zealous againſt thoſe Non-conformiſts, or Hereticks, and yet at the ſame Time dear Friends with Drunkards, Fornicators, Swearers, intemperate and idle Perſons? I am certain that a Drunkard is as contrary to God, and lives as contrary to the Laws of Chriſtianity as any Heretick; and I am alſo ſure that I know what Drunkenneſs is; but I am not ſure, that ſuch an Opinion is Hereſy, nor would any Man elſe be ſo dogmatical in theſe Matters, did he not miſtake Confidence for Certainty. Faction and Hereſy were Things unknown in the World, till the Increaſe of Intereſt, and Abatement of Chriſtian Simplicity; when the Church's Fortune grew better, her Sons worſe, and her Fathers worſt of all. Why ſhould I hate Men, becauſe their Underſtandings have not been brought up like mine, have not had the ſame Maſters, have not met with the ſame Books, nor the ſame Company, or have not the ſame Intereſt, or are not ſo wiſe, or are much wiſer; and therefore do not determine their School-queſtions to the Senſe of my Sect or Intereſt? I think they are in an Error, but they believe me to be in the Wrong; if they err, they do it not through Obſtinacy, but Ignorance; and if God affords them Patience, Why ſhould we not lend them ours? It was nobly and bravely anſwered, for a Heathen,

* Lord *Bacon*. † Dr. *Taylor*'s Liberty of Propheſying.

of *Tamerlain the Great*; who, when his High Prieſt deſired him to reduce all that Part of the World to one Religion, replied: 'No, 'I will not; for that how, ſaith he, do I 'know but the ſame God, who hath delighted 'himſelf ſo much with the Variety of all other 'Things, as appears in Men, Beaſts, Birds, 'Fiſh, Trees, Herbs, Flowers, *&c.* may 'not alſo delight himſelf as much in Variety 'of Worſhip? Therefore I will puniſh none 'but ſuch as deny either a God or his Provi-'dence, and him will I put to Death.' Certainly 'tis very unreaſonable for Men to preſs and pretend every Opinion in Matters of Religion, as neceſſary in ſo high a Degree, that if they ſpoke Truth, or indeed two of them in five-hundred Sects which are now in the World (and, for aught I know, there may be five-thouſand) it is Five-hundred to One, but every Man is damned; for every Sects damns all but itſelf, and yet that is damned of four-hundred and ninety-nine, and it is excellent Fortune then, if that eſcape. All wiſe Princes heretofore, till they were overborne with Faction, gave Toleration to different Sects, whoſe Opinions did not diſturb the publick Intereſt: And not without Reaſon; for that being reſtrained, and made miſerable, mutually endears the diſcontented Party, and ſo begets more hearty and dangerous Confederations againſt the oppreſſing Government.

Now how unreaſonable ſoever ſuch Kind of Proſecutions may appear to all tender-hearted Chriſtians; yet, if once a Licenſe prevails, when Men ſhall not be permitted to juſtify their Innocence to the World, 'tis greatly to be feared that theſe Miſchiefs, and worſe than theſe, if poſſible, will be the Conſequence of it. Having therefore thus plainly and at large demonſtrated the Inconveniences of a Licenſing Preſs, give me Leave to write upon the Square, and ſhew you the Objections of our Adverſaries, which, without Wrong to their Cauſe, may be juſtly comprehended under one Head, and that is this.

Objection. If, ſay they, a Reſtraint be not laid upon Printing, and ſome Superviſors aſſigned over the Preſs; How then can we be ſecured from Libels againſt the King, the Church, the State, and private Men? As alſo from Popiſh Books of all Sorts? Now this I take to be the only material Objection, wherewith they can have any Shew of a Pretence to baffle and obſtruct our Deſign.

To which I anſwer: Firſt, That to expect any Aſſurance, that no ſuch Books ſhall be written, is more than mortal Man can give; ſince we ſee that during this late Act, and ſhould there be even a *Spaniſh* Inquiſition erected amongſt us; yet there are ſome Authors and ſome Printers ſo bold, that the one to vent his Humour, and the other for the Lucre of Money, would write and print ſuch Books in Spight of the ſtricteſt Enquiry, and in Defiance of the ſevereſt Penalty; and theſe are the Authors that are moſt dangerous, and alſo moſt incorrigible; being Perſons, however, that are more likely to be ſilenced by Liberty, than by Reſtraint: For Experience hath already ſhewed, that all ſuch Acts will prove ineffectual as to them. Secondly, Suppoſing any ſuch Authors are taken and diſcovered; why, we need no other new Laws for the Puniſhing of them, as I humbly conceive, than what are already in Force: As for Example, If any audacious Villain ſhall publiſh Treaſon, he is already liable to ſuffer as a Traitor; or, if he writes ſcandalous Reflexions upon the Government, I preſume he is, by the preſent Laws of the Land, ſubject to a Fine and Impriſonment. Again, If he publiſhes any Atheiſm, Hereſy, or Schiſm, he is liable to an Excommunication, and to be proceeded againſt accordingly in the Spiritual Court: Or, if in his Writing he defames any particular Perſon, he is obnoxious to a *Scandala Magnatum*, if he be a Peer; and to an Action, upon the Caſe for Slander, if he be a Commoner. And laſt of all, for Popiſh Books, *Quere*, Whether there be not Statutes already in Force, for the Aboliſhing them, made 3 and 4 of *Ed.* vi. For, although this Statute was once repealed by the 1 *M.* 2. yet that of the 1 *M.* 2. was likewiſe afterwards repealed by the 1 *Jac.* 28. So that I cannot apprehend wherein we have Need of any other new Law of this Nature, unleſs it be to preſerve to the poor Bookſellers their juſt and undoubted Property of their Copies, which is their Houſe and Land, they having the ſame Title for the one, as we have for the other.

POSTSCRIPT.

HAVING thus, therefore, my Lords and Gentlemen, tendered to your ſerious Conſideration theſe few Reaſons againſt any ſuch Inquiſition upon the Preſs, I ſhall preſume to offer but this one Propoſal to your Judgment, and ſo conclude, *viz.* That, if theſe foremen-

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tioned Arguments prove ſo ineffectual, as that your Prudence ſhall think fit to take ſome further Care, about the Regulating of the Preſs; then, if it be Enacted, That any Book may be printed without a Licenſe, provided that the Printer's, and the Author's Name, or, at leaſt, the Printer's be regiſtered, whether or no this will not have all the Good, but none of the bad Conſequence of a *Licenſer?* And that thoſe, which otherwiſe come forth, if they be found Miſchievous and Libellous, ſhall be committed to the Flames, as alſo the Author to condign Puniſhment; but in this, as in all other Things, I moſt humbly ſubmit myſelf to your ſupreme Wiſdom and Judicature.

Sundry Things from ſeveral Hands concerning the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *viz.* I. A Petition from ſome Well-affected therein. II. A Model for a College-Reformation. III. Queries concerning the ſaid Univerſity, and ſeveral Perſons therein. *London*, Printed by *Thomas Creake*. 1659. *Quarto*, containing twelve Pages.

To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*,

The humble Petition of the Remnant of well-affected Perſons within the Univerſity of Oxford,

Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners are infinitely rejoiced at the good Providence of God, which hath once more reſtored you to thoſe Seats, and that Station, of which you were by undoubted Right poſſeſſed, and in which you did ſo demean yourſelves, that the Lord bleſſed you in your Councils extraordinarily, and the Hands of the poor People of this Nation were much ſtrengthened under you, through a certain Hope to ſee themſelves eſtabliſhed upon ſure Foundations; and a Commonwealth erected after ſuch a Model as would ſecure us all in our Liberties, Civil and Spiritual, without the Hazard of being overthrown by every or any ambitious Spirit. We hope that you yourſelves are ſenſible, as we are, upon that late Uſurpation upon you and us, being the baſeſt and unworthieſt Attempt that hath happened among the Sons of Men; and that you will neither give daring Spirits any Encouragement, for the Future, to act the like, by permitting their Predeceſſor an honourable Memorial, or providing ample Revenues for his Poſterity (a Thing without Example in the beſt Commonwealths) nor omit thoſe Things which are eſſential to our being a well-framed Republick.

In Reference hereunto we humbly pray, that you would have a ſpecial Care of the Magiſtracy of this Nation, that it may be intruſted with ſuch as fear God, hate Covetouſneſs, are and have been, under the late accurſed Apoſtaſy, Promoters and Abettors of a Commonwealth's Intereſt, and have owned the like Principles in others; and that the Armies of our Lands may be garbled, and put in ſuch Men's Hands as are faithful, and able for the Diſcharge of ſo great a Work.

And for ſo much as the Education of Perſons to ſerve in Church and State, is a Thing neceſſarily to be conſidered for the Subſiſtence and Continuance of a Republick, that the Youth may be thoroughly acquainted and poſſeſſed with the Principles thereof, as well as inſtructed in all other uſeful Learning: We humbly beſeech you, that you would take into your Care the two Univerſities, which are the ſtanding Seminaries of a Miniſtry, good or bad, uſeful or uſeleſs, according as they are there educated, and Places whither the Gentry and others reſort for Inſtruction, and

whence they return, or may do, well-affected, and capable of ſundry Employments in their Generations; or elſe ignorant, rude, oppreſſive, debauched, and debauching others, to the great Detriment and Overthrow of a Commonwealth.

We alſo deſire that you would enact a Freedom for Opinions there, and conſtitute Profeſſors and Libraries, endowed accordingly; that ſo all that are Members of this Commonwealth, and are ready to ſacrifice all that is near and dear to them for the publick Service, that ſo conſiderable a Part of this Nation, ſo faithful, ſo well-affected, may not continue deprived of all advantageous Breeding of their Poſterity: Through Defect whereof they become incapable of reaping any Profit from that Poſture of Affairs into which they have principally ſtated us.

And that Degrees may not be conferred, but on ſuch as deſerve them, and after a more ſtrict Way of Exerciſe, ſuited to the Preſerving and Upholding us as a Republick; and not as hath been for many Years paſt amongſt us practiſed, when Creations, and Diſpenſations for Time, Abſence, and Exerciſe, have ſo been granted for the capacitating of Favourites to Preferments and Truſts, whereunto they were no Way fit; that we muſt make it our earneſt humble Requeſt, that all Degrees which have been conferred on any Perſon or Perſons, ſince the Surrender of *Oxford*, may be caſſated and nulled by ſome ſolemn Act, as being no longer Characters of Merit, but Cheats wherewith to amuſe the Ignorant: And that ſuch as are now Graduates in Arts unneceſſary, and which they ignore (ſo as Intituling them thereto is a Lye) may commence in Philoſophy and other uſeful Studies, whereof they cannot be ignorant without Prejudice to themſelves in their Fortunes, and the Commonwealth in its Diſſervice.

That whatever is Monarchical, Superſtitious, or Oppreſſive, in the Univerſity to the good People, may be abrogated.

That none be Heads of Houſes but ſuch as are intirely affected for a Republick, and who will be active in ſeaſoning thoſe under their Charge with Principles reſembling: And that, in caſe you find yourſelves not provided with a ſufficient Number of Perſons for the managing of ſo many Colleges and Halls, we pray, you would reduce them, rather than ſuffer any to become Nurſeries for ſuch as may hereafter be as Thorns in your Sides.

That the Power of the Univerſity may not be in the Hands of any one as Chancellor, nor of any Clergymen (who have been ſo notoriouſly corrupt, negligent, and malignant) as Viſitors (the Miſcarriage of Inferiors being Perſonal, whilſt theirs influence the Publick) no nor as Heads of Colleges, governing with Fellows, unleſs there be a Kind of Cenſor reſiding amongſt them who ſhall be impowered to puniſh (with Appeal only to the Council of State) all Miſdemeanors or Neglects in Exerciſe or Diſcipline that may be prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and influence all Elections for the Advantage of ſuch as are actively obedient and deſerving.

That all ſuch Ceremonies and Reverence as tends to enervating the Minds of the People, and begetting a Pride in the Miniſtry, may be put down; ſince the Appointment of ſo extraordinary Reſpects to Men of low Extraction renders them inſolent, and either averſe from going out to preach the Goſpel, or ſcandalous in the Performance thereof.

That there may be ſundry Acts in each Year, at which a ſelect Number (yet varying each Year to prevent Colluſion) of Patriots or Senators may be preſent to judge of the Abilities, and Inclinations of the ſeveral Students towards the publick Good, and accordingly diſpoſe of them into Places, ſo as they may be ſerviceable to the Nation, and not grow old in their Colleges, which thereby become as it were Hoſpitals and Monaſteries.

Theſe Things we thought it a Duty incumbent on us to propoſe unto you, being ready to ſupply by our Activeneſs whatever Prejudice our Paucity might create unto the Commonwealth: We have no Self-ends, nor do we labour to promote particular Intereſts, being ready to comply with any of your Commands, and in the mean While,

As your Petitioners, ſhall ever pray, &c.

A ſlight

A ſlight Model of a College to be erected and ſupplied from Weſtminſter *School.*

SInce the Students of *Chriſt-Church* finding their Condition, as to Diſcipline and other Emoluments, intolerable under their preſent Governors, neither the Foundation-men, nor Anceſtoral Gentry being educated, ſo as to be ſerviceable to the Publick in any Truſts or Employments; they have drawn up a Petition, that the Revenues of the College may be enquired into, and that they may be regulated by Statutes (though good Statutes in the Hands of remiſs and negligent Perſons become ineffectual) and ſince the Canons of the ſaid College (the Dean is ſo diſſatisfied with the Poſture thereof, that he hath profeſſed himſelf ready to deſert his Station) do very little, and ought not at all to intermeddle with the Government of that Houſe (they ſhould have been ſold as Cathedral, and that according to the Covenant, as the Univerſity in Convocation declared, but were I know not how preſerved, poſſibly as a Support to the then deſigned Monarchy) nor do they, by reaſon of their Frauds, Dilapidations, Male-adminiſtration of *Diſcipline*, *Diſaffection*, and general Worthleſneſs, deſerve to have any new Right conferred on them. It is humbly queried, whether ſome ſuch Model as the enſuing (which ſhall be more fully repreſented, with the Reaſons of each particular Circumſtance, when there ſhall be any appointed to receive Propoſals) than either they, or the whole Univerſity at preſent is.

Let the Places of the Dean and Canons be aboliſhed, and the Incomes thereof ſequeſtered for the Carrying on of the intended Model, which may be perfected without any further Expence, than what is at preſent loſt amongſt thankleſs, uſeleſs, or diſaffected Perſons.

Let the honourable the Governors of *Weſtminſter* School be intruſted with the ſupreme Power of the College, and Diſpoſal of Revenues.

Let no Perſon, Profeſſor, or Fellow, have any extraordinary Allowances, but what ſhall ariſe from their Care in inſtructing others, and Donatives to be given from Time to Time by the Governors, accordingly as they ſhall find Men profit in Learning, and hopeful to ſerve the Commonwealth.

Let the Novices of the Foundation be provided for of ſuch Books as are preſcribed them by the Diſcipline of the Houſe (without Permiſſion to read others till they have perfectly laid their Foundation) and accommodated in a decent Way as to Cloaths, Diet, and Chambers, and Chamber-furniture, and with Phyſick in caſe of Indiſpoſition, at the College Charge.

Let the Foundation be ſupplied from *Weſtminſter* School, not only for their better Inſtruction, but for the Preſerving of Unanimity; and, that upon their Coming to the Univerſity, they be not enforced to one Study, or general Studies, but immediately put unto ſuch a Society and Claſs of Students as are for this or that Profeſſion.

Let there be certain Times of the Year fixed, in which Commoners and others may be received into the College, and at no other Time, to prevent Diſorders in Studies; let that Time be ſuch as the Profeſſors ſhall agree upon, wherein to finiſh their Courſe of Lectures: And let theſe be diſtributed into Claſſes as the other, and regulated in their Diet, Habits, and Company, as may beſt ſuit with their intended Courſe of Life, and the Being of the Commonwealth, which requires that the Youth be bred up to Sobriety, Frugality, and Knowledge.

Let the Students of all Sorts, and Faculties, be obliged, before their Departure, to underſtand the Grounds of a Commonwealth, and what is the particular Baſis of this, that ſo they may be more active in their Perſons and Relations, it being their Reaſon, and not Cuſtom which induces them to Subjection.

Let the Governors make it their Care, that when Perſons ſhall ariſe to Maturity, and capable of any Employments, to promote them in ſeveral Ways according to their ſeveral Profeſſions; and that none be permitted to refuſe any ſuch Probation Employments: As for Phyſicians, that they go with our Merchants and Ambaſſadors to remote Countries, and that though the Emolument be not great; and the like for ſuch as ſtudy other Faculties, and that none decline this. That, after their Return, they give an Account of their Obſervations, and depoſit them in the College Archives, and that they be at their Return maintained as

before (their Places in their Abſence being ſupplied by others) till the State can find them Employment.

Let there be eſtabliſhed in the College one or two Profeſſors in Divinity, who ſhall finiſh ſuch a Courſe therein as ſhall be thought fit, eſpecially inſtructing all in the ſeveral Analyſis's of Faith, and Grounds of Religion: Let him or they uphold Diſputations and ſuch-like Exerciſes.

Let there be a Profeſſor of Civil Law and Politicks, who may inſtruct all in the Foundations of Common Right, and diſpoſe them to prefer a Commonwealth before Monarchy: Let him direct them in a Method of particular Politicks and Hiſtory.

Let there be one Profeſſor in *Des Cartes*'s Philoſophy and Mathematicks.

Let there be one Profeſſor of *Gaſſendus*'s Philoſophy, and General Geography, who may alſo give Directions for Particular Geography.

Let theſe each have Aſſiſtants out of the Fellows to be conſtituted, who inquire into the Magnetical Philoſophy; let them have a School of Experiments in Opticks and Mechanicks, for the Inſtruction of the Gentry, and ſuch, as ſhall be found ſuitable, to aſſiſt them in their Studies; and let this be defrayed by the Publick, or by Levies upon each Commoner that comes to ſtudy there, as they now give Pieces of Plate.

Let there be a Profeſſor of Phyſick, and another of Anatomy; let them read, diſſect, and keep a Chymiſt for Experiments and Promoting of Medicines; let this be defrayed partly at the publick Charge, and partly by Levy upon the Students in Phyſick, and ſuch as ſhall deſire to be preſent, and partly by the ſtanding Apothecary of the College-Phyſicians.

Let there be a Profeſſor of uſeful Logick and Civil Rhetorick, for the Inſtitution of ſuch as are to be employed in the Publick; and let them practiſe, not in a declamatory and light, but maſculine and ſolid Way, that is, *Engliſh* as well as *Latin*; and that they be inſtructed in the Way of penning Letters and Diſpatches.

Let all, or any of theſe, teach ſuch, as are not verſed in *Latin*, in *Engliſh*; and let ſuch be diſtributed into agreeable Company, for the Bettering themſelves; and let the Profeſſors be ſeverely prohibited from Teaching any that ſhall be young, and not of their College: As for ſuch as are grown in Years, and yet would learn any, or all the Studies aforeſaid, they may be admitted, and diſpoſed of according to Diſcretion, without Prejudicing the conſtant Courſe of Studies to be upheld in the College.

Let there be ſixty Fellows in the College, with competent Allowance, to ſupply the Quality of ſtanding Tutors, who may carry on the Studies of the Youth in Things of leſſer Moment, and prepare them for Lectures, examine them after Lectures, ſee to their Manners, *&c.*

Let twenty of theſe ſtudy Controverſial Divinity and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, yet ſo, as to be able to manage the practical Part for the Good and Credit of the Nation, either at Home, or in Employments with Ambaſſadors. Let a third Part of theſe alternately reſide at *London*, that they may not be Strangers to the World, and Circumſtances thereof, and ſo be able to direct better, in order to the Education of their Countrymen.

Let the other Twenty ſtudy after a Competency of Knowledge in the Theory, and other Qualifications, to diſpoſe themſelves for the Practick and altered Tutelage of ſuch as mean to be Divines; for the Education of whom, and Promoting them in order to the Service of the Nation, the ſaid Governors may take Care.

The laſt Twenty may be divided ſo, as one Third ſtudy Phyſick, and tutor others therein, under their Profeſſor, they having precedaneouſly learned one, or both of the Philoſophies ſpecified; and the reſt may ſtudy General and Particular Politicks, Geography, Hiſtory, and all other Ornaments becoming exact *Virtuoſi*; and accordingly take Care for the Tutelage of others; and that Part of them be obliged to go Abroad at the State's Employing, then return, and after that reſide a While, before they engage into any determinate Courſe of Life.

The Governors of *Weſtminſter* may rule the College by a Vice-Principal elected out of the Fellows, and the Fellows themſelves; the Power of Gratifying and Encouraging being reſerved to them: And, further, they may conſtitute a Cenſor of Diſcipline, who may, in Caſe of Neglect, puniſh any Fellow, Profeſſor,

feſſor, or Student any Way related to the College arbitrarily, without being ſubject to any but the Governors.

As for particular Orders, an Account of them may be given in upon Demand. Let it ſuffice, that this Project, as great as its Influence will be upon the Reſidue of the Univerſity, if it be thought meet to continue it unaltered, will coſt no more, than doth the preſent College of *Chriſt-Church*; which as it muſt be new-modelled one Day, ſo it may be regulated thus without Injury to the Canons or Students in Being; they, who are moſt concerned in the Charge, may be (if they deſerve it, and if the Canons, their now Governors, will recommend them; which it is certain they will not) diſpoſed of for the Service of the Nation, as in the Diſſolution of Monaſteries; and thoſe, who are notoriouſly diſaffected, and have ſhewed themſelves ſuch, though they may comply now, or hereafter, out of Intereſt; or which are rude, ignorant, or debauched, may receive a condign Diſmiſſion, to be provided for, when the Council of State ſhall have found out ſome paſſive Protection, and paſſive Preferments, for thoſe that will yield but, at moſt, a paſſive Obedience.

Several Queries concerning the Univerſity of Oxon, *&c.*

I. WHether the Propoſal of the Army, and Reſolve of the Parliament for the Advancement of Learning, or the ſeveral Petitions againſt Tithes do moſt threaten the Univerſity in its preſent Poſture?

II. Whether the Independents, or Preſbyterians in *Oxon* be more for their private, and leſs for the Commonwealth?

III. Whether the Parliament did well to own the Univerſity, before the Univerſity owned them?

IV. Whether it be not eminently true of the Univerſity, that, in it, *Men of low Degree are Vanity, Men of high Degree are as a Lye; to be laid in the Balance, they are altogether lighter than Vanity?*

V. Whether the Univerſity of *Oxon* did not well to petition, that *Durham* might not be made ſuch an Univerſity, and give ſuch-like Degrees? And whether it be not as incumbent upon Parliaments not to multiply Aſſes, as upon the Kings of *Iſrael* not to multiply Horſes?

VI. Whether the Univerſity of *Oxon* be not ſeveral Times run into a *Præmunire?* Eſpecially by that ſolemn Act of Perjury, in making Dr. *John Wallis* Antiquary *. Whether it be not a Judgment, that hath ſince befallen Mr. *Richard Cromwell*, Secretary *Thurloe*, Commiſſioner *Liſle* and *Fiennes*, &c. that they never took Notice of ſuch Perjury, though they were engaged in Honour, and by an Appeal to them, ſo to do?

VII. Whether the whole Courſe of the Univerſity be any Thing elſe, at preſent, but a Formality of Drinking in the moſt, and of Eating in all? And whether he, that ſhould plead for it with the Commonwealth's-men, might not fall before the Propoſals which *Abraham* made to God in the Behalf of *Sodom*, and yet the Univerſity not be preſerved?

VIII. Since Dr. *Wilkinſon* of *Chriſt-Church* hath denounced out of the Pulpit, by Way of Prophecy, That a Fire out of the Sanctuary, that is, the Sectaries, and not any culinary Fire, ſhould deſtroy the Univerſity; Whether the Publick be not concerned, that he, that ſpeaks, ſpeaks as the Oracles of God?

IX. Whether it be an Excuſe for the principal Heads of Houſes, that their Statutes were bad, ſince they never obſerved them?

X. Whether, upon Enquiry, it would not be found diſputable, Committee-men, Sequeſtrators, or the *Oxford* Viſitors? And, Whether the Prejudice, which the Publick hath received by the laſt, be not, without Diſpute, greater than what hath ſprung from the former?

XI. Whether the Doctors in Divinity may not take Place of Knights as well as Eſquires, ſince their Wives may take Place of the Ladies?

XII. Whether the Doctors are not concerned to uphold the Formalities of Caps, Gowns, and Hoods, becauſe there is Nothing elſe to difference them from common Fools?

XIII. Whether the preſent Parliament be not obliged to uphold the Grandeur of the Doctors, ſince it was reſolved by them that an Eſquire, and Son to one of the moſt eminent

* The Caſe is ſtated and ſold by *Andrew Crook*, in *Paul's Church-yard.*

Perſons

Perſons now in Parliament, and Council of State, ought not, in a Cloke, occaſionally to ſit in the Church, no, not at the lower End of thoſe Seats, in which they, and each paultry Acquaintance of theirs, do ſit?

XIV. Whether they pull down the Univerſities who ruin Learning, or they who ruin College Rules?

XV. Whether the Canons of *Chriſt-Church* have any Thing to do, but to get Children and Money? Whether they are not Deſcendants from the Papiſtical Regulars, and have twice eſcaped a Reformation? Whether they were not ſo called, as other Things are, by Way of Contrariety, as not being regular, ſince they rule, without fundamental Statutes, without Regard to Cuſtom or Conſcience?

XVI. Whether the Canons of *Chriſt-Church* ought not to eat the Bread of Affliction, and drink the Water of Affliction, ſince they refuſe to eat the ſame Bread, and drink the ſame Drink, with the reſt of the College, which, indeed, is ſo bad, as never was worſe eaten or drunk, but by the ſame Canons before they came to be Canons?

XVII. Whether King *Charles* did not better ſerve himſelf and the Publick, by putting in two Profeſſors to be Canons of *Chriſt-Church*, than the Parliament did themſelves, and the Publick, by putting in eight Pretenders? Whether any Man can tell when the Nation, or they themſelves, will render their Acknowledgments for the Promotion of them; or why the two King's-Profeſſors are not of the Number of the Canons, ſince they own more Right, and not more Malignancy?

XVIII. Whether the Canons, having given *O.* P. their Organs out of their Cathedral, may not give the Parliament their Cathedral-Plate and Furniture (if any of it be yet undivided) ſince they will not give them a good Word?

XIX. Whether Dr. *Langley*, when he took from the Students of *Chriſt-Church* a Part of their ſmall Bowling-green, to build himſelf a Coach-houſe; and, from the Alms-men a Part of their Ground to enlarge his private Garden, without either of their Conſents, aſked or obtained; did well to juſtify himſelf by that Scripture, *From him that hath not ſhall be taken even that which he hath?*

XX. Why did Canon *Poynter* pray for *O.* P. after he was dead, and yet never bleſſed God for the Good Old Cauſe being revived?

XXI. Whether Canon *Upton*, having been created Batchelor, Maſter, and Canon, and being never made for a Scholar, need not to fear an Annihilation?

XXII. Whether, ſince Canon *Upton*'s Wife bargained with her Huſband that he preach but once a Quarter, it would not be worth the Conſideration of the Parliament, to order that he have no Occaſion to preach ſo often?

XXIII. Whether the Wives, Children, and Coach-Horſes of the Canons of *Chriſt-Church* are not to be taken into their Number for to make up any Proportion betwixt eight-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, for eight uſeleſs, and, moſt of them too, ignorant Canons, and two-thouſand Pounds for one-hundred Students, *&c.*?

XXIV. Whether the Moral Philoſophy Reader be not a fit Tutor to Col. *Philip Jones*'s Sons? And whether the Tutor to Col. *Philip Jones*'s Sons be fit to be Moral Philoſophy Reader?

XXV. Whether the Boy, Dr. *Staughton*, of *Exon* College, did well to lie in his Scarlet-Gown that Night he was made Doctor, ſince his Degree was a Thing he ought not to have dreamed of.

The Praier and Complaynte * of the Ploweman vnto *Chriſte*: Written not long after the Yere of oure Lorde A Thouſande and thre hundred.

* This is the 103d Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Chriſtus,

Chriſtus MATTH. X.

If they haue called the Lorde of the Howſe Beelzebub: *How moch more ſhal they ſo call them of hys Howſhold?*

Printed, without Date, *Octavo*, *Black Letter*, containing ninety-ſix Pages.

To the Chriſten *READER.*

Grace be with the and Peace be multiplied in the Knowlege of God the Father, and of oure Lorde *Ieſus Chriſte*. Amen.

CHRISTE oure Sauioure and his Apoſtels after hym, although they taught no thinge which was not taught in the Law and the Prophetes more then a thouſande Yeres before, ever and in euery Place, deſyringe the Audience to ſerche the Olde Scriptures, and proue whether they teſtified with hym or no: Yet, all this not withſtandinge, the Scribes, the Phareſes, the Byſchops, the Preſtes, the Lawyers, and the Elders of the People, cryed alwayes: What new Lerninge ys this? Theſe Fellowes teach new Lerninge. Theſe be they that trouble all the World with their new Lerninge & cete. *And ſo with avayne Name of new Lerninge, and with their Autorite and Opinion of olde Lerninge and Auncientnes of the Church, they ſo blinded the ſame People that herde Chriſtes Doctrine of his awne Mouth, ſawe hys Lyuynge and his Miracles, and they that at his Cominge to* Hieruſalem *mette hym by the Waye, caſt their Clothes and grene Bowes in his Waye, cryenge with an open Voyce: Bleſſed ys he that cometh in the Name of the Lorde: The ſame People, I ſaye, were ſo blinded and iugled with them, that the ſixt Daye after they cryed: Hange hym on the Croſſe: Hange hym on the Croſſe.*

And quitte one Barabas, *a Mortherer, and delyuered innocente Chriſt unto Deth.*

All this did their Byſchops, Preſtes, and Lawyers bringe to paſſe, only by that they made the People beleve it was new Lerninge. And that the Scripture there was no Man that cowlde vnderſtande but they; and that Chriſt and his Diſciples were Men nother of Authorite nor Reputacion, but laye Men, Ydiotes, Fyſchers, Carpenters, and other of the raſcall Sorte. So that it was not poſſible that ever God wold open that vnto ſoch a rude Sorte, which the religious Phareſes, the holy Byſchops, the vertuous Preſtes, the auncient Doctours, the gret lerned Lawyers and the wiſe and ſage Elders knew not. But it muſt nedes be that Chriſte and al his Diſciples were Heretiques, Scifmatiques, and Diſceauers of the People, and well worthy to be put to ſome ſhamefull Deth for it, to the Example of all other. As they were in dede afterwarde.

But yet, for all this, even apon the Croſſe Chriſt ouercame his Enemies. And, when they thought that they had layed hym to ſlepe for ever, he roſe agayne. And his Diſciples haue ever had the Victory apon the Croſſe, and teſtified vnto the Worlde the Wiſdome of God in theſe pore Ydiotes, and veray Foliſhnes and Wiſdome of the Fleſh in theſe gret lerned aunciente Fathers.

Even now after the ſame Maner, that ye maye grope with youre Fyngers, that oure holy Byſhops, with all their Ragmans Rolle, be of the ſelfe ſame Sorte, and veray Childerne of

their Fathers the Phareſes, Biſchops and Preſtes, which ſo accuſed Chriſt and his Apoſtles of new Lerninge: Ye do ſe how they defame, ſclaunder, and perſecute the ſame Worde and Preachers and Folowers of it, with the ſelfe ſame Names, calling it new Lerninge, and them new Maſters. And retayne the People in Erroure with their Fathers olde Face of religiouſe Phareſes: Fryers, I wolde ſay, and Monkes, of holy Byſchops, of vertuous Preſtes, of aunciente Doctors, of the gret lerned Lawyers, and of the wiſe and ſage Elders. And take away the Autorite and Eſtimacion of Gods Worde and the Credence of the Preacher, with, Ye maye ſe there ys no Man preaches ſo but two or three, and they haue no Lerninge, and the foliſh People which hath no Lernynge for lowes them. But ye ſhall ſe no Man of Subſtance, of Reputacion, of Autorite, or Lerninge take Parte with them.

And ſo, with theſe olde Clokes of their Fathers, the Phareſes, Byſchops and Preſtes, fyrſt they perſuade the People the Worde of God to be Hereſye. And by that Means they liberally priſon and perſecute vnto the Deeth all the Profeſſours of the ſame. Even as the old Phareſes with the Biſchops and Preſtes priſoned and perſecuted Chriſte and his Apoſtles, that all the rightuous Bloude may fall on their Heedes that hath ben ſhed, from the Bloude of Steuen, *the firſt Martyr, to the Bloude of that innocent Man of God,* Thomas Hitton, *whom* Willyam Wetham, *Byſchop of* Canturbury, *and* John Fyſcher *Byſchop of* Rocheſtur, *morthered, at* Maydeſton *in* Kente, *the laſt Yere for the ſame Trouth. I pray God that they maye be ones turned vnto the Lorde, that he maye heale them, and forgeue them that Synne of Ignorancy. For as for theſe malicious Tyrauntes that perſecute againſt their awn Conſcience I praye not, but leaue them to the Iudgemente of God, as manyfeſt Synners againſt the Holy Gooſt.*

As for the Trouth, when they haue ſlayne and put to Sylence al the Preachers of the ſame, and layed it to ſlepe, doutles God after his old Facion ſhall there, by them and by thoſe Meanes that they doubt leeſt, reyſe vp the Trouth againe, to the vttur Confuſion of al hys Enemies, whoſe Iudgemente doth not ſlepe.

Now, good Reader, that thou maiſt ſe playnly that it ys no new Thinge, but an olde Practyſe of oure Prelates lerned of their Fathers, the Byſchops, Phareſes, and Preſtes of the olde Law, to defame the Doctrine of Chriſte with the Name of new Lerninge, and the Teachers therof with the Name of new Maſters: I haue put forth here in Printe this Prayer and Complaynte of the Ploweman, which was written not longe after the Yere of oure Lorde a Thouſand and Thre-hundred, in his awne olde Engliſh, *chaingynge there in nothinge, as ferforth as I coulde obſerue it, other the* Engliſh *or Ortographie, addinge alſo there to a Table of ſoch olde Wordes as be now antiquate and worne out of Knoulege by Proceſſe of Tyme. I deſyre the to reade it with Deſcrecion and erneſtly, or ever thou iudge, and, if thou fynde anythinge in it when thou haſte conferred it with the Scripture to thy Edificacion or Lerninge, geve God Thankes. And if here after there ſhall chaunce to come into my Handes any more ſoch Holy Reliques, perceauinge this to be accepted, I ſhall ſpare nother Laboure nor Coſt to deſtribute it in to as many Partes as I haue done thys, by the Help of God, to whome be all Honoure, Glorye, and Prayſe for ever.* Amen.

The laſt Daye of February, Anno 1531.

Here

Here followeth the Table.

Apayed, *Contented* or *Pleaſed.*
Ar than, *Before that.*
Behizte, *Promiſed.*
Byheſt, *Promyſe.*
Byhoten, *Promiſed.*
Bliue, *Quyckely.*
Benemen, *Take a waye.*
Clepe, *Call.*
Cheueteyn, *Capitain.*
Chepinge, *Market.*
Dreynte, *Drowned.*
Deſert, *Wildernes.*
Dome, *Iudgement.*
Fele, *Often.*
Fullen, *Baptiſe.*
Forwarde, *Convenauunte* or *Bargen.*
Heryinge, *Worſhip* or *Worſhipinge.*
Hired Men, *Pariſh Preſtes.*
Lewed Man, *Laye Man.*
Leſewes, *Paſtures* or *Feldes.*
Mawmetis, *Images.*
Nele, *Will not.*
Sternſhip, *Cruelnes.*
Shepherdes, *Byſchops*, *Perſons* or *Vicars.*
Sweuens, *Dreames.*
Seggen, *Saye.*
Thralles, *Bonde Men.*
Thraldome, *Bondage.*
Wonniers, *Inhabitauntes* or *Dwellers.*
Zerners, *Chapmen.*

The Plowemans Prayer.

IESU *Chriſt* that was ybore of the Mayde *Marie*, haue on thy pore Servantes Mercye and Pity, and helpe hem in her gret Nede to fizte azens Synne, and azens the Deuele that is Autor of Synne; and more Nede nes ther neuer to crie to Chriſt for Helpe, then it ys rizt now, for it ys fulfilled that God ſayde by *Iſaye* the Prophete: Ze ryſeth up erlich to folow Dronkenes, and to drinke to it be even; the Herpe and other Mynſtreſies bith in your Feſtes and Wine. But the Warke of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no Kepe to the Warkes of his Handes: And therfore my People ys take Priſoner, for they ne had no Connynge: And the Noble Men of my People deyeden for Honger; and the Multitude of my People weren drye for Thyrſt, and therfore Hell hath drawen abroade her Sowle, and hath yopened hys Mouth withouten any Ende. And eft ſones ſayeth *Iſaye* the Prophete: The Word ys floten a waye, and the Hyznes of the People ys ymade ſeek, and the Erth ys infect of hys Wonnyers; for they haue broken my Lawes, and ychaunged my Rizt, and han diſtroyed myn everlaſtinge Bonde and Forwarde betwene hem and me. And therfore Curſynge ſhall deuoure the Erthe, and they that wonneth on the Ertly ſhullen don Synne. And therfore the Erth Tilyars ſhullen waxe Wood, and few Men ſhullen ben yleft apon the Erth. And zet ſayethe *Iſaye* the Prophete, This ſayeth God, For as moch as this People nyzeth me with her Mouth, and glorifiethe me with her Lippys, and her Harte ys ferre from me; and they hanydrad more Mennys Commaundementes then myne, and more draw to her Doctrines then to myne. Therfore woll I make a gret Wondringe vnto this Puple, Wiſdome ſhall periſh awaye from wiſe Men, and Vnderſtandinge of reädie Men ſhall beeyhid. And ſo it femeth that an other Sayenge of *Iſaye* ys fulfilled, there as God bade hym go teach the Puple, and, ſayed Go forth and ſaye to this Puple, Eres hereye and vnderſtand ye not, and Yes ze haue fixt and ne know ye not. Make blinde the Hert of this Puple, and make her Eres hevye, and cloſe her Yeen, leſt he ſe with his Yeen, and yhere with his Eres, and vnderſtand with his Hert and be yturned, and ych hele hym of his Syckenes. And *Iſaye* ſayed to God, How longe, Lord, ſhal this be? And God ſayed: For to that Cyties ben deſolate with outen a Wonnyer, and an Howſe withouten a Man.

There ys mychel Nede for to make Sorow, and to crye to owre Lorde *Ieſu Chriſt* hertilich for Help and for Succoure that he wole forzeue vs owre Synnes, and zeve vs Grace and Connynge to ſeruen hym bettur here after. And God of hys endles Mercy zeve vs Grace and Connynge trulich to tellen which ys Chriſtes Law in helpinge of Mennes Sowles, for we beth lewde Men, and ſynneful Men, and uncominge; and, yf he woll be owre Help and owre Succoure,

coure, we ſhullen well perfourme owre Purpoſe. And ybleſſed be owre Lorde God that hydeth his Wiſdome from wiſe Men, and from redye Men, and teacheth it to ſmall Childern, as Chriſt teacheth in the Goſpell.

Chriſten Men han a Law to kepe, the which Law hath twee Parties. Beleve in Chriſt that ys God, and ys the Foundement of her Law, and vpon thys Foundemente, as he ſayed to *Peter*, and the Goſpel bereth Witnes, he woll byelden hys Church. And this ys the fyrſt Partie of Chriſtes Law. The ſeconde Partie of his Law beth Chriſtes Commaundementes that beth written in the Goſpell, and more verilech in Chriſten Mennes Hertes.

And as towchinge the Beleve we beleven that Chriſt ys God, and that there ne ys no God but he. We beleven never the leſſe that in the Godhed ther ben thre Parſones, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Goſt, and all theſe thre Parſones ben one God and not many Goddes, and all they beth ylich mizty, ylich good, and ylych wiſe, and ever have ben, and ever ſhullen ben. We beleven this God made the Worlde of Nozt, and Man he made after his awne Lykeneſſe in Paradiſe that was a Londe of Blyſſe, and zaue hym that Londe for his Erytage, and bad hym that he ſhuld not eate of the Tre of Knowlege of Good and Evill, that was amydde Paradyſe.

Then the Devell, that was fallen out of Heven for hys Pride, had Envye to Man, and by a fals Suggeſtion he made Man eate of this Tree, and breake the Commaundement of God; and tho was Man ouercomen of the Devell, and ſo he loſt his Heritage, and was yput out there of into the Worlde that was a Londe of Trauel and of Sorowe undre the fyndes Thraldome to be punyſhed for his Treſpaſſe. There Man folowed Wyckedneſſe and Synne, and God for Synne of Man ſent a Flode in to this Worlde, and dreynte all Mankynde ſaue eght Sowles. And after this Flode he late Men multiplien in the Worlde, and ſo he aſſayed whether Man drad hym or loued hym, and, amonge other, he fonde a Man that hyzt *Abraham*: This Man he proued whether he loued hym and drad hym, and bade hym that he ſhulde offeren *Iſaac* his Sonne apon an Hyll; and *Abraham* as a trewe Seruant fulfilled his Lordes Commaundement, and, for this Buxumnes and Treweth, God ſwāre vnto *Abraham*, that he wold multiplie his Sede as the Gravell in the See, and the Sterres of Heven; and he behizt to hym and to hys Heyres the Londe of Beheeſt for Eretage for ever, zyf they wolden ben his trewe Seruantes and kepe hys Heeſtes. And God helde him forwarde, for *Iſaac*, *Abrahams* Sonne, begate *Iacob* and *Eſau*, and of *Iacob* that ys ycleped *Yſraell* comen Gods Puple, that he choſe to be his Seruantes, and to whome he behizt the Londe of Byheſt; this Puple was in gret Thraldom in *Egypt* under *Pharao*, that was Kynge of *Egypt*: And they cry even to God that he ſhuld delyveren hem oute of that Thraldom, and ſo he dyd: For he ſente to *Pharao Moſes* and his Brother *Aaron*, and bade hym delyver his Puple to don hym Sacryfice, and to fore *Pharao* he made *Moſes* don many Wondres, or that *Pharao* wold delyver his Puple, and at the laſt bymyzt he delyvered his Puple oute of Thraldom, and led hem thorowz a Deſert toward the Londe of Byheſte, and there he gaue hem a Law that they ſhulden lyuen after, when they comen in to her Contrey, and in ther Wey thider warde, the Ten Commaundementes God wrote himſelfe in two Tables of Stoon: The Remnawnt of the Lawe he tawzt hem by *Moſes* his Seruant, how they ſhulden do euerichone to other, and, zif they treſpaſed azeyn the Law, he ordened how they ſhulden be puniſhed. Alſo he tawzt hem what Maner Sacrifices they ſhulden do to hym, and he chees hym a Puple to ben his Preſtes, that was *Aaron*, and his Children to don Sacryfices in the Tabernacle, and afterwarde in the Temple alſo. He chees hym the Remenaunt of the Children of *Levy* to ben Seruantes in the Tabernacle to the Preſtes, and he ſayde: When ze comen in to the Londe of Beheſt, the Children of *Levy*, they ſhullen haue noon Heritage amonges her Bretherne, for ych woll be here Parte, and her Heritage, and they ſhullen ſerue me in the Tabernacle by Dayes and by Nyztes. And he ordened that Preſtes ſhulden haue a Part of the Sacryfyſes that weren offred in the Tabernacle, and the fyrſt begooten Beeſtes, both of Men and Beeſtes and other Thinges, as the Law telleth. And the other Children of *Levy*, that ſerueden in the Tabernacle ſhulden haue Tythinges of the Puple to her Lyuelood, of the which Tythinges, they ſhulden zeven the Preſtes the tenth Partie in Forme of Offeringe. The Children of *Levy* both Preſtes and other ſhulden haue Howſes, and Croſtes, and Leſuvoys for her Beeſtes in the Lande of Byheſt, and non other Eretage; and ſo God zaue hem her

Londe

Londe of Byheſt, and bad hem that they ne ſhuld worſhip no other God then hym. Alſo he bade that they ſhulden kepe hys Commaundementes and, zif they dyden ſo, all her Enemyes, a boute hem, ſhulden drede hem, and ben her Seruantes; and, zif they worſhippeden fals Gods and ſo forſoken hys Lawes, he byhizt hem that he wold bringgen hem out of that Londe and maken hem ſeruen her Enemyes; but yet he ſayed he nolde not bynemen his Mercy awaye from hem, if they wolden crye Mercye and amenden her Defautes, and all this was ydone on Gods Syde.

And here is mychell Love yſhowed of God to Man. And who ſo loketh the Byble, he ſhall fynde that Man ſhowed him litle Love azyenwarde, for, when they weren ycomen in to her Eritige, the forzeyten her God, and worſhippeden fals Gods. And God ſente to hem the Prophetes and hys Seruantes foele Tymes to bydden hem withdrawen hem from her Synnes, and other they ſlowen them, or they beten hem or the laden hem in Priſon, and ofte tymes God toke apon hem gret Vengeaunce for her Synnes; and when they cryeden after Help to God, he ſente hem Help and Succoure; thisys the generall Proces of the Olde Teſtamente that God zaue to his Puple by *Moſes* his Seruant. And all this Teſtamente and this Doinge ne was but a Schadewe and a Fygere of a New Teſtamente that was zeuen in by Chriſt. And it was byhoten by *Ieremie* the Prophete, as Sainte *Paul* beareth Witneſſe in the Piſtle that he writeth to the *Iewys*. And *Ieremie* ſaith in this wiſe: Lo Dayes ſhall come, God ſayeth, and ych woll make a new Bande to the Hous of *Iſrael* and to the Hous of *Iude*, not lyche the Forwarde that I made withe her Faders in the Day that I toke her Honde to leden hem out of the Londe of *Egypte*; the which Forwarde they maden veyne, and ych had Lordſhippe ouer hem. But this ſhalbe the Forwarde that ych wold maken with hem after thilke Dayes: Ych wole zeue my Lawes with yn hem in her Inwardneſſe, and ych wole writen hem in her Hartes, and ych wole ben her God and they ſhullen be my Puple, and after that a Man ſhall not teach his Neyzebore ne his Brother. For all, God ſayeth, from the Leeſt to the Meſt ſhullen yknowe me, for ych wole forzeuen hem her Synnes, and I nele no more thinken on her Synnes.

This is the Newe Teſtamente that Chriſt both God and Man yboren of the Mayden *Marye* he tauzte here in this Worlde, to bringe Man oute of Synne and out of the Deuels Thraldome and Seruice to Heuen, that ys Londe of Bliſſe and Heritage to all thoo that beleuen on hym, and kepen hys Commaundementes, and for his Teachinge he was done to the Deth. But the thrydde Daye aroſe azene from Deth to Lyfe, and fette *Adam* and *Eve* and many other Folke out of Hell, and afterwarde he came to his Diſciples and conforted hem. After he ſteyed vp to Heuen, to hys Fader, and thoo he ſente the Holy Goſt amonges his Diſciples: And in Tyme cominge he wole come and demen al Mankynde after her Werkes, and after the Wordes he ſpake apon Erth, ſome to Bliſſe both in Body and in Sowle ever with outen Ende, and ſome to Payne with outen Ende, both in Body and in Sowle.

This is oure Beleue and all Chriſten Mennes, and this Beleue ys the fyrſt Poynte of the Newe Teſtamente that yche Chriſten Man ys holde ſtedfaſtly to beleue, and rather to ſuffer the Deeth than forſaken this Beleue; and ſo this Beleue ys the Bred of Spirituall Lyfe, in forſakinge Synne, that Chriſte brought vs to Lyfe.

But for as much as Mannes Lyuinge ne ſtondeth not al onlych by Bred, he hath yzouen vs a Drauzt of Water of Lyfe to drinke. And who that drinketh of that Water, he ne ſhall neuer afterwarde ben a thurſt. For this Water ys the clere Teachinge of the Goſpel, that encloſeth ſeuen Commaundementes.

The Furſt is this, Thou ſhalt loue thy God ouer all other Thinges, and thy Brother as thy ſelf, both Enemye and Frende.

The Seconde Commaundemente ys of Mekenes, in the which Chriſt chargeth vs to forſake Lordeſhip upon our Brethern and other worldly Worſhippes, and ſo he did hym ſelf.

The Thridde Commaundemente ys in ſtondinge ſtedefaſtlych in Truth and forſakinge all Falſnes.

The Forth Commaundemente ys to ſuffre in this World Diſeſes and Wronges withouten Azenſtondinges.

The Fyfth Commaundemente vs Mercy to forzeuen oure Brethern here Treſpas, as often Tyme as they gylteth, with out Aſkinge of Vengeaunce.

The Syxth Commaundemente ys Poerneſſe in Spirite, but not to ben a Begger.

The Seuenth Commaundemente is Chaſtyte, that ys a Forſakynge of fleſhlych Lykinges dyſpleaſinge

dyſpleaſinge to God. Theſe Commaundementes encloſen the Ten Commaundementes of the olde Lawe and ſomewhat more.

This Water ys a bleſſed Drinke for Chriſten Mennes Sowle. But more Harme ys moch Folke wolde drinke of this Water, but they mow not come thereto: For God ſayeth by *Ezechiel* the Prophete: When ych zeue to you the moſt clene Water to drinke, ye troubled that Water with your Fete, and that Water, ſo defouled, yezeue my Shepe to drinke. But the clene Water yſyhidde fro the Shepe, and but, zif God cleare this, it ys drede leſt Shepe deyen for Thurſt. And Chriſt that is the Wiſdome of the Father of Heuen, and Welle of this Wiſdome, that come from Heuen to Erth to tech Man this Wiſdome, thorow the which Man ſhuld ouercome the Sleyzthes of the Deuell, that is principall Enemy of Mankinde, haue Mercy and Pite of his Puple, and ſhewe, if it be his Will, how this Water ys troubled, and by whom, and ſith clere this Water that his Shepe mown drinken here of, and kele the Thurſt of here Sowles. Bleſſed mote oure Lorde ben, for he hath ytauzt vs in the Goſpell that, ar than he wolde come to the vniuerſel Dome that ſhuld come, manye in his Name and ſeyen that they weren Chriſt: And they ſhulden done many Wondres and begilen manye Men. And many falſe Prophetes ſhulden aryſen and begylen moch Folke. A Lorde, ybleſſed mote thou ben of euerich Creature, which ben they that haue yſeyd that they weren Chriſt, and haue begyled thus thy Puple? Trulich Lorde, I trowe thilke that ſeyn that they be in thy Stede and bynemen thy Worſhip and maken the Puple worſhupen hem as God, and haue hyd thy Lawes from the Puple. Lorde, who durſt ſitte in thy Stede and benemen the thy Worſhupe and thy Sacrifice, and durſt maken the Puple worſhupe hem as Goddes? The Sauter telles that God ne wole not in the Daye of Domen demen Men for bodilich Sacrifices and Holocauſtes. But God ſayeth, Zelde to me Sacrifice of Heryinge, and zelde to God thine Avowes, and clepe me in Day of Tribulacion, and ych wole defende the, and thow ſhalt worſhupe me.

The Heringe of God ſtondeth in iij. Thinges: In louynge God ouer all other Thinges. In dredinge God ouer all other Thinges. In truſtinge in God ouer all other Thinges.

Theſe thre Poyntes Chriſt teacheth in the Goſpell. But I trowe Men louen hym but a lytle. For who ſo loueth Chriſt, he wole kepe his Wordes. But Men holden hys Wordes for Hereſye and Folye, and kepeth Mennes Wordes. Alſo Men dreden more Men and Mennes Lawes and her Curſinges, then Chriſt and his Lawes and his Curſinges. Alſo Men hopen more in Men and Mennes Helpes, than they do in Chriſt and in his Helpe. And thus hathe he that ſitteth in Gods Stede bynomin God theſe thre Heryinges, and maketh Men louen hym and his Lawes, more than Chriſt and Chriſtes Lawes, and dreden hym alſo. And there, as the Puple ſchulden zelde to God her Vowes, he ſeyeth that he hath Power to aſſoylen hem of her Avowes, and ſo this Sacrifice he nemeth away from God: And there, as the Puple ſhulden crye to God in the Days of Tribulacion, he letteth hem of her Crienge to God and bynemyth God that Worſhupe. This Daye of Tribulacion is whan Man ys fallen thorow Synne into the Deuels Seruiſe, and than we ſhulden crye to God after Helpe, and axen Forzeueneſſe of oure Synne, and make grete Sorowe for oure Synne, and ben in full Will to do ſo no more ne non other Synne, and than oure Lorde God wole forgeuen vs oure Synne, and maken oure Soule clene, for his Mercy ys endeles.

But, Lorde, here Men haue bynomyn the muche Worſhupe: For Men ſeyn that thow ne myzt nor clene aſſoylen vs of oure Synne. But if we knowlege oure Synnes to Preſtes, and taken of hem a Penawnce for oure Synne, zif we mowen ſpeke with hem.

A Lorde, thou forgaue ſome tyme *Peter* hys Synnes and alſo *Marye Magdaleyne*, and other manye ſynfull Men, withouten Schryuinge to Preſtes, and Takynge Penaunce of Preſtes for her Synnes. And, Lorde, thou art as mighty now as thou were that Time, but zif any Man haue bynome the thy Might. And we lewed Men beleuen, that there nys no Man of ſo greate Power; zif any Man maketh hym ſelfe of ſo gret Power, he heieth hym ſelfe a bove God, and Saint *Poul* ſpeaketh of one that ſitteth in the Temple of God, and hizen hym a boue God, and, zif any ſoch be, he is a falſe Chriſte.

But hereto ſeyn Preſtes, that, when Chriſt made clene leprous Men, he bade hem goo and ſhow hem to Preſtes. And therfore they ſeyn that it ys a Commaundement of Chriſt, that a Man ſchuld ſhewen his Synne to Preſtes. For as theye ſeyn, Lepre in the old Lawe betokeneth Synne in this new Lawe. A Lorde God: Whether thyne Apoſtles knew nat thy

Meninge

Meninge as well as Men done now? And zif they hadden yknowe that thow haddeſt commaunded Men to ſchryuen hem to Priſtes, and they ne taught not that Commaundement to the Puple, me thinketh they hadden ben to blame: But I trow they knewen wel that it was non of thy Commaundementes, ne nedeful to heale of Mannes Soule. And as me thinketh the Lawe of Lepre ys nothinge to the Purpoſe of Schriuinge: For Preſtes in the old Law hadden certein Pointes and Tokenes to know whether a Man were leprous or not, and, zif they were leprous, they hadden Power to putten hem awaie from other clene Men, for to that they weren clene, and then they hadden Power to reyſſeyuen hym amonge his Brethern, and offeren for him a Sacrifice to God. This nys nothinge to the Purpos of Schriuinge. For ther nys but one Preſte that is Chriſt, that maye knowe in certayn the Lepre of the Soule. Ne no Preſt maye make the Soule clene of he Synne, but Chriſt that is preſt after *Melchyſedekes* Ordre; ne no Preſt here beneth may eywit for certayn whether a Man be clene of his Synne or clene aſſoyled, but zif God tell it hym by Reuelacion. Ne God ordened not that his Preſtes ſchulde ſette Men a Penaunce for her Synne after the Quantyte of the Synne, but this ys Mans Ordinaunce, and it may welbe that there cometh Good her of. But I wote well that God ys much vnworſchuped there by. For Men truſt more in his Abſolucions, and in his Zeres of Grace, than in Chriſtis Abſolucions, and there by ys the Puple moch apayred. For now, the Sorow, a Man ſhulde make for hys Synne, ys put away by thys Schrift, and a Man ys more bolde to do Synne for Truſt of this Schrift, and of this bodylich Penaunce.

A nother Myſchefe ys, that the Puple ys ybrouzt in to this Beleſe, that one Preſte hath a gretter Power to aſſoylen a Man of hys Synne and clennere then an other Preſt hath.

A nother Myſchefe ys this, that ſome Preſt may aſſoylen hem both of Synne and Peyne, and in this they taken hem a Power that Chriſt graunted no Man in Erth, ne he ne vſed it nozt on Erth him ſelfe.

A nother Myſchefe ys, that theſe Preſtes ſellen Forzeuenes of Mennes Synnes, and Abſolucions for Money, and this ys an Hereſye accurſed that ys ycleped Symonye; and all thilke Preſtes that axeth Price for grauntinge of ſpirituall Grace, beth by holy Lawes depriued of her Preſthode, and thilke that aſſenteth to this Hereſye. And be they war, for *Helyſe* the Prophet toke no Money of *Naaman* when he was made clen of his Lepre, but *Gieſi* his Seruant, and therfore the Lepre of *Naaman* abode with hym, and with his Eyres evermore after.

Here ys muche Mater of Sorowe, to ſe the Puple thus far ylad awey from God, and worſhupen a fals God in Erth, that by Myzt and by Strength hath ydone awey the gret Sacrifice of God out of his Temple; of which Miſchefe and Diſcomfort *Danyell* maketh Mencyon, and Chriſt bereth ther of Wittneſſe in the Goſpell: Who that redeth it, vnderſtande it. Thus we have ytold apperty, how he that ſayeth, he ſitteth in Chriſtes Stede, bynemeth Chriſt his Worſhip and his Sacrifice of his Puple, and maketh the Puple worſhupen hym as a God on Erth.

Crye we to God, and knowlege we oure Synnes euerich one to other, as Seynt *Iames* techeth; and praye we hertiliche to everych one for other, and than we ſhullen hopen Forzeuenes of our Synnes. For God that ys endeles in Mercy ſayeth, that he ne will not a ſynfull Mannes Dethe, but that he be turned from his Synne and lyuen.

And therfore, when he came doune to ſaue Mankynd, he gave vs a Law of Loue and of Mercye, and bade, Zif a Man do a Treſpas, amende him privilich, and, zif he leue not his Synne, amende hym before Witneſſe; and, zif he ne amendeth not, Men ſhulde tel to the Churche; and, zif he ne amendeth not thanne, Men ſchulde ſchone his Cumpanye, as a Publicane, or a Man that ys miſhyleued; and this Lawe was yfigured in the Lawe of Lepre; who that redeth it he maye ſe the Soth.

But, Lorde God! he that ſitteth in thy Stede, hath vndo thy Law of Mercye, and of Loue. Lorde, thou byddeſt louen Enemies as oure ſelfe; as thou ſheweſt in the Goſpell there, as the *Samaritane* hadde Mercye on the *Iew*. And thow biddiſt vs alſo preyen for hem that curſen vs, and that defamen vs, and purſuen vs to Deth. And ſo, Lorde, thou didiſt, and thyne Apoſtles alſo. But he, that clepeth hym ſelf thi Viker on Erth, and Heed of thy Church, he hath ondone thy Lawe of Loue and of Mercye. For, zif we ſpeken of louynge oure Enemyes, he techeth vs to fizt with oure Enemyes that Chriſt hath forboden. He curſeth and deſireth Vengeaunce to hem that ſo doth to hym: Zif any Man purſueth hym, he

curſeth hym, that it ys a Sorowe a Chriſten Man to heren the Curſinges that they maken, and Blaſphemyes in ſuch Curſinge. Of that Thinge that I know I maye here true Witneſſe.

But, zif we ſpeke of louynge of oure Brethern, this ys vndone by hym that ſayeth, He ys Gods Viker in Erth. For Chriſt, in the Goſpell, byddeth vs, that we ſhulden clepen vs no Fadur vpon Erth; but clepen God oure Fadur, to maken vs loue parfytlich to gether: And he clepeth hym ſelf Fadur of Faduŕs, and maketh many Religions, and to everich a Fadur. But, wheder ys Loue and Charite encreſſed by thes Faduŕs, and by her Religions, or els ymade leſſe? For a Frier ne loueth not a Monke, ne a Seculer Man neyther, nor zet one Frier another that is not of that Order; and it is azein ward.

A Lord, me thinketh that there ys littell Perfeccion in theſe Religions. For, Lorde, What Charite haven ſuch Men of Religion, that knowen how they mown azeyn, ſtande Synne and fleen awaye from her Brethern, that ben more vnconnynge than they ben, and ſufferen hem to travelen in the Worlde with outen her Counſell as Beeſtes?

Trulich, Lorde, me thinketh that there ys litell Charite, and then ys there litell Perfeccion. Lorde God, when thow were on Erth, thou were amonge ſynfull Men to drawen hem from Synne, and thy Diſciples alſo. And, Lorde, I trowe, thou ne graunteſt not o Man more kunninge then an other all for hym ſelfe; and I wote well that lewed Men that ben Laborers ne travele not alonlych for hem ſelfe. Lorde, oure Belefe ys, that thou ne were not of the Worlde, ne thy Techinge neyther, ne thy Seruantes that lyuenden after thy Techinge. But all they forſoken the Worlde, and ſo every Chriſten Man muſt. But, Lorde, whether thou tauzteſt Men forſake her Brethern Cumpanye and Traueyle of the World, to liuen in Eſe and in Reſt, and out of Defoul and Anger of the Worlde, by her Brethren Traueyle, and ſo forſaken the Worlde?

A Lorde, thou ne tauzteſt not a Man, forſaken a poor Aſſaate and Traueyle, to be afterwarde a Lorde of hys Brethern, or ben a Lordes Felaw, and dwellinge with Lordes, as doth Men of theſe newe Religions. Lorde, thou ne tauzteſt not Men of thy Religion thus to forſake the Worlde, to lyuen in Perfeccion by hem ſelfe in Eaſe, and by other Mennes Traueyle.

But, Lorde, they ſeyen they ben ybounde to thy Seruyſe, and ſeruen the both Nizt and Daye in Synginge her Preyers both for her ſelfe, and for other Men that done her Good, both quycke and deede, and ſome of hem gone a boute to teche thy Puple when they hauen Leyſure.

A Lord, zif they ben thy Seruantes, Whoſe Seruantes ben we, that can not preyen as they done? And, when thou were here on Erth, for our Nede, thou tauzteſt thy Seruantes to preyen thy Fadur prinylich and ſhortlych; and, zif there had yben a bettur Maner of Preynge, I trowe thow woldeſt haue tauzt it in Helpe of thy Puple. And, Lorde, thou reprouiſt Ypocrites, that prayen in longe Prayer, and, in open Places, to ben yholden holy Men. And thou ſeyſt in the Goſpell, Woo to you Pharyſeis, Ypocriets. And, Lorde, thou ne chargedeſt not thy Seruantes with ſoch Maner Seruyſe: But thou ſeyſt in the Goſpell, that the Pharyſeis woſhupen the with her Lippes, and her Herte ys fer frome the. For they chargen more Mennes Tradicions than thy Commaundementes.

And, Lorde, we lewede Men han a Belefe, that thy Goodnes ys endles, and zif we kepen thyne Heſtes than ben we thy trew Seruantes, and thouz we preyen the but a litel, and ſchortlych thou wilt thinken on vs, and graunten vs that vs nedeth, for ſo thou byhizted vs ſome Tyme: And, Lord, I trow, that praye a Man neuer ſo many quaynte Prayers, zif he ne kepe not thyne Heſtes, he ne ys not thy good Seruant. But, zif he kepe thyne Heſtes, than he ys thy good Seruant; and ſo me thinketh, Lorde, that Preynge of longe Preyers ne ys not the Seruyſe that thou deſiriſt; but Kepinge of thyne Heſtes, and than a lewed Man maye ſerue God, as well as a Man of Religion. And ſo, Lorde, oure Hope ys, that thou wilt as ſone yhere a Plowemans Prayer, and he kepe thyne Heſtes, as thou wilt do a Mans of Religion; thouz that the Ploweman maye not haue ſo much Syluer for his Preyer as Men of Religion: For they kunnen not ſo wel preyſen her Preyers as theſe other Chapmen: But, Lorde, oure Hope ys, that oure Preyer be neuer the worſe, thouz it be not ſo well ſold as other Mennes Preyers.

Lorde, *Ezechiel* the Prophete ſeyeth, That, whan he ſpake to the Puple thy Wordes, they turned thy Wordes in to Songes and in to Tales. And ſo, Lorde, Men don now; they ſyngyn myrilich thy Wordes, and that Syngynge they

clepen

clepen thy Seruyſe. But, Lorde, I trow, that the beſt Syngers ne heryeth the not moſt: But he that fulfilleth thy Wordes, he heryeth the ful well, thouz he wepe more than ſynge. And, I trow, that Wepinge, for Brekyng of thy Commaundementes, be more pleſinge Seruyſe to the, than the Synginge of thy Wordes. And wolde God, that Men wolde ſerue hym in Sorrow for her Synnes, and they ſchulden afterwarde ſeruen thee in Myrth. For Chriſt ſeith, Ybleſſed ben they that maken Sorowe, for they ſchulen ben yconforted: And, Woo to hem that ben myrrye, and have her Comfort in this World. And Chriſt ſeide, That the World ſchuld ioyen, and his Seruantes ſchulden be ſory, but her Sorowe ſhuld be turned in to Ioie.

A Lorde, he, that clepeth hym ſelfe thy Viker vpon Erth, hath yordayned an Ordre of Preſtes to do thy Seruyſe in Church to fore thy lewed Puple, in Synginge Matens, Evenſonge, and Maſſe. And therfore, he chargeth lewed Men, in Payne of Curſinge, to bringe to his Preſtes Tythinges and Offeringes to fynden his Preſtes, and he clepeth that Gods Part, and dew to Preſtes that ſeruen hym in Church.

But, Lorde, *in the olde* Lawe, the Tythinges of the lewed Puple ne were not dewe to Preſtes, but to that other Childer of *Levy* that ſerueden the in the Temple, and the Preſtes hadden her Part of Sacrifices, and the fyrſt bygeten Beeſtes, and other Thinges as the Law telleth. And, Lorde, Seynt *Poule*, thy Seruant, ſeyth, That the Ordre of the Preſthode of *Aaron* ceſede in Chriſtes Cominge, and the Lawe of that Preſthode. For Chriſte was Ende of Sacrifices yoffered vp on the Croſſe to the Fader of Heuen, to brynge Man out of Synne, and bycome hym ſelfe a Preſt of *Melchiſedekes* Ordre; for he was both Kynge and Preſt withe oute Begynnynge and Ende; and both the Preſthode of *Aaron*, and alſo the Lawe of that Preſthode ben ychanged in the Cominge of Chriſt. And Seynt *Poule* ſeith it ys reproued, for it brouzt no Man to Perfeccion: For Blobde of Gotes, ne of other Beeſtes, ne mizt not done awaye Synne, for to that Chriſt ſchadde his Blode.

A Lorde *Ieſu*, Wether thow ordeneſt an Ordre of Preſtes to offren in the Auter thy Fleſch and thy Blode to bringen Men out of Synne, and alſo out of Peyne? And wether thow geue hem alonelych a Power to eate thy Fleſch and thy Blode? And wether none other Man maye eate thy Fleſch and thy Blode with outen Leue of Preſtes? Lorde, we beleuen, that thy Fleſche is verey Meate, and thy Blode verey Drinke; and who eteth thy Fleſch, and drinketh thy Blode, dwelleth in the, and thou in hym; and who that eteth this Breed ſhall lyve without Ende. But, Lorde, thyne Diſciples ſeyde, This is an harde Worde; but thou anſwereſt hem, and ſeydeſt: When ze ſeeth Mannes Sone ſteyn vp there he was rather, the Spirite ys that maketh you lyve; the Wordes, that yche haue ſpoken to you, ben Spirite and Lyfe. Lorde, ybleſſed mote thou be, for in this Worde thou techeſt vs, That he, that kepeth thy Wordes, and doth after hem, eteth thy Fleſch, and drinketh thy Blode, and hath an everlaſtinge Lyfe in the. And, for we ſchulden haue Mynde of this Lyuinge, thou gaueſt vs the Sacramente of thy Fleſch and thy Blode, in Forme of Breed and Wyne, at thy Souper, to fore, that thou ſchuldeſt ſuffre thy Deth; and toke Breed in thine Honde, and ſeydeſt, Take ye this, and ete it, for it is my Body; and thou tokeſt Wyne, and bleſſedeſt it, and ſeydeſt: This ys the Blode of a newe and an euerlaſtinge Teſtamente, that ſhalbe ſched for many Men in Forzeueneſſe of Synnes; as oft as ze do this, do ze this in Mynde of me.

A Lorde, thou ne bede not thine Diſciples maken this a Sacryfice to bringe Men out of Peynes, zif a Preſt offered thy Body in the Auter; but thou bede hem go and fullen all the Folke in the Name of the Fadur, and the Sone, and the Holy Goſt, in Forzeueneſſe of her Synnes; and techeze hem to kepe thoſe Thinges that ych haue commaunded zou. And, Lorde, thine Diſciples ne ordeyned not Preſtes principallich to make thy Body in Sacramente, but for to tech the Puple; and good Huſbande Men, that well gouern her Houſholdes, both Wiues, and Childern, and her Meynye, they ordened to be Preſtes to techen other Men the Law of Chriſt both in Worde and in Dede, and they lyvedeyn as trew Chriſten Men; every Daye they eten Chriſtes Body, and dronken hys Blode, to the Suſtenaunce of Lyvynge of here Soules; and other Whiles they token the Sacramente of his Body in Forme of Breed and Wine, in Mynde of oure Lorde *Ieſu Chriſt*.

But all this ys turned vpſo doune; for now, who ſo will lyven as thou tauzteſt, he ſchalben holden a Fole; and, zif he ſpeke thy

thy Techynge, he ſhalben holden an Heretyke and a curſed. Lorde, y haue no lenger Wonder here of, for ſo they ſeyden to the, when thou were here ſome Tyme; and therfore we moten taken in Pacyence her Wordes of Blaſfemie, as thou dedeſt thy ſelfe, or els we were to blame. And trulych, Lorde, I trowe, that, yf thou were now in the Worlde, and tauzteſt, as thou dedeſt ſome Tyme, thou ſhuldeſt ben done to Deeth; for thy Teachinge ys damned for Hereſye of wiſe Men of the Worlde; and then moten they nedes ben Heretykes that techen thy Lore, and all they alſo that trauelen to lyue there after.

And therfore, Lorde, zif it be thy Will, helpe thyne vnkunnynge and lewed Seruantes, that wolen, by her Power and her Kunnynge, helpe to deſtroye Synne. Leue, Lorde, ſyth thou madiſt Woman in Helpe of Man, and y a more frele Degre, than Man is, to be gouerned by Mans Reſon. What Perfeccion or Charite is in theſe Preſtes, and in Men of Religion, that haue forſaken Spouſhode, that thou ordeneſt in Paradis by twyx Man and Woman, for Perfeccion to forſaken Traueyle, and lyuen in Eſe by other Mennes Traueyle? For they mowe not do bodilich Workes for Defoulinge of her Hondes, with whome they touchen thy preciouſe Body in the Auter.

Leue Lorde, zif good Men forſaken the Companye of Woman, and nedes the moten haue the Gouernayle of Man, then moten they ben ycoupled with Schrewes, and therfore thy Spouſhode, that thou madeſt in Cleneſſe from Synne, it ys now ychaunged in to Lykynge of the Fleſch; and, Lorde, this ys a gret Myſcheſe vnto thy Puple. And zounge Preſtes and Men of Religion, for Defaute of Wives, maken many Wymen Horen, and drawen, thorow her yuel Enſample, many other Men to Synne; and the Eſe, that they lyuen in, and their Welfare, ys a gret Cauſe of this Myſchefe: And, Lorde, me thinketh, that theſe ben quaynte Orders of Religion, and none of thy Secte, that wolen taken Horen, whilke God forfendes, and forſaken Wyues, that God ne forfendeth not; and forſaken Traueyle, that God commaundes, and gyuen her ſelfe to Ydelenes, that ys the Moder of all Nouztines.

And, Lorde, *Marie*, thy bleſſed Mother, and *Ioſep*, touched ofte Tymes thy Body, and wroughten withe here Hondes, and lyueden in as much Clenneſſe of Soule, as oure Preſtes done now, and touched thy Body, and thou touchedeſt hem in her Soules. And, Lorde, oure Hope is, that thou goiſt not out of a pore Mannes Soule, that trauelleth for hys Lyuelode with his Hondes; for, Lorde, oure Beleſe ys, that thyne Houſe ys Mannes Soule, that thou madeſt after thyne owne Lykenes.

But, Lorde God, Men maketh now greet ſtonen Houſes full of glaſene Windowes, and clepeth thylke thyne Houſes and Churches; and they ſetten in theſe Houſes Mawmetes of Stockes and of Stones, and to fore hem they knelen priuylich and apert, and maken her Preyers; and all this, they ſeyen, ys thy Worſchup, and a gret Heryenge to the. A Lorde, thou forbedeſt ſome Tyme to make ſuch Mawmetes, and who, that had yworſchupped ſych, had be worthy to be deed.

Lorde, in the Goſpell thou ſaiſt, That true Heryers of God ne heryeth hym not in that Hill beſide *Samarie*, ne in *Hieruſalem* nayther; but trew Heryers of God heryeth hym yn Spirite and in Trewthe; and, Lorde God, What Heryenge ys it to bylden the a Church of deed Stones, and robben thy quycke Churches of her bodyliche Lyuelode? Lorde God, What Heryenge ys it to cloth Mawmetes of Stockes and of Stones yn Syluer, and in Golde, and in other good Coloures? And, Lorde, I ſe thyne Ymage gone in Colde and in Heet, in Clothes all to broken, with outen Schone and Hoſen, an hungred and a thruſt. Lorde, What Heryenge ys yt to tende Tapers and Torches by fore blinde Mawmetes, that mowen not I ſeyen? And hyde the, that art oure Light and oure Lanterne to warde Heuen, and put the vnder a Boſſhell, that, for Darkenes, we ne maye nat ſene oure Weye toward Bliſſe? Lorde, What Heryenge ys it to knele to fore Mawmetes, that mowe not yheren, and worſchupen hem with Preyers, and maken thyne quyck Ymages knele before hem, and aſken of hem Abſolucions and Bleſſinges, and worſchupen hem as Goddes, and putten thy quyke Ymages in Thraldome and in Traueyle ever more, as Beeſtes, in Colde, and in Heet, and in ſeble Fare to fynden hem in Lykynge of the World? Lorde, What Heryenge ys it to fetch deed Mennes Bones out of the Ground there as they ſchulden kyndelich roten, and ſchrynen hem in Gold and in Siluer? And ſuffren the quyke Bones of thyne Ymages roten in Priſon for Defaute of Clothinghe?

thinghe? And ſuffren alſo thy quyke Ymages periſh for Defaute of Suſtenaunce, and rooten in the Hoore Houſe in abominable Lecherye? Some become Theves, and Robbers, and Manquellers, that myzten ben y holpen with the Gold and Syluer, that hongeth aboute deed Mennes Bones, and other blynde Mawmetes of Stockes and of Stones.

Lorde, here ben gret Abhominacions, that thou ſchewdiſt to *Ezechiel* thy Prophete, that Preſtes done in thy Temple, and zit they clepen that thyne Heryenge; but, leue Lorde, me thinketh, that they louen the litle, that thus defoulen thy quyke Ymages, and worſchupen blynde Mawmetes.

And, Lorde, an other gret Myſchefe there ys now in the Worlde, an Hunger that *Amos* thy Prophete ſpeketh of, that there ſall comen an Honger in the Erth, not of Breed, ne Thruſt of Drinke, but of heringe of Goddes Woorde: And thy Scheepe wolden be refreſſhed, but their Scheepardes taken of thy Scheepe her Lyfloode, as Tythinges, *&c.* and lyuen hem ſelf therby where hem lyketh.

Of ſoch Schephardes thou ſpekeſt by *Ezechiel* thy Prophete, and ſeiſt, Woo to the Schephardes of *Iſrael* that feden hem ſelfe, for the Flockes of Schepe ſchulden ben yfed of her Schephardes; but ze eten the Mylke, and clothden you with her Wolle, and they ſatte Schepe ye ſlow, and my Flocke ye ne fed not, the ſycke Schepe ze ne heled not, thylke that weren to broken ze ne knyt not to geder, thylke that periſhed ze ne brouzt not againe; but ze ruled hem with Sternſchip and with Power: And ſo the Schepe beth ſprad a brode in deouringe of all the Beeſtes of the Feelde. And *Ieremie* the Prophete ſayeth, Woo to the Schephardes that diſparpleth abrode, and ſo teriſh the Flocke of my Leſew.

A Lorde, thou were a good Schepharde, for thou putteſt thy Soule for thy Schepe: But, Lorde, thou teldeſt, that thilke, that comen not in by the Dore, ben Nizt Theſes and Daye Theſes; and Theſe, as thou ſeiſt, cometh not but for to ſtele, to ſleyne, and to diſtroye. And *Zacharie* the Prophete ſeith, That thou woldiſt reren up a Schepharde vnkunnynge, that ne wole not hele thy Schepe that beth ſycke, ne ſech thilke that beth loſte. Apon his Arme ys a Swerde, and vpon his rizt Eye; his Arme ſchall waxe drye, and his rizt Eye ſhall leſe his Lizt. O Lorde, helpe, for thy Shepe beth at gret Myſchefe in the Schephardes Defaute.

But, Lorde, there cometh hyred Men, and they ne feden not thy Schepe in thy plentuous Leſew, but feden thy Schepe with Swevenes, and falſe Miracles, and Talys; but at thy Trewth they ne comen not: For, Lorde, I trowe thou ſendeſt hem never. For have they Hyre of thy Schepe? They ne chargeth but litle of the Fedinge and the Kepinge of thy Schepe. Lorde, of theſe hyred Men ſpeketh *Ieremie* thy Prophete, and thou ſeyſt that Worde by hym: I ne ſende hem not, and they ronne blyue: I ne ſpeke unto hem, and they prophicieden. For zif they hadden ſtonden in my Councell, and they had made my Wordes knowen to the Puple, ych wolde have turned hem awaye from her yvell Waye, and from her wicked Thouztes. For, Lorde, thou ſeiſt that thy Wordes be as Fuyre, and as an Hamer brekynge Stones.

And, Lorde, thou ſaiſt, Lo I to theſe Prophetes metinge Swevenes of Leſinge, that haue ytold her Swevens, and have begyled my Puple in her Leſinge and in her falſe Miracles, when y nether ſente ne bede hem; and theſe haue profitet no thinge to my Puple: And as *Ieremie* ſaith, From the Leeſt to the Meſt, all they ſtudien Couetiſe; and from the Prophete to the Preſt, all they done Gyle.

A Lorde, here ys mych Myſchefe and Matere of Sorow, and yet ther ys more. For zif a lewed Man wold tech thy Puple Trewth of thy Wordes, as he ys y holde by thy Comaundemente of Charite, he ſhal be forboden and y put in Priſon zif he do it. And ſo, Lorde, thilke, that haue the Keye of Conning, haue y lockt the Trewth of thy Techinge under many Wardes, and y hid it from thy Childern. But, Lord, ſith thy Techinge ys y come from Heuen aboue, oure Hope ys that, with thy Grace, it ſhall breken theſe Wardys, and ſchowe hym to thy Puple, to kele both the Hunger and the Thruſt of the Soule. And then ſchall no Schepharde, ner no falſe Hyridman, begyle thy Puple no more. For by thy Lawe I write, as thou yhizteſt ſome tyme, that from the Leſt to the Meſt all they ſchullen knowen thy Will, and we ten how they ſchullen pleſe the euer more incertayne.

And leue, Lorde, zif it be thy Will, helpe at this Nede, for there ys none Help but in the. Thus, Lorde, by hym that maketh hymſelfe thy

Viker

Viker in Erth ys thy Commaundemente of Loue to the and to oure Brothern ybroken both to hym and to thy Puple. But, Lorde, God, Mercye and Pacyence that beth tweyne of thy Commaundementes beth diſtroyed, and thy Puple hath forſake Mercy. For, Lorde, *Dauid* in the Souter ſaith, Bleſſed beth they that do ne Dome and Riztfullnes in everich Tyme.

O Lorde, thou haſt ytauzt vs as Riztfulneſſe of Heuen, and haſt ybeden vs forzeuen oure Brethern as oft as they treſpaſen azenſt vs. And, Lorde, thyne olde Lawe of Iuſtice was, that ſuch Harme as a Man did his Brother, ſuch he ſchuld ſuffer by the Law, as Eye for an Eye, a Toth for a Toth; but Chriſt made an Ende of thys Law, that one Brother ſchulde not deſyre Wrake of an other, but not that he wolde that Synne ſchulde ben vnpuniſhed for there to hath he yordened Kinges and Dukes, and other lewed Officers vnder hem, whilke, as Sainte *Paule* ſaith, Ne carien not the Swerde in vayne, for they ben the Miniſtres of God, and Warkers to Wrath, to hem that Evill done. And thus hath Chriſt ymade an Ende of this old Lawe, that one Brother maye nat ſuen an other hym ſelfe, for that to wreken with out Synne for Brekynge of Charite. But this Charite, Lorde, hath thy Viker y broke, and ſais, that we ſynnen but zif we ſuen for oure Rizt: And wele I wote, that thou tauzteſt vs ſome tyme to zeue our Mantell alſo, euer that we ſchulden ſuen for oure Cote: And ſo, Lorde, beleuen we that we that we ben y bounden to do ne by thy Lawe that ys all Charite, and Officers Dutie is to defenden vs from thilke Theuery, thouz we complaynen not; but, Lorde, thi Law ys turned vpſo downe.

A Lorde, what Dome ys it, to ſlene a Thefe that take a Mannes Cattell a wey from hym, and ſuffren a Spouſebreker to lyue, and a Lechour that kylleth a Womans Soule? And yet thy Law ſtoned the Spouſebrekers and Leichours, and lette the Theres lyuen and haue other Puniſhment.

A Lorde, what Dome ys it, to ſlene a Thefe for Stelinge of a Horſe, and to let hym lyue vnpuniſhed, and to mayntene hym that robbeth thy pore Puple of here Lyfelode, and the Soule of his Fode?

Lorde, it was neuer thy Dome to ſayen that a Man ys an Heretike and curſed for breakinge of Mans Lawe, and demyn hym for a good Man that breketh thyne Heſtes.

Lorde, what Dome ys it to curſen a lewed Man, zif he ſmyte a Preſt, and not curſen a Preſt that ſmiteth a lewed Man and leſeth his Charite?

Lorde, what Dome ys it to curſen the lewed Puple for Tithynges, and not curſe the Parſon that robbeth the Puple of Tithynges, and ne techeth hem not Gods Law, but fedeth hem with Payntinge of Stonen Walles, and Songes of *Laten* that the Puple knowen not?

Lorde, what Dome ys it to punyſch the pore Man for his Treſpas, and ſuffren the Rich continuen in hys Synne for a Quantite of Money?

Lorde, what Dome ys it to ſlene an vnkunnynge lewed Man for hys Synne, and ſuffren a Preſt, other a Clerke, that doth the ſame Synne, ſcapen a lyve? Lord, the Synne of the Preſt, or of the Clerke, ys a gretter Treſpas then it ys of a lewed unkunnynge Man, and gretter Enſample of Wickedneſſe to the comune Puple.

Lorde, what Maner Puple be we that nother kepen thy Domes and thy Riztfulneſſe of the Old Teſtamente, that was a Law of Drede, ne thy Domes and thy Riztfulneſſe of thy New Teſtamente that is a Lawe of Loue and of Mercye: But han an other Law and taken of both thy Lawes that is lykinge to us, and the Remenaunte of Hethen Mennes Lawes? And, Lorde, this ys a gret Myſchefe.

O Lorde, thou ſayſt in thy Lawe, Ne deme ze not, and ze ne ſchulen not ben demed: For the ſame Meſure that ye meten to other Men, Men ſhall meten to zou azen warde. And Lorde thou ſeiſt that by her Werken we ſchulen knowen hem. And by that we knowen that thou ne commaunded vs to demen Mennes Thoughtes, ner her Werkes, that ne weren not azenſt thy Lawe expreſſely. And zet, Lorde, he that ſeyeth he ys thy Vikar wil demen our Thouztes, and aſken vs what we thynken, nat of the Lorde ne of thy Heſtes, for they caren litle for hem, but of him and of his, whilke they ſetten aboue thyne, and maken vs accuſen oure ſelfe, or els they willen accurſen vs, for oure Accuſers mowen we not knowen. And Lorde thou ſeideſt in thyne olde Lawe, that vnder two Witneſſes at the leſt, or three, ſchulde ſtande every Matter. And that the Witneſſes ſchulden ever be the firſt that ſchulden helpen to kyl hem.

And

And when the Scribes and theſe Phareſes ſometyme brouzten before the a Woman that was y take in Spouſebrekynge, and axeden of the a Dome, thou dideſt write on the Erth, and than thou gaue this Dome: He that ys with outen Synne throwe fyrſt at her a Stone, and, Lorde, they wenten forth awey from the and the Woman, and thou forzeue the Woman her Treſpas, and bede her goo forth and ſynne no more.

Swete Lorde, yf the Preſtes token kepe to thy Dome, they wolden ben agaſt to demen Men as they done. O Lord, zif one of them breke a Commaundement of thy Lawe, he wole axen Mercy of the, and not a Peyne that ys dewe for the Synne, for Peyne of Deth were to litel. O Lorde, How doren they demen any Man to the Deth for Brekynge of her Lawes, other aſſenten to ſuch Lawe? For Brekynge of thy Lawe they wolen ſette Men Penaunce, or pardon hem and helpe and mainteynen hem as oft as they treſpaſen. But, Lorde, zif a Man ones breke her Lawes, or ſpeke azenſt hem, he maie done Penaunce but ones, and aftur ben brunt. Trulich, Lorde, thou ſaiſt, but zif everich of vs forzeue other his Treſpas, thy Fadur ne wole not forzeuen vs oure Synnes. And, Lorde, when thou henge on the Croſſe, thou preydeſt to thy Fadur to haue Mercy on thyne Enemyes.

And zet they ſeyn, Lorde, that they ne demen no Man to the Deth, for they ſeyn they ne mowen by her Lawe demen any Man to Deth. A leue, Lorde, even ſo ſaiden her Fornfadurs the Phareſes, that it ne was nat lefull for hem to kyllen any Man. And zet they bidden *Pilate* to done the to the Deth azenſt his own Conſcience, for he wolde gladly haue y quitte the, but for that they thretned hym with the Emperoure, and brouzten azenſt the falſe Witneſſe alſo. And he was an Hethen Man.

A Lorde, How moch trewer Dome was there in *Pilate*, that was an Hethen Iuſtice, than in oure Kynges and Iuſtices that wolen demen to the Deth and bern yn the Fyre hym that the Preſtes delyueren vnto hem, with outen Witneſſe or Preſe? For *Pilate* ne wolde not demen the, for that the Phareſes ſeyden, that, zif thou ne haddeſt not ben a Miſdoer, we ne wolde nat delyuer him unto the, for to they brouzten in her falſe Witneſſes azenſt the. But, Lorde, as thou ſaideſt ſome tyme that it ſchulde ben lizter at Domesdaye to *Tyro*, and to *Sydon*, and *Gomorra*, than to the Cities where thou wrouzt Wondres and Miracles; ſo I drede it ſhalben more lizte to *Pilate* in the Dome, then to oure Kynges and Domeſmen, that ſo demen withoute Witneſſe and Preſe. For, Lorde, to demen thy Folke, for Heretikes, ys to holden the an Heretike, and to brennen hem ys to brennen the, for thou ſeideſt to *Paule* when he perſecuted thy Puple: *Saul, Saul*, wherfore perſecuteſt thou me; and in the Dome thou ſhalt ſeye, that ye haue done do the leſt of myne ye haue done to me.

Thus, Lorde, ys thy Mercy and Iuſtice fordone by hym that ſeith he is thy Viker in Erth; for he nether kepeth it hym ſelfe, nor nille not ſuffer other to do it.

The thridde Commaundement, that ys Pacience and Sufferaunce, ys alſo ybroken by thys Viker. Lorde, thou byddiſt ſufferen both Wronges and Strokes withouten Azeinſtondinge, and ſo thou didiſt thy ſelfe to zenen vs Enſample to ſufferen of oure Brethern. For Sufferinge noriſsheth Loue, and azeinſtondeth Debate. And all thy Lawe ys Loue, or elſe Thinge that draweth to Loue.

But, Lorde, Men techen that Men ſchulden pleten for her Right, and fizten alſo therfore, and els they ſeyn Men ben in Pereyle, and thou bede in the old Lawe Men fizt for her Cuntrey. And thy ſelfe haddiſt two Swerdes in thy Cumpanye when thou ſchuldeſt go to thy Paſſion, that, as theſe Clerkes ſeyn betokeneth a Spirituall Swerde and a Temporall Swerde, that thou zoue to thy Viker to rule with thy Church. Lorde, this is a ſliz Speche: But, Lorde, we beleue that thou art Kynge of Bliſſe, and that ys thyne Heretage and Mankyndes Cuntrey, and in this Worlde we ne ben but Straungers and Pelgrimes. For thou, Lorde, ne art not of this World, ne thy Lawe nether, ne thy trew Seruantes that kepen thy Lawe. And, Lorde, thou were Kynge of *Juda* by Enheritage zif thou woldeſt haue yhad it, but thou forſoke it and pletedeſt not therfore, ne fouzte not therfore.

But, Lorde, for thy kynde Herytage, and Mankyndes Cuntrey, that ys a Londe of Bliſſe, thou fouzteſt miztelych: In Bataile thou ouercome thy Enemie, and ſo thou wonne thyne Herytage. For thou that were a Lorde miztieſt in Bataile, and alſo Lorde of Vertues, art rizt-fullich Kynge of Bliſſe, as *David* ſeith in the *Sauter*. But, Lorde, thyne Enemie ſmote the diſpitefullych,

diſpitefullych, and had Power of the and henge the vp on the Croſſe as thou haddiſt ben a Theſe, and bynomyn the all thy Clothes, and ſtekede the to the Harte with a Spere.

O Lorde, this was an harde Aſſaute of a Batayle, and here thou ouercome by Pacyence miztylich thyne Enemyes, for thou ne woldeſt not done azenſt the Will of thy Fadur. And thus, Lorde, thou tauzteſt thy Seruantes to fizte for here Cuntrey. And, Lorde, this Fiztinge was in Figure ytauzte in the olde Lawe. But, Lorde, Men holden now the Schadewe of the olde Fiztinge, and leuen the Lizte of thy Fiztinge, that thou tauzteſt openlych, both in Worde and Dede.

Lorde, thou zoue vs a Swerde to fizten azeinſt oure Enemyes for oure Cuntrey, that was thyne holy Techinge, and Chriſten Mennes Law. But, Lorde, thy Swerde ys put in a Shethe, and in Preſtes Warde that haue forſake the Fiztinge that thou tauztiſt. For, as they ſein it ys azeyns her Order to ben Men of Armes in thy Bataile, for it ys vnſemelich, as they ſeyn, that thy Viker in Erth, other his Preſtes, ſchulden ſuffer of other Men. And therfore, zif any Man ſmite hym, other any of his Clerkes, he ne taketh it not in Pacience, but and he ſmiteth with hys Swerde of Curſinge, and afterwarde with his bodylich Swerde, he doth hem to Deth. O Lorde, me thinketh that this is a Fiztinge azeynſt Kynde and moch azeynſt thy Techinge.

O Lorde, whether thou axſediſt after Swerdes in Tyme of thy Paſſion to azeynſtonde thyne Enemyes? Nay, forſoth, thou Lorde. For *Peter*, that ſmote for gret Loue of thee, hadde no gret Thonke of the for his Smitinge. And, Lorde, thou were mizty ynow to haue azeynſtonde thyne Enemyes; for, thorowz thy Lokinge they fellen doune to Grounde. Lorde, ybleſſed mote thou be. Here thou techeſt vs that we ſchulden ſuffren: For thou were mizty ynow to have azeinſtonde thine Enemyes, and thou haddeſt Wepen, and thy Men weren harty to haue ſmitten.

O ſwete Lorde, how maye he for Schame clepen hym ſelfe thy Viker and Heed of thy Church, that maye not for Schame ſuffere? Sith thou art a Lorde, and ſuffrediſt of thy Sugetys to zeuen vs Enſample, and ſo did thy trew Seruantes.

O Lorde, whether thou zeue to *Peter* a ſpirituall Swerde to curſe, and a temporall Swerde to ſle Mennes Bodyes? Lorde, I tro we not, for then *Peter*, that loued the ſo moch, wolde have ſmite with thy Swerdes. But, Lorde, he tauzt vs to bleſſen hem that curſen vs, and ſuffren and not ſmiten. And, Lorde, he ſedde thy Puple as thou bede hym, and therefore he ſuffrede the Deth as thou diddiſt.

O Lorde, why clepeth any Man hym *Peters* Succeſſour, that hath forſake Pacience, and fedeth thy Puple with Curſinge and with Smytinge. Lorde, thou ſeydeſt in thy Goſpell, when thy Diſciples knewen well that thou were Chriſt, That thou moſteſt go to *Jeruſalem*, and ſufferen of the Scribes and Pharyſees, Spittinges, Reproſes, and alſo the Deth. And *Peter* toke the a ſyde, and ſaid God for beede that. And, Lorde, thou ſeydiſt to *Peter*, Go by hinde me Sathanas, thou ſclaundreſt me in *Iſrael*. For thou ne ſauoureſt not thilke Thinges that ben of God, but thilke that ben of Men. Lorde, to Mennes Witte it ys vnreſonable, that thou, or thy Viker, zif thou madiſt anny on Erth, ſchulden ſoffren of youre Sugettes.

A Lorde, whether thou ordeniſt an Ordre of Fizters, to turn Men to the Beleue? Other ordeniſt, that Kniztes ſchulden ſwere to fizte for thy Wordes?

A Lorde, whether thou bede that zif a Man turne to the Feith, that he ſchulde zeue his Goodes and Catell to thy Viker, that hath gret Lordſchips, and more than hym nedeth? Lorde, y wote well, that, in the Beginninge of that Church, Men that werein converted threwen a doune her Goodes before the Apoſteles Fete. For all they weren in Charite, and non of them ſaide, This ys myne; ne *Peter* made hym ſelfe no Lorde of theſe Goodes.

But, Lorde, now he that clepeth hym ſelfe thy Viker vpon Erth, and Succeſſoure to *Peter*, hath ybroke thy Commaundement of Charite; for he ys becomen a Lorde. And he hath broken alſo thy Commaundemente of Mercye, and alſo of Pacyence. Thus, Lorde, we ben fallen in to gret Miſcheſe and Thraldome, for oure Cheueteyn hath forſaken Werre and Armes, and hath treted to haue Peace with oure Enemyes.

A Lorde, zif it be thy Will, drawe oute thy Swerde out of his Scheth, that thy Seruantes may fizte there with azeynſt her Enemyes, and put Cowardiſe oute of oure Hartes; and comfort vs in Bataile, ar than thou come with thy Swerde in thy Mouth to take Vengeaunce on thyne Enemies. For, zif we ben acorded with oure Enemies tyll the Tyme come, it ys

drede

drede leſt thou take Vengeaunce both of hem, and of vs, to gader. A Lorde, there nys no Helpe now yn this gret Myſchefe but onlych in the.

Lorde, thou zeue vs a Commaundemente of Treweth, in byddinge ſaye, Ze ze, Nay nay, and ſwere for no Thinge: Thou zeue vs alſo a Maundemente of Mekenes, and a nother of Porenes. But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym ſelfe thy Viker on Erth, hath y broken theſe Commaundementes, for he maketh a Law to compell Men to ſwere; and, by hys Lawes, he techeth, That a Man, to ſaue hys Lyfe, maye forſwere and lye. And ſo, Lorde, thorowz Comfort of hym, and of his Lawes, the Puple ne dredeth nat to ſwere and to lye, ne oft Tymes to forſweren hem. Lorde, here is litill Treuth.

O Lorde, thou haſt ybrouzte vs to a Lyuinge of Soule, that ſtaundes in beleuinge in the, and kepinge thyne Heſtes; and, when we breken thy Heſtes, than we ſlen oure Soule; and leſſe Harme it were to ſuffer bodylich Deth.

Lorde, Kynge *Saule* brake thyne Heſtes, and thou toke his Kyngdome from his Eyres ever more after hym, and gave it to *Dauid* thy Seruante, that kept thyne Heſtes. And thou ſaideſt, by *Samuel* thy Prophet, to *Saul* Kynge, That it ys a Maner Heryenge of falſe Goddes to breke thyne Heſtes. For who that loueth the ouer all Thinges, and dredeth the alſo, he nole for Nothinge breke thyne Heſtes.

O Lorde, zif Brekynge of thyne Heſtes be Heryenge of falſe Goddes, I trowe, that he that maketh the Puple breke thyne Heſtes, and commaundeth that his Heſtes ben kept of the Puple, maketh hym ſelf a falſe God on Erth, as *Nabugodonoſor* did ſome Tyme that was Kynge of *Babylon*.

But, Lorde, we forſaken ſuch falſe Goddes, and beleuen that there ne ben no more Goddes than thou. And thouz thou ſuffre vs awhile to ben in Diſeaſe for Knowleginge of the; we thonken the with oure Harte, for it ys a Token that thou loueſt vs to zeuen vs, in this Worlde, ſome Penaunce for oure Treſpas.

Lorde, in the olde Lawe, thy trewe Seruantes token the Deth, for they wolde not eten Swynes Fleſch that thou haddeſt forboden hem to ete. O Lorde, What Treweth ys in vs to eten vnclene Mete of the Soule, that thou haſt forboden? Lorde, thou ſaiſt, He that doth Synne, ys Seruante of Synne; and then, He that lyeth in forſweringe hym ſelfe, ys Seruaunte of Leſinge, and then he ys a Seruaunte to the Deuill, that is a Lyar and Fadur of Leſinges. And, Lorde, thou ſaiſt, No Man maye ſerue two Lordes at ones. O Lorde, then everich Lyar, for the Tyme that he lyeth, other forſwereth hym ſelfe, forſaketh thy Seruyce for Drede of hys bodilich Deth, and becometh the Devils Seruaunt.

O Lord, What Treweth ys in him that clepeth hymſelfe Seruaunte of thy Seruauntes, and in hys Doinge he maketh hym a Lorde of thy Seruauntes? Lorde, thou were both Lorde and Maſter, and ſo thou ſaide thy ſelf, but zet in thy Warkes thou were as a Seruaunte. Lorde, thys was a gret Treweth and a gret Mekenes: But, Lorde, thou bede thy Seruauntes that they ne ſchulden haue Lordſchip ouer her Brethern. Lorde, thou ſaideſt Kynges of the Hethen Men han Lordſchupe ouer her Suggetes, and they that vſen her Power ben ycleped well Doers.

But, Lorde, thou ſaideſt it ſchulde not be ſo amonges thy Seruauntes: But he that were moſt ſchulde be as a Seruaunte. Thus, Lorde, thou tauzteſt thy Diſciples to ben meke. Lorde, in the old Lawe thy Seruauntes durſt have no Lordſchyppe of her Brethern, but zif that thou bede hem. And zet thy ſchulden not do her Brethern as they diden to Thralles that ſerueden hem. But they ſchulden do to her Brethern that were her Seruauntes as to her awn Brethern: For all they were *Abrahams* Children. And at a certain Tyme they ſchulden lettin her Brethern paſſen from hem in Fredom, but zif they wolden wilfullych abyden ſtill in Seruiſe.

O Lorde, thou zaue vs in thy Cominge a Lawe of parfite Loue, and in Token of Loue thou clepedeſt thy ſelfe oure Brother. And to maken vs perfecte in Loue thou bede that we ſchulden clepe to us no Fadur vp on Erth, but thy Fadur of Heuen we ſchulden clepen oure Fadur. Alas Lorde! How violentlych oure Brethern and thy Childern ben now yputte in bodilich Thraldome, and in Diſpite as Beeſtes ever more in greuous Traveill to fynde proude Men in Eaſe? But, Lorde, zif we taken thys Deſoule and this Deſeaſe in Pacience and in Mekenes and kepen thyne Heſtes, we hopen to ben fre. And, Lorde, zeue oure Brethern Grace to comen oute of Thraldome of Synne that they ben fallen in thorowz the Deſyringe and Vſage of Lordſchupe vp on her Brethern. And, Lorde, thyne Preſtes in the old Lawe hadden no Lordſchupis amonge her Brethern, but Houſes and Leſewes for her Beeſtes: But, Lorde, our Preſtes now

have gret Lordſchupe and putten her Brethern in gretter Thraldome than lewed Men that ben Lordes. Thus ys Mekeneſſe forſake.

Lorde, thou byddeſt in the Goſpell, that, when a Man ys ybede to the Feeſt, he ſhulde ſitte in the loweſt Place, and then he maye be ſette hyer with Worſhup, when the Lorde of the Feeſt beholdeth how his Geſtes ſitteth. Lorde, it ys drede that they, that ſitten now in the hyeſt Place, ſchullen ben beden in Tyme to comynge ſitte byneth. And that wolebe Schame and Vileyne for hem. And it ys thy Sayenge, Thilke that hyeth hym ſelfe ſchall be plowed, and thilke that loweth hym ſelfe ſchullen ben an heyzed. O Lorde, thou byddeſt in thy Goſpell to ben ware of the Ypocreſye of Phareſes, for it ys a Pointe of Pride contrary to Mekenes. And, Lorde, thou ſaiſt that they loue furſt Sittinges at the Sopeer, and alſo the principall Chayres in Churches, and Gretinges in Chepinge, and ſo ben ycleped Maſteres of Men. And, Lorde, thou ſaiſt, Ne be ye nat cleped Maſteres, for one ys youre Maſter, and that ys Chriſt and all ye ben Brethern. And ne elepe ze to zow no Fadur upon Erth, for one ys youre Fadur that ys in Heuen. O Lorde, this ys a bleſſed Leſſon to teche Men to ben meke.

But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym ſelfe thy Viker on Erth, he clepeth hym ſelfe Fadur of Fadures azeyns thy Forbedinge. And all theſe Worſhupes thou haſt forboden. He appreueth hem, and maketh hem Maſteres to manye, that techen thy Puple her owne Techinge, and leuen thy Techinge that ys medefull, and hyden it by quaynte Gloſes from thy lewed Puple, and feden thy Puple with Sweuenes that they meten, and Tales that doth litell Profite but moch Harme to the Puple. But, Lorde, theſe Gloſers ſeggeth that they ne deſyren nat the State of Maſtrie to ben worſchuped thereby, but to profite the more to thy Puple, when they prechen thy Worde. For as they ſeggen the Puple wolen leuen more the Prechinge of a Mayſter that hath ytaken a State of Scole, than the Prechinge of a nother Man that hath not ytake the State of Mayſtrye.

Lorde, whether it be any Nede the Mayſtres beren Witneſſe to thy Teachinge, that it is trewe and good? Or, Lorde, whether maye any Mayſtre mowe by his Eſtate of Mayſtrye, that thou haſt forboden, drawe any Man from hys Synne rather then an other Man that is nat a Mayſtre, ne wole be non, for it ys forboden hym in thy Goſpell? Lorde, thou ſendeſt no Mayſtres to prech the Puple, and thou knowlegiſt in the Goſpell to thy Fadur, that he hath yhid hys Wiſdome frow wiſe Men and redye Men, and ſchewed it to litle Childern. And, Lorde, Mayſtres of the Law hylden thy Techinge Foiye, and ſeiden that thou wouldeſt deſtroye the Puple with thy Techinge. Trulych, Lorde, ſo theſe Mayſtres ſeggeth now; for they haue y written many Bokes azeyns thy Techinge that is Treweth, and ſo the Propheſie of *Hieremie* ys fulfilled, when he ſayeth: Trulich the falſe Poyntiz of the Mayſters of the Law hath ywrouzte Leſinge. And now ys the Tyme ycome that Saynte *Poule* ſpeaketh of there he ſayeth, Tyme ſchall come whan Man ſchulle not ſuſteine holſome Techinge. But they ſchullen gadre to hope Mayſtres with hutchinge Eares, and from Treweth they ſchullen turnen a waye her Heringe, and turnen her to Tales that Maſtres have y maked to ſchowen her Mayſtrye and her Wiſdome.

And, Lorde, a Man ſchall leue more a Mannes Werkes than hys Wordes, and the Dede ſcheweth well of theſe Mayſters, that they deſyren more Mayſtrye for her own Worſchupe than for Profite of the Puple. For, when they be Mayſtres, they ne prechen not ſo oft as they did before. And, zif they prechen, communlych it ys before rych Men there as they mowen bere Worſchupe and alſo Profite of her Prechinge. But before pore Men they prechen but ſeldem, when they ben Mayſtres: And ſo by her Workes we may ſene that they ben falſe Gloſers.

And, Lorde, me thinketh that whoſo wole kepen thyne Heſtes hym nedeth no Gloſes: But thilke that clepen her ſelfe Chriſten Men, and lyuen azeynſt thy Techinge and thyne Heſtes, nedelych they mote gloſe thyne Heſtes after her Lyuinge, other elſe Men ſchulden openlych y know her Ypocriſie and Falſheed.

But, Lorde, thou ſaiſt that there nys nothinge yhid that it ſchall not be ſchewed ſome Tyme. And, Lorde, y bleſſed mote thou be. For ſome what thou ſcheweſt us nowe of our Myſcheues that we ben fallen in thorowv the Wiſdome of Mayſtres that haue by Sleyzthes y lad vs a waye from the and thy Techinge, that thou that were Mayſter of Heuen tauzt vs for Loue, when thou were here ſome Tyme to hele of oure Soules withouten Errour or Hereſye. But Mayſtres of the Worldes Wiſdome, and her Founder, haue ydamned it for Hereſye and for Erroure.

O Lorde,

O Lord, me thinketh it ys a gret Pride thus to reproue thy Wisdome and thy Techinge. And, Lorde, me thinketh that this *Nabugodonosor* Kynge of *Babylon*, that thus hath reproued thy Techinge and thine Hestes, and commaundeth on all Wise to kepen hys Hestes, maken thy Puple heryen hym as a God on Erth, and maketh hem his Thralles and his Seruauntes.

But, Lorde, we lewed Men knowne no God but the, and we with thyne Helpe and thy Grace forsaken *Nabugodonosor* and hys Lawes. For he, in his prowd Estate, wole haue all Men onder hym, and he nele be vnder no Man. He ondoth thy Lawes that thou ordeneste to be kept, and maketh his awne Lawes as hym lyketh, and so he maketh hym Kynge abouen all other Kynges of the Erth, and maketh Men to worschupen hym as a God, and thy gret Sacryfice he hath ydone awaye.

O Lorde, here ys thy Commaundemente of Mekenes mischeflych to broken, and thy blessed Commaundement of Poreneffe ys also to broken and yhid from thy Puple. Lorde, *Zacharie* thy Prophete sayth that thou that schuldest ben oure Kynge schuldest ben a pore Man, and so thou were; for thou saidest thy selfe, Foxes haue Dennes, and Briddes of Heuen Nestes, and Mannes Sone hath nat where to legge hys Heed on. And thou saidest, Yblessed ben pore Men in Spirite, for the Kyngedome of Heuen ys hern. And Woo to rych Men, for they han her Comforte in this Worlde. And thou bade thy Disciples to ben ware of all Couetyse, for thou saidest, In the Abundaunce of a Mannes Hauynge ne ys nat his Lyflode. And so thou techist that thilke that han more then her nedeth to her Lyuinge lyuen in Couetyse. Also thou saist that, but zif a Man forsake all Thinges that he oweth, he ne maye not ben thy Disciple. Lord, thou saist also that thy Worde that ys ysowe in rych Mennes Hartes bringeth forth no Fruite. For Rychesse and the Busineffe of this Worlde maketh it withouten Fruite.

O Lorde, here ben many blessed Techinges to tech Men to ben pore and love Poreneffe. But, Lorde, Harme ys, pore Men and Poreneffe ben yhated, and rych Men ben yloued and honoured. And, zif a Man be a pore Man, Men holden hym a Man with out Grace, and, zif a Man desyreth Poreneffe, Men holden hym a Fole. And, zif a Man be a rich Man, Men clepen hym a gracyous Man, and thilke that ben bysie in getinge of Rychesse ben yholde wise Men and redye: But, Lorde, these rych Men sayen that that it ys both lefull and medefull to hem to gadre Rychesse to geder. For they ne gadreth it not for her selfe, but for other Men that ben nedy, and, Lorde, her Werkes schowen the Treweth. For, zif a pore nedy Man wolde borowen of her Rychesse, he nole leue hym none of hys Good, but zif he mowe be Seker to haue it againe by a certeyn Daye.

But, Lorde, thou bede that a Man schulde lene and not hoping Zeldinge azeyne of hym that he leneth to: And thy Fadur of Heuen wole quyte hym hys Mede. And, zif a pore axe a rych Man any Good, the rych Man wole zeue hym but a litell and zet it schalbe litell worth. And, Lorde, me thinketh that here ys litell Loue and Charite, both to God and oure Brethern.

For, Lorde, thou techest in thy Gospell that what Men do to thy Seruauntes they done to the. A Lorde, zif a pore Man axe Good for thy Loue, Men zeueth hym a litle of the Worst. For these rych Men ordeynen both Breed and Ale for Goddes Men of the Worst that they haue. O Lorde, syth all they Good that Men haue cometh of the: How dare any Man zeue the of the Worste, and kepe to hym selfe the Best? How mowe soch Men saye that they gaderen Rychesse for others Nede as well as her selfe, syth her Workes ben contrary to her Wordes? And that ys no gret Treweth.

And be ze seker these Goods that rych Men han they ben Gods Goodes ytake to youre Kepinge, to loke how ze wolen by setten to the Worshupe of God. And, Lorde, thou saist in the Gospell, that who so is trewe in litell, he ys trewe in that Thinge that is more. And who that ys false in a little Thinge, who wole taken hym to warde Thinges of a gretter Value? And therfore be ye ware that han Gods Goodes to kepe. Spende ye thilke trulych to the Worchupe of God, lest ze lesen the Blisse of Heuen for the vntrewe Dispendinge of Gods Goods in this Worlde.

O Lord, these rych Men seggen that they done moch for thy Loue. For many pore Laborers ben yfounde by hem, that schulden fare febelich, ne were not they and her Redineffe for soth; me thinketh that pore Laborers zeueth to these rych Men more then they zeuen hem azeyn warde. For the pore Man mote gone to hys Laboure in Colde and in Hete, and in Wete and Drye, and spende hys Flesh and hys

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hys Bloude in the rych Mennes Workes apon Goʒs Ground to fynde the rych Man in Eſe, and in Lykynge, and in good Fare of Mete and of Drinke, and of Clothinge. Here ys a gret Zifte of the pore Man. For he zeueth his awn Body. But what zeueth the rych Man hym azeynwarde? Certes febele Mete, and febele Drinke, and feble Clothinge. What ever they ſeggen ſoch be her Workes, and here ys litell Love. And who ſoever loketh wel a boute, all the Worlde fareth thus as we ſeggen. And all Men ſtodyeth on every Syde, how they maye wexe rych. And everych Man almeſt ys a ſchamed to ben holden a pore Man.

And, Lorde, I trowe, for thou were a pore Man, Men taken litell Regarde to the, and to thy Techinge. But, Lord, thou come to zeue vs a New Teſtamente of Loue, and therefore it was ſemelych that thou came in Poreneſſe to proue who wolde loue the and kepen thyne Heſtes. For, zif thou haddiſt ycome in Forme of a rych Man and of a Lorde, Men woulde, rather for thy Drede then for thy Loue, haue ykepte thyne Heſtes. And ſo, Lorde, now thou mizte well yſee which louen the as they ſchulde in kepynge thyne Heſtes. For who that loueth the in thy Poreneſſe and in thy Loweneſſe, nedes he mote loue the in thy Lordſchupe and thy Hizeneſſe.

But, Lorde, the Worlde ys turned vpſe downe, and Men louen pore Men but a litell, ne Poreneſſe nother; but Men ben aſchamed of Poreneſſe, and therefore, Lorde, I trowe, that thou arte a pore Kynge; and therfore I trowe, that he, that clepeth hym ſelfe thy Viker on Erth, hath forſake Poreneſſe, as he hath ydo the Remenaunte of thy Law, and ys by come arych Man and a Lorde, and maketh hys Treſoure apon the Erth, that thou forbedeſt in the Goſpell; and, for his Rizt and his Rycheſſe, he wole plete, and fezte, and curſe; and yet, Lorde, he wole ſegge, that he forſaketh all Thinges, that he oweth, as thy trewe Diſciple mote done, after thy Techinge in the Goſpell.

But, Lorde, thou ne tauzteſt not a Man to forſaken hys Goodes, and pleten for hem, and fezten, and curſen; and, Lorde, he taketh on hym Power to aſſoylen a Man of all Maner Thinges, but zif it be of Dette. Trewlych, Lorde, me thinketh, he knoweth litell of Charite; for, Who, that beth in Charite, poſſeſſeth thy Goodes in Comune, and nat in Propre, at hys Nezboures Nede.

And than ſchall there none of hem ſeggen, Thys ys myne, but, It is Goodes, that God graunteth to vs to ſpenden to hys Worſchupe; and ſo, zif any of hem boroweth a Porcion of thilke Goodes, and diſpendeth hem to Gods Worſchupe, God ys apayed of this Spendinge, and aloweth hym for hys trew Doinge; and, zif God ys apayed of the Diſpendinge, that ys the principall Lorde of thilke Goodes, How darre any of his Seruauntes axen there of Acountes, other chalengen it for Dette? Certen, of one Thinge I am in certen: That theſe that charge ſo moch Dette of worldly Catell, they knowen litell of Chriſtes Law of Charite; for, zif ych am a Bayly of Gods Goodes in the Worlde, and zif I ſe my Brother in Nede, ych am yholden by Charite to parte with hym of theſe Goodes to his Nede; and, zif he ſpendeth hem well, to the Worſchupe of God, I mote be well apayed, as thouzych my ſelfe had ſpendid hem to the Worſchupe of God: And, zif the principall Lorde ys well payed of my Brothers Doinge, and the Diſpendinge of hys Goodes, How maye I ſegge, for Schame, that my Brother ys Dettoure to me of the Goodes that I toke hym to ſpenden in Gods Worſchupe at hys Nede? And, zif my Brother ſpendeth amys the Goodes that I take hym, ich am dyſcharged of my Delyueraunce of the Goodes, zif I take hym in Charite thilke Goodes at his Nede; and ych am yholden to ben ſory of hys yvell Diſpendinge, ne I maye not axen the Goodes, that I toke hym to his Nede, in Forme of Dette; for, at hys Nede, they weren hys, as well as myne. And thus ys my Brother yholde to done to me, zif he ſeiz me in Nede; and, zif we ben in Charite, lytell ſchulde we chargen of Dette, and ne we ſchulde not axen ſo Dettes, as Men that knowen not God; and than be we pore in forſakynge all Thinges that we owen: For, zif we ben in Charite, we wolen nother fyzte, nor curſe, ne plete for oure Goodes with oure Brethern.

O Lorde, thus thou tauzteſt thy Seruauntes to lyuen, and ſo they lyueden, while they hadden good Schepherdes, that fedden thy Scheepe, and ne robbed hem not of her Lyfelode, as *Peter* thy good Schepherde and thy other Apoſtles: But, Lorde, he that clepeth hymſelfe thy Viker vp on Erth, and Succeſſoure to *Peter*, he robbeth thy Puple of her bodylich Lyfelode, for he ordeneth proude

Schepherdis to lyuen in Eſe by the tenth Partye of pore Mennes Traueyll; and he zeueth hem Leue to lyuen where hem lyketh; and, zif Men ne wolen not wilfullych zeuen hem theſe Tythinges, they wolen hauen hem azeynſt her Will, by Mayſtrye and by Curſinge, to maken hem rych.

Lorde, How maye any Man ſegge, that ſych Schepherdes, that louen more the Wole, than the Scheep, and feden not thy Scheep in Body, ne in Soule, ne ben ſuch Rauenours and Theues? And, Who maye ſegge, that the Maintenoure of ſuch Schepherdes ne ys not a Maintenoure of Theues and Robbers? How wole he aſſoyle Schepherdes of her Robbinge, with out Reſtitucion of her Goodes, that they robben thy Scheep of azeinſt her Will? Lorde of all Schepherdes, bleſſed mote thou be, for thou louedeſt more the Scheep, than her Wole; for thou fedeſt thy Scheep both in Body and in Soule; and, for Loue of thy Scheep, thou toke thy Deth to bring thy Scheep out of Wolues Mouthes. And the moſt Charge, that thou zoue to *Peter*, was, To fede thy Scheep. And ſo he did trewelich, and toke the Deeth for the and for thy Scheep; for he come in to the Folde of the Scheep by the that were the Dore: And ſo, I trowe, a fewe other did as he did, thouz they clepen hemſelfe Succeſſours to *Peter*; for her Workes ſchowen what they ben; for they robben, and ſleen, and diſtroyen. They robben thy Scheep of the tenth Parte of her Traueyle, and feden hemſelfe in Eſe. They ſleen thy Scheep, for they pyenen hem for Hunger of her Soule to the Deth. They diſtroyen thy Scheep; for with Mizte and with Sternſchipe they rulen thy Scheep, that, for Drede, they ben diſparpled a brode in Mownteynes; and there the wilde Beeſtes of the Felde diſtroyeth hem, and deuoureth hem, for Defaute of a good Schepherde.

O Lord, zif it be thy Will, delyuer thy Scheep oute of ſuch Schepherdes Warde, that retcheth not of thy Scheep, han they her Wole to make hem ſelfe rich; for thy Scheep ben in gret Miſchefe, and foule accumbred with her Schepherdes.

But, for thy Schepherdes wolden ben excuſed, they haue ygeten hem Hyridmen to fede thy Puple, and theſe comen in Scheepes Clothinge; but, dredeles, ther Werkes ſchewen, that with in forth the ben but Wolues; for, han they her Hyre, they ne retcheth but a litell how forrilich thy Scheep ben kepte. For, as they ſeggen hem ſelfe, they ben but hyrid Men, that han no Charge of thy Scheep: And, when they ſchulden feden thy Scheep in the plentuous Leſewe of thy Techinge, they ſtonden betwene hem and her Leſewe, ſo that thy Scheep ne han but a Sizte of thy Leſewe, but eten they ſchallen not thereof: But they feden hem in a ſorry ſowre Leſewe of Leſinges and of Talys, and ſo thy Scheep fallen in to greuous Sycknеſſe thorowz thys yuel Leſewe. And, zif any Scheep breke ouer in to thy Leſewe to taſten the Swetnes therof, anon theſe hyrid Men dryue hym oute with Houndes. And thus thy Scheep, by theſe hyrid Men, ben ykepte oute of her kyndlych Leſewe, and ben yfed wyth ſowre Graſſe and ſorry baren Leſewes; and zet they feden hem but ſeldem, and, when they han ſorrilich fed hem, they taken gret Hyre, and gone awaye from thy Scheep, and letten hem a worth; and, for Dreede leſt thy Scheep wolden in her Abſence go to thy ſwete Leſewe, they haue encloſed it all aboute ſo ſtronglych, and ſo hize, ther maye no Scheep comen there with in: But, zif it be a waliſch Leper of the Mounteynes, that maye, with his longe Legges, lepen ouer the Wallys. For, thyrid Men ben full certen, that zif thy Scheep hadden ones taſted the Sweetneſſe of thy Leſewe, they ne wold no more ben yfed of theſe hyrid Men in her ſoure Leſewes, and therfore theſe hyrid Men kepen hem out of thy Leſewe. For, hadden the Scheep ones ytaſted well of thy Leſewe, they wolden, with oute a Ledder, go thider to her Mete, and than mote theſe hyrid Men ſechen hem a nother Laboure to lyue by, than Kepinge of Scheepe. And they ben fell and war ynowe therof, and therfore they feden thy Scheep with ſoure Mete, that nauzte ys, and hiden from thy Schepe the Swetneſſe of thy Leſewe. And ſo, thouz theſe hyrid Men gone in Scheeps Clothinge, in her Workes they ben Wolues, that much Harme done to thy Scheep as we haue ytold.

O Lorde, they comen as Schepe, for they ſeggen that they ben pore, and haue forſaken they Worlde to lyuen parfetlych as thou tauzteſt in the Goſpell. Lorde, this ys Scheeps Clothinge. But, Lorde, thou ne tauzteſt not a Man to forſaken the trauelouſe Liuynge in Poreneſſe in the Worlde, to lyuen in Eſe with Rycheſſe by other Mennes Traueyle, and haue Lordſhupe on her Brethern. For, Lorde thi

this ys more to forſaken the, and go to the Worlde.

O Lorde, thou ne tauzteſt not a Man to forſake the Worlde, to lyuen in Poreneſſe of Begginge by other Mennes Traueyle, that ben as feble as they ben. Ne, Lorde, thou ne tauzteſt not a Man to lyuen in Poreneſſe of Begginge, that were ſtronge ynouz to traueyle for hys Lyfelode. Ne, Lorde, thou ne tauzteſt not a Man to ben a Begger, to beghen of Men more then hym nedeth; to bylden gret Caſtels, and maken gret Feſtes to thilke that han no Nede.

O Lorde, thou ne tauzteſt not Men this Porenes, for it ys oute of Charite: But thy Poreneſſe that thou tauzteſt norſcheth Charite. Lorde, ſyth *Poule* ſaith, That he that forſaketh the Charge of thilke that ben Homelich with hym, hath forſaken his Faith, and ys worſe then a miſbeleued Man: How than mowe theſe Men ſeggen that they beleuen in Chriſt, that han forſake her pore feble Frendes, and let hem lyue in Traveyle, and in Diſeſe, that traueyled full ſore for hem, when they weren zounge and unmizty to helpen hem ſelf? And they wolen lyue in Eſe by other Mennes Trauayle euer more, in Begginge with outen Schame.

Lorde, thou ne tauzteſt not this Maner Poreneſſe, for it ys oute of Charite; and all thy Lawe ys Charite other Thinge that norſcheth Charite: And theſe Hyridmen theſe Schepherdes ſende aboute to kepe thy Scheep, and to feden hem other Whiles in ſorry bareyne Leſewes. Lorde, thou ne madeſt none ſuch Schepherdes ne Kepers of thy Scheep that weren Zerners aboute Cuntreys, and wolden ones oder twyes a Zere fede ſorrylich thy Scheep, and for ſo litle Traueyle taken a gret Hyre, and ſythen all the Zere afterward do what hem lyketh, and let thy Scheep periſh for Defaute of Kepinge.

But thy Schepherdes abyden ſtill with her Scheep, and feden hem in thy plentuous Leſewe of thy Techinge, and gone byfore thy Scheep, and techen hem the Waye in to that plentuous and ſwete Leſewe, and kepen thy Flocke from Raueninge of the wilde Beeſtes of the Feelde.

O Lorde, delyuer thy Scheep out of the Warde of theſe Schepherdes, and theſe hyrid Men, that ſtonden more to kepe her Ryches that they robben of thy Scheep, than they ſtonden in kepeing of thy Scheep.

O Lorde, when thou come to *Ieruſalem* ſome Tyme, thou droue out of the Temple Sellers of Beeſtes and of other Chaffare, and ſaideſt, Myne Houſe ſchulden ben cleped an Houſe of Preyers, but they maden a Den of Theues of it. O Lorde, thou art the Temple in whom we ſchulden preyen thy Fadur of Heuen; and *Salomons* Temple, that was ybelded at *Ieruſalem*, was Fygure of this Temple. But, Lorde, he that clepeth hym ſelfe thy Viker upon Erth, and ſaith that he occupieth thy Place here on Erth, ys by come a Chapman in the Temple, and hath his Chapmen walkynge in dyuerſe Cuntreys, to ſellen his Chaffare, and to maken hym rych. And he ſaith, thou gave hym ſo gret a Power abouen all other Men, that what ever he byndeth ether vnbyndeth in Erth, thou byndeſt ether vnbyndeſt the ſame in Heuen: And ſo of grete Power he ſelleth other Men Forzeueneſſe of her Synne; and for moch Money he will aſſoylen a Man ſo clene of hys Synne, that he behoteth Men the Bliſſe of Heuen, withouten any Peyne after that they be deed, that zeven hym much Money.

Byſchopriches and Churches, and ſuch other Chaffares, he ſelleth alſo for Money, and maketh hym ſelf rych; and thus he begileth the Puple.

O Lorde *Ieſu*, here ys much Vntrueth, and Myſcheſe, and Mater of Sorow. Lorde, thou ſaideſt ſome Tyme, that thou woldeſt be with thy Seruauntes in to the Ende of the World: And thou ſaideſt alſo, there as Tweyne or Thre ben ygadred to gedder in thy Name, that thou art in the Mydle of hem: And, Lorde, then it was no Nede to the to maken a Leftenaunte, ſith thou wolte be evermore amonges thy Seruauntes.

Lorde, thou axedeſt of thy Diſciples who they trowed that thou were. And *Peter* anſwered and ſaide, That thou art Chriſte, Gods Sone. And thou ſaideſt to *Peter*, Thou art ybleſſed, *Symon Bariona*, for Fleſh and Bloude ne ſchowed not this to the, but my Fadur that ys in Heuen.

And I ſay to the, that thou art *Peter*, and apon this Stone ych wole byld my Church, and the Zates of Hell ne ſchullen nat availen azens it. And to the ych wole geue the Keyes of Heuen, and what ever thou byndeſt vpon Erth ſhall be bounde in Heuen, and what ever thou vnbyndeſt on Erth ſchalbe vnbounden in Heuen. This Power alſo was graunted vn-

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to the other Diſciples as well as to *Peter*, as the Goſpel opunlych telleth. In this Place Men ſeggen, that thou graunted to *Peters* Succeſſours the ſelue Power that thou zaue to *Peter*. And therfore the Byſchop of *Rome*, that ſaith he ys *Peters* Succeſſour, taketh thys Power to him to bynden and vnbynden in Erth what hym lyketh. But Lorde, ych haue much Wondre how he maye for Schame clepen hymſelfe *Peters* Succeſſour. For *Peter* knowledged that thou were Chriſt and God, and kepte the Heſtes of thy Law; but theſe han forſaken the Heſtes of thy Law, and hath y maked a Law contrary to thyne Heſtes of thy Lawe.

And ſo he maked hymſelfe a fals Chriſt and a fals God in Erth. And I trouwe thou zaue hym no Power to vndo thy Law.

And ſo, in takinge this Power vp on him, he maketh hym a fals Chriſte and Antechriſt. For who may be more azens Chriſt than he that in his Wordes maketh hymſelfe Chriſtes Viker in Erth, and in his Werkes vndoth the Ordinaunce of Chriſte, and maketh Men byleuen that it ys nedefull to the Heale of Mennes Soules to byleuen that he ys Chriſtes Viker in Erth, and what euer he byndeth in Erth ys ybounden in Heuen? And vnder this Coloure he vndoth Chriſtes Lawe, and maketh Men on alwiſe to kepen his Lawe, and his Heſtes. And thus Men maye yſeen that he ys azens Chriſt, and therfore he ys Antechriſt, that maketh Men worſhupen hym as a God on Earth, as that proude Kynge *Nabugodonoſor* did, ſumtyme that was Kynge of *Babylone*.

And therfore we lewed Men, that knowen no God but the *Ieſu Chriſt*, beleuen in the that art oure God, and our Kynge, and our Chriſt, and thy Lawes: And forſaken Antechriſt and *Nabugodonoſor*, that ys a fals God, and a fals Chriſt and his Lawes that ben contrary to thy Techinge. And, Lorde, ſtrenzth thou vs azenſt oure Enemies; for they ben aboute to maken vs forſake the and thy Lawe, other ellis to putten vs to Deth. O Lorde, onlych in the is our Truſt to helpe vs in this Myſchefe, for thy gret Goodneſſe that ys with outen End.

Lorde, thou ne tauzteſt not thy Diſciples to aſſoylen Men of her Synne, and ſetten hem a Penaunce for her Synne, in Faſtinge ne in Prayenge, ne othere Almous Dede; ne thy ſelfe, ne thy Diſciples vſeden no ſuch Power here on Erth. For, Lorde, thou forzeue Men her Synnes, and bede hem ſynne no more. And thy Diſciples fulleden Men in thy Name in Forzeueneſſe of her Synnes. Nor they toke no ſuch Power apon hem as oure Preſtes dare now. And, Lorde, thou ne aſſoyledeſt no Man both of his Synne, and of his Peyne that was dewe for his Synne, ne thou grauntedſt no Man ſuch Power here on Erth.

And, Lorde, me thinketh, that zif ther were a Purgatorye, and eny erthlyche Man had Power to delyueren ſynfull Men from the Peynes of Purgatorye, he ſchulde, and he were in Charite, ſauen everich Man that were in Waye of Saluacion from thilke Peynes, ſyth they make hem gretter than any bodilych Peynes of thys Worlde. Alſo, zif the Biſchop of *Rome* had ſuch a Power, he hymſelfe ſchulde never comen in Purgatorye, ne in Hell. And ſith we ſe well, that he ne hath no Power to kepen hymſelfe, ne other Men, nother out of theſe bodilich Peynes of the Worlde, and he maye go to Hell for hys Synne, as another Man maye, I ne byleve nat that he hath ſo great a Power to aſſoylen Men of her Synne, as he taketh vp on hym abouen all other Men; and I trowe that in thys he hyeth hymſelfe aboue God.

As touching the Selling of Byſchopryches and Perſonages, I trow it be a Poynte of Falſhede. For azens Gods Ordinaunce he robbeth pore Men of a Porcion of their Suſtinaunce and ſelleth it, other zeueth it to fynde proude Men in Ydleneſſe that done the lewed Puple litell Prophet and much Harme as we tolde before. Thus ben thy Commaundementes of Treweth, of Mekeneſſe and of Poreneſſe, vndone by hym that clepeth hym ſelfe thy Viker here vpon Erth.

A Lorde, thou zaue vs a Commaundemente of Chaſtite, that ys a Forſakynge of fleſchliche Luſtes. For thou brouzteſt vs to a Lyuynge of Soul that ys ygouerned by thy Worde. For, Lorde, thou ordeynediſt Woman more frele than Man to byn ygouerned by Mans Rule and his Helpe to pleſe the and kepe thyne Heſtes. Ne thou ne ordeynediſt that a Man ſchuld deſyre the Company of a Woman, and maken her his Wife, to lyuen with her in his Luſtys, as a Swyne doth or a Horſe. And hys Wife ne lyked hym nat to hys Luſtes, Lorde, thou ne zaue not a Man leue to departen hym from his Wife and taken hym a nother.

But, Lorde, thy Maryage ys a commune Acorde between Man and Woman, to lyuen togeder to her Lyues Ende, and in thy Seruyſe eyther the bettur for others Helpe; and thilke that ben thus ycome to geder ben ioined by the, and thilke that God ioyneth maye no Man departe. But, Lorde, thou ſaiſt that zif a Man ſe a Woman to coueten her, than he doth with that Woman Letcherye in his Harte. And ſo, Lorde, zif a Man deſyre his Wife in Couetyſe of ſuch Luſtes, and not to flye from Whoredome, his Weddinge ys Letcherye, ne thou ne ioyneſt hem nat to geder. Thus was *Raguls* Douzter y wedded to ſeven Huſbandes that the Devell ſtrangled. But *Tobye* toke her to lyue with her in Clenneſſe and bringinge vp of her Childern to thy Worſchyp, and on hym the Deuell ne had no Power. For the Weddinge was ymaked in God, for God and thorouz God.

A Lorde, the Puple ys ferre ygo from this Maner of Weddinge. For now Men wedden her Wives for Fayreneſſe, other for Rycheſſe or ſome ſuch other fleſchlych Luſtes. And, Lorde, ſo it preueth by hem for the moſt Parte. For a Manne ſhall not fynde two wedded in a Londe, where the Huſbonde loues the Wife, and the Wife is buxom to the Man, as they ſhulden after thy Law of Mariage. But other the Man loues not his Wife, or the Wife is not buxom to her Man. And thus, Lorde, ys the Rule of Prefe that neuer faileth to preue whether it be done by the or no. And, Lorde, all this Myſcheſe ys comen amonge thy Puple, for that they knowe not thy Worde, but her Schepherdes and hyrid Men feden hem with her Sweuendes and Leſynges. And, Lorde, where they ſchulden gon before vs in the Felde, they ſeggen that her Order ys to holy for thy Mariage. And, Lorde, he that calleth hymſelfe thy Viker vp on Erth will not ſuffren Preſtes to taken hem Wyues, for that it ys azeins his Law: But, Lorde, he will diſpenſen with hem to kepen Horen for a certen Sum of Mon. And, Lorde, all Horedome ys forfended in thy Law. And, Lorde, thou neuer forfendeſt Preſtes her Wiues ner thy Apoſtles nether. And well I wrote in our Londe Preſtes hadden Wiues vntil *Anſelmus* Dayes, in the Yere of oure Lorde God a leven hundert and twenty and nyne, as *Huntindon* writes. And, Lorde, this makes Puple, for the moſt Parte, leuen that Letcherye ys no Synne. Therfore, we lewed Men preyen the that thou wolt ſende vs Shepherdes of thyne owne, that wolen feden thy Flock in thy Leſewe, and gon before hem ſelfe, and ſo writen thy Lawe in oure Hartes, that, from the leeſt to the meſt all they mayen knowen thee. And, Lorde, geue oure Kynge, and his Lordes, Harte to defenden thy trew Schepherdes, and thy Sheep from oute of the Wolues Mouthes, and Grace to know the, that art the trew Chriſt, the Sonne of thy heuenly Fader, from the Antechriſt, that ys the Sonne of Pride.

And, Lorde, geue vs, thy poore Scheep, Pacience and Strenzth to ſuffer for thy Law the Cruelnes of the myſcheuous Wolues. And, Lorde, as thou haſt promyſed, ſhorten theſe Dayes. Lorde, we axen this now, for more Nede was there neuer.

The Lord *Digby*'s Speech in the Houſe of Commons, to the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, *Jan.* 19, 1640. *Quarto*, containing ſixteen Pages.

Mr. *Speaker*,

I Riſe not now with an Intent to ſpeak to the Frame and Structure of this Bill, nor much by Way of Anſwer to Objections that may be made; I hope there will be no Occaſion of that, but that we ſhall concur all unanimouſly in what concerneth all ſo univerſally.

Only, Sir, by Way of Preparation, to the End, that we may not be diſcouraged in this great Work by Difficulties that may appear in the Way of it, I ſhall deliver unto you my Apprehenſions in general, of the vaſt Importance and Neceſſity that we ſhould go thorough with it.

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The Reſult of my Senſe is, in ſhort, this: That unleſs, for the frequent Convening of Parliaments, there be ſome ſuch Courſe ſettled, as may not be eluded; neither the People can be proſperous and ſecure, nor the King himſelf ſolidly happy. I take this to be the *Unum neceſſarium:* Let us procure this, and all our other Deſires will effect themſelves: If this Bill miſcarry, I ſhall have left me no publick Hopes; and, once paſſed, I ſhall be freed of all publick Fears.

The Eſſentialneſs, Sir, of frequent Parliaments to the Happineſs of this Kingdom, might be inferred unto you, by the Reaſon of Contraries, from the woeful Experience which former Times have had of the miſchievous Effects of any long Intermiſſion of them.

But, Mr. Speaker, why ſhould we climb higher than the Level we are on, or think further than our own Horizon, or have Recourſe for Examples in this Buſineſs to any other Promptuary than our own Memories; nay, than the Experience almoſt of the youngeſt here?

The Reflexion backward on the Diſtractions of former Times upon Intermiſſion of Parliaments, and the Conſideration forward of the Miſchiefs likely ſtill to grow from the ſame Cauſe, if not reformed, doubtleſs, gave firſt Life and Being to thoſe two dormant Statutes of *Edward the Third*, for the yearly Holding of Parliaments: And ſhall not the freſh and bleeding Experience in the preſent Age of Miſeries from the ſame Spring, not to be paralleled in any other, obtain an Awakening, a Reſurrection for them?

The inteſtine Diſtempers, Sir, of former Ages upon the Want of Parliaments, may appear to have had ſome other co-operative Cauſes, as ſometimes, unſucceſsful Wars Abroad; ſometimes, the Abſence of the Prince; ſometimes, Competitions of Titles to the Crown; ſometimes, perhaps, the Vices of the King himſelf.

But, let us but conſider the Poſture, the Aſpect of this State, both towards itſelf, and the reſt of the World, the Perſon of our Sovereign, and the Nature of our Sufferings, ſince the Third of his Reign: And there can be no Cauſe colourably inventable, whereunto to attribute them, but the Intermiſſion, or, which is worſe, the undue Fruſtration of Parliaments, by the unlucky Uſe, if not Abuſe, of Prerogative in the Diſſolving them.

Take into your View, Gentlemen, a State in a State of the greateſt Quiet and Security that can be fancied, not only enjoying the calmeſt Peace itſelf, but, to improve and ſecure its happy Condition, all the reſt of the World, at the ſame Time, in Tempeſt, in Combuſtions, in uncompoſable Wars.

Take into your View, Sir, a King Sovereign to three Kingdoms, by a Concentring of all the Royal Lines in his Perſon, as undiſputably as any mathematical ones in *Euclid:* A King firm and knowing in his Religion, eminent in Virtue: A King that had, in his own Time, given all the Rights and Liberties of his Subjects a more clear and ample Confirmation, freely and graciouſly, than any of his Predeceſſors (when the People had them at Advantage) extortedly, I mean, in the Petition of Right.

This is one Map of *England*, Mr. Speaker. A Man, Sir, that ſhould preſent unto you, now, a Kingdom, groaning under that ſupreme Law, which *Salus populi periclitata* would enact; the Liberty, the Property of the Subject fundamentally ſubverted, raviſhed away by the Violence of a pretended Neceſſity; a triple Crown ſhaking with Diſtempers; Men of the beſt Conſcience ready to fly into the Wilderneſs for Religion: Would not one ſwear this were the Antipodes to the other? And yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, this is a Map of *England* too, and both, at the ſame Time, true.

As it cannot be denied, Mr. Speaker, that ſince the Conqueſt there hath not been, in this Kingdom, a fuller Concurrence of all Circumſtances in the former Character, to have made a Kingdom happy, than for theſe twelve Years laſt paſt; ſo it is moſt certain, that there hath not been, in all that Deduction of Ages, ſuch a Conſpiracy, if one may ſo ſay, of all the Elements of Miſchief in the ſecond Character, to bring a flouriſhing Kingdom if it were poſſible, to ſwift Ruin and Deſolation.

I will be bold to ſay, Mr. Speaker, and I thank God we have ſo good a King, under whom we may ſpeak boldly of the Abuſe of his Power by ill Miniſters, without Reflexion upon his Perſon:

That an Accumulation of all the publick Grievances ſince *Magna Charta*, one upon another, unto that Hour in which the Petition of Right paſſed into an Act of Parliament, would not amount to ſo oppreſſive, I am ſure

not to ſo deſtructive a Height and Magnitude to the Rights and Property of the Subject, as one Branch of our Beſlaving ſince the Petition of Right.

The Branch, I mean, is the Judgment concerning Ship money. This being a true Repreſentation of *England* in both Aſpects:

Let him, Mr. Speaker, that for the unmatched Oppreſſion and Enthralling of free Subjects, in a Time of the beſt King's Reign, and in Memory of the beſt Laws enacting in Favour of Subjects Liberty, can find a truer Cauſe than the Ruptures and Intermiſſion of Parliaments: Let him, and him alone, be againſt the Settling of this inevitable Way for the frequent Holding of them.

It is true, Sir, wicked Miniſters have been the proximate Cauſes of our Miſeries, but the Want of Parliaments the primary, the efficient Cauſe.

Ill Miniſters have made ill Times, but that, Sir, hath made ill Miniſters.

I have read, amongſt the Laws of the *Athenians*, a Form of Recourſe in their Oaths and Vows of greateſt and moſt publick Concernment to a threefold Deity, *Supplicum Exauditori*, *Purgatori*, *Malorum depulſori*.

I doubt not but we, here aſſembled for the Commonwealth in this Parliament, ſhall meet with all theſe Attributes in our Sovereign.

I make no Queſtion, but he will graciouſly hear our Supplications: Purge away our Grievances, and expel Malefactors, that is, remove ill Miniſters, and put good in their Places.

No leſs can be expected from his Wiſdom and Goodneſs.

But, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, if we partake not of one Attribute more in him; if we addreſs not ourſelves unto that, I mean *Bonorum Conſervatori*, we can have no ſolid, no durable Comfort in all the reſt.

Let his Majeſty hear our Complaints never ſo compaſſionately.

Let him purge away our Grievances never ſo efficaciouſly.

Let him puniſh and diſpel ill Miniſters never ſo exemplarily.

Let him make Choice of good ones never ſo exactly.

If there be not a Way ſettled to preſerve and keep them good, the Miſchiefs and they will all grow again like *Sampſon*'s Locks, and pull down the Houſe upon our Heads: Believe it, Mr. Speaker, they will.

It hath been a Maxim amongſt the wiſeſt Legiſlators, that whoſoever means to ſettle good Laws, muſt proceed in them, with a ſiniſter Opinion of all Mankind; and ſuppoſe, that whoſoever is not wicked, it is for Want only of the Opportunity. It is that Opportunity of being ill, Mr. Speaker, that we muſt take away, if ever we mean to be happy, which can never be done, but by the Frequency of Parliaments.

No State can wiſely be confident of any publick Miniſters continuing good, longer than the Rod is over him.

Let me appeal to all thoſe that were preſent in this Houſe at the Agitation of the Petition of Right. And let them tell themſelves truly, of whoſe Promotion to the Management of Affairs do they think the Generality would at that Time have had better Hopes than of Mr. *Noy* and Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, both having been at that Time, and in that Buſineſs, as I have heard, moſt keen and active Patriots; and the latter of them, to the eternal Aggravation of his infamous Treachery to the Commonwealth, be it ſpoken, the firſt Mover, and Inſiſter to have this Clauſe added to the Petition of Right, that, for the Comfort and Safety of his Subjects, his Majeſty would be pleaſed to declare his Will and Pleaſure, that all his Miniſters ſhould ſerve him according to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, to whom now can all the Inundations upon our Liberties, under Pretence of Law, and the late Shipwreck at once of all our Property, be attributed more than to *Noy*; and thoſe, and all other Miſchiefs, whereby this Monarchy hath been brought almoſt to the Brink of Deſtruction, ſo much to any as to that grand Apoſtate to the Commonwealth, the now Lieutenant of *Ireland*?

The firſt, I hope, God hath forgiven in the other World; and the latter muſt not hope to be pardoned it in this, till he be diſpatched to the other.

Let every Man but conſider thoſe Men as once they were.

The excellent Law for the Security of the Subject, enacted immediately before their Coming to Employment, in the Contriving whereof themſelves were principal Actors.

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The Goodneſs and Virtue of the King they ſerved, and yet the high and publick Oppreſſions that in his Time they have wrought: And ſurely there is no Man but will conclude with me, that as the Deficience of Parliaments hath been the *Cauſa Cauſarum* of all the Miſchiefs and Diſtempers of the preſent Times: So the Frequency of them is the ſole Catholick Antidote that can preſerve and ſecure the future from the like.

Mr. Speaker, let me yet draw my Diſcourſe a little nearer to his Majeſty himſelf, and tell you, that the Frequency of Parliaments is moſt eſſentially neceſſary to the Power, the Security, the Glory of the King.

There are two Ways, Mr. Speaker, of powerful Rule; either by Fear, or Love; but one of happy and ſafe Rule, that is, by Love, that *firmiſſimum Imperium quo obedientes gaudent.*

To which *Camillus* adviſed the *Romans*. Let a Prince conſider what it is that moves a People principally to Affection, and Dearneſs, towards their Sovereign, he ſhall ſee that there needs no other Artifice in it, than to let them enjoy, unmoleſtedly, what belongs unto them of Right: If that have been invaded and violated in any Kind, whereby Affections are alienated, the next Conſideration, for a wiſe Prince that would be happy, is how to regain them, to which three Things are equally neceſſary.

Reinſtating them in their former Liberty.

Revenging them of the Authors of thoſe Violations;

And, Securing them from Apprehenſions of the like again.

The Firſt, God be thanked, we are in a good Way of.

The Second, in a warm Purſuit of.

But the Third, as eſſential as all the reſt, till we be certain of Triennial Parliaments, at the leaſt, I profeſs I can have but cold Hopes of.

I beſeech you then, Gentlemen, ſince that Security for the Future is ſo neceſſary to that bleſſed Union of Affections, and this Bill ſo neceſſary to that Security; let us not be ſo wanting to ourſelves, let us not be ſo wanting to our Sovereign, as to forbear to offer unto him this powerful, this everlaſting Philter, to charm unto him the Hearts of his People, whoſe Virtue can never evaporate.

There is no Man, Mr. Speaker, ſo ſecure of another's Friendſhip, but will think frequent Intercourſe and Acceſs very requiſite to the Support, to the Confirmation of it: Eſpecially, if ill Offices have been done between them; if the Raiſing of Jealouſies hath been attempted.

There is no Friend but would be impatient to be debarred from giving his Friend Succour and Relief in his Neceſſities.

Mr. Speaker, permit me the Compariſon of great Things with little: What Friendſhip, what Union, can there be ſo comfortable, ſo happy, as between a gracious Sovereign and his People? And what greater Misfortune can there be to both, than for them to be kept from Intercourſe, from the Means of clearing Miſunderſtandings, from Interchange of mutual Benefits?

The People of *England*, Sir, cannot open their Ears, their Hearts, their Mouths, nor their Purſes, to his Majeſty, but in Parliament.

We can neither hear him, nor complain, nor acknowledge, nor give, but there.

This Bill, Sir, is the ſole Key that can open the Way to a Frequency of thoſe reciprocal Endearments, which muſt make and perpetuate the Happineſs of the King and Kingdom.

Let no Man object any Derogation from the King's Prerogative by it. We do but preſent the Bill, it is to be made a Law by him; his Honour, his Power, will be as conſpicuous, in commanding at once that a Parliament ſhall aſſemble every third Year, as in commanding a Parliament to be called this or that Year: There is more of Majeſty in ordaining primary and univerſal Cauſes, than in the actuating particularly of ſubordinate Effects.

I doubt not but that glorious King *Edward the Third*, when he made thoſe Laws for the yearly Calling of a Parliament, did it with a right Senſe of his Dignity and Honour.

The Truth is, Sir, the Kings of *England* are never in their Glory, in their Splendor, in their majeſtick Sovereignty, but in Parliaments.

Where is the Power of impoſing Taxes? Where is the Power of reſtoring from Incapacities? Where is the Legiſlative Authority? Marry, in the King, Mr. Speaker. But how? In the King, circled in, fortified and evirtuated by his Parliament.

The

The King, out of Parliament, hath a limited, a circumſcribed Juriſdiction: But, waited on by his Parliament, no Monarch of the Eaſt is ſo abſolute in diſpelling Grievances.

Mr. Speaker, in chacing ill Miniſters, we do but diſſipate Clouds that may gather again; but, in voting this Bill, we ſhall contribute, as much as in us lies, to the perpetuating our Sun, our Sovereign, in his Veſtical, in his Noon-day Luſtre

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The Opinion of Mr. *Perkins* and Mr. *Bolton*, and others, concerning the Sport of Cock-Fighting: Publiſhed formerly in their Works, and now ſet forth to ſhew, That it is not a Recreation meet for Chriſtians, though ſo commonly uſed by thoſe who own that Name. By *Edmund Ellis*, Maſter of Arts, and ſome Time Fellow of *Baliol* College in *Oxford.*

2 SAM. vi. 22.

I will yet be more vile than thus.

Oxford, Printed by *A. L.* in the Year 1660. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages

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To my moſt dearly beloved and honoured Friends, *Edmund Forteſcue*, of *Fallapit* in *Devonſhire*, Eſq; and Mr. *Dennis Grenvile*, younger Son of Sir *Bevill Grenvile*, Knight.

SIRS,

I *Preſent you theſe Papers, chiefly for theſe two Reaſons:* Firſt, *Becauſe I know you are ſincerely of the ſame Opinion, which, by them, I manifeſt to the World, that I am of, and therefore they muſt needs be acceptable unto you.* Secondly, *Becauſe you underſtand me aright in thoſe Actions, which the Generality of other Men, Good and Bad, who have Occaſion to take Notice of them, eſteem as monſtrous and improper for me, not rightly apprehending their Symmetry and Proportion to ſuch Principles, as they themſelves muſt neceſſarily acknowledge to be good for me to act by; and, whilſt there is any Sin to be diſcerned in me (which, alas! muſt needs be, as long as I continue in this earthly Tabernacle) it cannot be otherwiſe, by Reaſon of the confuſed Notions, Men commonly have, of ſuch Actions as proceed from a Soul differently inclined, to wit, by the Strength it retains of the Old Nature, and by what it hath received of the New. That Stream of Grace, which flows continually through the whole Courſe of the Lives and Converſations of thoſe who are born again, mixing itſelf with the Ocean, as it were, of ſo many Sins and Infirmities, and Civil Actions, is no more to be diſcerned by the Generality, than a Stream of freſh in ſalt Waters; it is the* Taſte, *not the* Sight, *the Knowledge of the* Heart, *not of the* Brain, *that apprehends the Integrity of any Man's Actions; neither do I any more believe,*

believe, that all good Men thoroughly apprehend those Actions, which ſometimes they are pleaſed to cenſure, than that any Man, who has, as they ſay, a judicious Palate, *ſhould be able to diſtinguiſh* Wines, *or any other Liquors, when he does but* ſee *them.*

My dear Friends, farewell, and pray earneſtly, that my Faith may not fail me; for, methinks, coming out into the Sea of the World upon this Occaſion, my Conſcience commanding me, I am in the Caſe, that Peter *was in,* Matth. xiv. 29, *when he* walked on the Water to go to *Jeſus, as ſoon as he ſaid,* Come.

To my honoured Friend, Mr. Edmund Ellis.

My deareſt Friend

SINCE you have given me Notice of this your noble Deſign, I think myſelf obliged to congratulate you in it, and to bleſs God for it, being ſo highly obliged unto you for thoſe good Inſtructions, and pious Admonitions, which, from Time to Time, I have received from you; and, although I have not trod ſo exactly in thoſe Ways, which you have directed me to, yet it is my earneſt Prayer to God, that Gentlemen would endeavour but as I have done; which if they did, ſurely ſuch vain Sports and bloody Recreations, which you treat of, would no longer be pleaſing to them. I know (to my Grief I ſpeak it) that the Generality of Gentlemen are no more capable to apprehend your Diſcourſes, than a Man, the Pores of his Head being ſtopped by the Extremity of Cold, is able to diſtinguiſh betwixt ill and wholeſome Scents. It has been an Experiment, tried thro' all Ages ſince the Creation, That the Workers of Iniquity hate Light; that they cannot endure to be told of any Sin, which they indulge unto themſelves. The more ingenious the Men be (unleſs truly Chriſtian, unleſs they live according to Chriſt's Goſpel, and would rather loſe an Eye, their Right-hand, nay, their Lives, than wittingly and willingly commit the leaſt Sin) the more, you muſt expect, they will rail at and revile you: Whatever they pretend to your Face, they would cut your Throat with all their Hearts; they play the Wolf in the Sheep's Cloathing, hide the Vulture's Heart under the Dove's Breaſt. What can you expect from ſuch Men, but Scoffs, &c.? Who in Corners (not in Publick, for Fear that ſmall Rod of Juſtice, which is yet left, might make them ſmart) laugh at God, and deſpiſe what they themſelves preach: A Wonder, that God inflicts not ſome immediate Puniſhment on ſuch notorious Offenders, who deride the Wiſdom of the Myſtery of the Bleſſed Trinity. But, alas! What will become of ſuch Men? Who do not only *neglect*, but *deſpiſe ſo great Salvation.* Though God's revenging Hand, which is able to grind them to Powder, does forbear them for ſome ſmall Seaſon, yet they ſhall ſurely one Day moſt ſadly feel it, when Coals of Fire and Brimſtone, and an horrible Tempeſt, ſhall be ſhowered down on their Heads by the revenging Hand of an angry God.

How many Thouſands of Gentlemen are there in this Nation, who far more dread the Thoughts of a Years's Impriſonment, being by that to be deprived of their jolly Companions, than that ſad Divorce betwixt the Soul and Body. Their Eyes are ſo dim, by their long Perſiſtence in the Ways of Darkneſs, that they cannot ſee the Paths of Light; and, rather than they will pain themſelves to pluck off that Film, which darkens their Sight, they will periſh for ever: They will rather be God's Enemies, ſo they gain a good Reputation in the World, being called *Prudent, Diſcreet,* &c. (though that is but a Miſtake) than be his faithful Stewards, and be backbitten and railed on by the Ignorant of theſe our Days. Did but Men practiſe, as they ſay they

believe,

believe, we ſhould not ſee ſo great Debaucheries, as now there are; they had rather be in their Studies, with Tears in their Eyes, and Books in their Hands, than at the Alehouſe, toſſing off Cups, and delighting to ſee the innocent Blood of poor Creatures. This your Diſcourſe will try the Pureneſs of Men's Hearts, as Fire Gold. You muſt expect, that the Mouths of thoſe, who continually bark at you, being already open, will not cloſe without ſome Noiſe; they will try their utmoſt to affright you from undertaking ſuch noble Deſigns, whereby you do eminently ſerve God, and ſatisfy the Deſires of your Brethren. Well, my dear Friend, go on and proſper in all your Endeavours, and be ſure, that, though Men do ſtrive to caſt Aſperſions on your candid Name, yet, in their Hearts, they fear and reverence you. They are afraid to own that in Publick before Men, which, in private Chambers, they twattle before Boys. I ſay, my Friend, let them be what they will, they are beneath your Notice, ſince, by ſuch opprobrious Speeches, they ceaſe from being Chriſtians; they cannot apprehend terreſtrial Friendſhip, How then can they heavenly? It is a general Obſervation, That ſeveral Men of one Profeſſion always diſcommend and undervalue one the other's Work; and truly this is the ſame Caſe with you: You and others are all baptiſed in Chriſt's Name, and, ſince you own what there you vowed to do, in which they are ſo defective, they envy and revile you, they hate to ſee themſelves out-done by one of their own Calling: Therefore you muſt expect, that all formal Chriſtians, who will not go to Heaven, unleſs they might have the World for their Companion on their Journey; *who have a Form of Godlineſs, but deny the Power thereof; who mind earthly Things; who are Lovers of Pleaſures more than Lovers of God; who delight in the Creature more than the Creator:* I ſay, you may be ſure, that the greateſt Part of thoſe, who call themſelves *Chriſtians*, being ignorant of the Spirit and Life of Religion, having Religion only in their Fancy, and thinking the very Acts of it but wild Chimera's, make it an *Ens Rationis*, or an empty Notion, will deſpiſe and undervalue your Writings. But, bleſſed be that God, who has and will uphold you againſt the deviliſh Oppoſitions of malicious Men; who has made that Gall, which has been caſt in your Teeth, to prove *ſweeter than Honey in your Belly.*

I could ſay more, did I not fear that I have already tired you. I can aſſure you, that no Man can have a more perfect Friendſhip for any one, than I have for you. You know, that I am,

March 20, —59.

My deareſt Friend,

Your moſt affectionate

Edmund Forteſcue.

THOUGH it be my Opinion, that the Sport of Cock-fighting is abſolutely ſinful, yet I would not have thee think, as the Vulgar will be ready to ſay, that I eſteem as Unregenerate all thoſe who are of a contrary Judgment: I do not ſo little conſider that of the Apoſtle, *In many Things we offend all:* And certainly, the immediate Cauſe of our Offences, the Perverſneſs of the Will, always proceeds from the Underſtanding, or Judgment perverted, in apprehending any Thing the wrong Way, by which it is inclined to accept, or refuſe the Object, or Thing propoſed: But, though I do not conceive that the Ignorance of the Impiety of this Sport is altogether inconſiſtent with a Regenerate State, or the Habit of true Godlineſs, in ſome Degree, yet I am not afraid to make known to the World, that I cannot imagine how

how any Man, whilſt he is actually like unto God, the Father of Mercies, can poſſibly delight and recreate himſelf, in ſeeing his Fellow-Creatures (which are infinitely leſs inferior to us, than we to our, and their Creator) ſo ſubtle and active to wound and deſtroy each other. Having this Opinion of the Sport of Cock-Fights, and ſeeing it ſo frequently uſed in the Country where I live, no Man, that I can hear of, oppoſing it as abſolutely ſinful, I could not retain the Confidence I have, that I am, indeed, a faithful Servant of the great God in the Goſpel of his Son, and a true Lover of the Souls of Men, if I ſhould not venture to oppoſe it myſelf; though I am not ignorant, that, endeavouring to deſtroy this common Opinion, That this Sport is not meet for Chriſtians, I muſt neceſſarily expect to be counted a fool-hardy and imprudent Fellow. Methinks I hear many Men ſaying unto me, appearing in Publick upon this Occaſion, as *Eliab*, 1 *Sam.* xvii. 28, ſaid to his Brother *David, I know thy Pride, and the Naughtineſs of thine Heart.* This, indeed, would ſomewhat diſturb me, if I did not conſider, that Omniſcience is one of the Attributes of the God whom I ſerve.

Thinking with myſelf, what Means I ſhould uſe to effect this Deſign, to convince the World, that the Temper and Diſpoſition of any Man's Soul, whilſt he actually delights in ſuch a Sport, muſt neceſſarily be offenſive to God; at laſt I conſidered, though it be my Opinion, that for any Man, who has attained to a competent Degree of the Art of Expreſſion, to publiſh thoſe Notions which he has gathered from his own Experience of ſuch Chriſtian Truths, as are, in ſome Sort, generally believed, in his own Words, is a Work moſt acceptable to the God of Truth; for, certainly, thoſe Notions of ſpiritual Things which fix themſelves, and reſide in the Head only of the Generality of thoſe who are called Chriſtians, are uſually guided unto the Heart by ſuch Expreſſions of the ſame Things, as come from the Hearts of others: Yet, I ſay, at laſt I conſidered, that Truths of this Nature, which are like to find ſo much Oppoſition, will hardly be received by any, who now oppoſe them, unleſs they be brought in, as it were, with Drum and Trumpet; I mean, by the Hands of ſome famous and excellent Writers; and therefore I would not, at preſent, write of this Subject, any more than only to ſpeak my Opinion; but have rather choſen to ſhew the World, what ſome eminent Divines have written of it, which I conceive was never yet read and conſidered by any of thoſe who delight in ſuch Sports, and profeſs to walk as Chriſt walked.

And here, in the Name of a Chriſtian, I call to my Aid (in endeavouring to evince this, that ſuch a Temper, as may actually conſiſt with a Delight in ſuch Sports, muſt needs be unchriſtian) all thoſe who are of the ſame Opinion, and, withal, are conſcious to themſelves, that God has given them an Art of Perſuaſion, an Ability of conveying their own Thoughts into the Breaſts of others, not only of thoſe who are ſimply void of them, but of thoſe alſo who oppugn and reſiſt them: Such Men I intreat upon all Occaſions, to manifeſt their Diſlike of ſuch Sports, and their Reaſons for it.

If theſe Papers ſhall chance to be ſeen by the worthy and renowned Author of the *Whole Duty of Man*, I ſhall humbly intreat him, as one who ſerves with him under Chriſt, the Captain of our Salvation, to afford me ſome Aid in this Combate with the World, if he be of the ſame Judgment, as, by his Works, I preſume he is. I doubt not, but the ſmall Thoughts and Fancies, which thoſe, who delight in this Sport, are apt to conceive in Favour of it, which ariſe in their Minds, like Miſts and dark Vapours, to obſcure the Reaſon of any Thing they can ordinarily hear ſpoken againſt it, would ſuddenly vaniſh, like a Morning Cloud, when the Sun appears, if it ſhould be oppoſed by ſo noble a Perſon; whoſe Style, like a Diamond, is bright and ſolid; whoſe excellent Rhetorick, and Beauty of Expreſſion, does not, like weaker Beauty, conſiſt chiefly in Colour and Complexion (in Words, which are ſo apt to take, as they ſay) but in Symmetry and exact Proportion. And I hope, the amiable Subject of his beauteous Expreſſions will, in Time, by the Help of God's Spirit, draw into itſelf the Love of many, who, as yet, are Lovers of the World. If the Thoughts I have expreſſed of this Sport be not ſuitable to his, I deſire to be better informed by him: For, I muſt profeſs, at preſent, it ſcandals me extremely to ſee Chriſtians, thoſe who profeſs to have their Boſoms a Neſt for the heavenly Dove, to be Companions of the Lamb of God, to recreate themſelves in Blood, though it be of the meaneſt Creatures; and to me no Man's Reaſon ſeems more ſtrong, or Expreſſion more

clear, than what I find in the Writings of this excellent Perſon: So that, whatever he ſhall be pleaſed to write on this Subject, it will either make me ſee myſelf in an Error, or lead me on further in the Way of Truth; if my Opinion be true indeed, which, as yet, I have no Reaſon to doubt, but that ſo many ſpeak againſt it.

All that I have to ſay farther is this, That, if I did not as much deſpiſe the Shame, as I am thought to deſire the Praiſe of the World, I would rather loſe the Hand I write with, than employ my Pen upon ſuch an Occaſion. But I fear not the Terms of *Fool*, or *Madman*: It was ſaid of my Saviour, *He hath a Devil*. My Lord was reviled, Shall I be applauded? What greater Comfort can a Chriſtian have, than in thinking how like he is to the Lord of Glory, not only in what he did, but even alſo in what he ſuffered.

Of Cock-Fights, and ſuch like Sports

'THE Baiting of the Bear, and Cock-'Fights, are no meet Recreations. The 'Baiting of the Bull hath its Uſe, and there-'fore it is commanded by Civil Authority, 'and ſo have not theſe: And the Antipathy, 'and Cruelty, which one Beaſt ſheweth to an-'other, is the Fruit of our Rebellion againſt 'God, and ſhould rather move us to mourn, 'than to rejoice.' Theſe are the Words of the moſt learned and godly Mr. *Perkins*, in that famous Treatiſe of the *Caſes of Conſcience*, printed in *Quarto*, *A. D.* —32, P. 346.

That Man of God, Mr. *Bolton*, was of the ſame Mind with Mr. *Perkins*, concerning ſuch Sports: 'Conſider, ſays he (in his excellent Treatiſe, intituled, *General Directions for a comfortable Walking with God*, P. 156) 'That 'Rule which Divines give about Recreations: 'We muſt not make God's Judgments and 'and Puniſhments, either upon Man or Beaſt, 'the Matter and Object of them. Now, the beſt 'Divines hold, that Enmity amongſt themſelves 'was a Fruit of our Rebellion againſt God, and 'more general Judgment inflicted upon the 'Creature after the Fall. Which Miſery com-'ing upon them by our Means, ſhould rather 'break our Hearts, and make them bleed, than 'miniſter Matter of glorying in our Shame, and 'vexing thoſe very Vexations which our Impi-'ety hath put upon them. Alas, ſinful Man! 'what an Heart haſt thou, that canſt take 'Delight in the cruel Tormenting of a dumb 'Creature? Is it not too much for thee to be-'hold, with dry Eyes, that which only thy Sin 'hath impreſſed upon it, but that thou muſt 'barbarouſly alſo preſs its Oppreſſions, and 'make thyſelf merry with the bleeding Miſe-'ries of that poor harmleſs Thing, which in 'its Kind is much more, and far better ſer-'viceable to the Creator than thyſelf? Yet I 'deny not, but that there may be another 'lawful Uſe of this Antipathy, for the De-'ſtroying of hurtful, and the Enjoying of 'uſeful Creatures; ſo that it be without any 'Taint or Aſperſion of Cruelty on our Parts, 'or needleſs Tormenting of the ſilly Beaſts.'

Mr. *Dod*, and Mr. *Cleaver* (ſcorned by none but thoſe whoſe Revilings are Praiſes) in their Expoſition of theſe Words of *Solomon*, *Prov.* xii. 10, *A righteous Man regardeth the Life of his Beaſt*, having ſpoken againſt the hard Uſage of labouring Beaſts, as Horſes, *&c.* conclude thus: 'And yet, in another 'Sort more Extremity than this is uſed againſt 'other Sorts of Creatures, and that is, when 'Men make a Sport of making them miſer-'able; when it is a Pleaſure to put them to 'Pain; when it is a Paſs-time to behold their 'Torment and Tearing. This proceedeth not 'of a tender Heart; this is not the Work of 'Righteouſneſs; this Delight will leave no 'Comfort behind it. Have our Sins in *Adam* 'brought ſuch Calamities upon them, and 'ſhall we add unto them by Cruelty in our 'own Perſons? Have our Corruptions been 'a Cauſe of that Fierceneſs that is in many 'of them one againſt another, and ſhall we 'ſolace ourſelves in ſeeing them execute it?'

What holy *Chryſoſtome* would have ſaid of this Sport, if he had had an Occaſion to treat of it, we may eaſily gather from theſe Words in his twenty-ninth Homily on the Epiſtle to the *Romans*: Σφόδρα εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαὶ ἥμεροι, καὶ φιλάνθρωποι, καὶ περὶ τὲς οἰκείους, καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους. Καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀλόγων αὐτῶν τοῦτο ἐκτείνεσι τὸν ἡμερότητα; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σοφός τις ἔλεγε· Δίκαιος οἰκτείρει ψυχὰς κτηνῶν αὐτοῦ.

The Souls of thoſe, that are truly pious, are exceeding mild and gentle, not only towards Relations, but Strangers alſo. And this Le-

nity,

nity, or Softneſs of Heart, they extend even to irrational Creatures. Therefore the wiſe Man ſaith, *A righteous Man regardeth the Life of his Beaſt*, Prov. xii. 10.

To all thoſe who affect this Sport.

SIRS,

HAving ſhewn you what theſe Men thought of the Sport you affect, I ſhall intreat you, if you believe Sin to be a Matter of eternal Concernment, to conſider ſeriouſly what here you have read. If you are not convinced at preſent, that theſe learned and godly Men were in the Right, yet I doubt not but you will be in Time, if you more fully conſider the Matter without Prejudice: At leaſt, if you are regenerate Perſons: For, I conceive, by the Inſtinct of the New Creature, a Man may often perceive that to be a Sin, whoſe Sinfulneſs is not capable of any expreſs, or verbal, Demonſtration, *viz.* apprehending it ſo to be merely through a Senſe of the Antipathy it has to that in him, which he knows is born of God. Whether or no this be but a Fanatick Notion; and whether or no the Printing of theſe Papers, and ſuch like Actions of mine, be indeed ſo fooliſh, and imprudent, as the World judges them to be, I will appeal only for my own Satisfaction to the only wiſe God. Yet I ſhall not deny to render an Account of any of my Actions, in which I do, and muſt uſually thwart the Example of the Generality of Men, good and bad, to any Man, whoſe Authority obliges him, in any Reſpect, to demand it of me, as my lawful Superior, or Conſcience, as my Fellow Chriſtian.

Mr. *Howell*'s Vindication of himſelf from the Charge of being no Friend to Parliaments, and a Malignant. *London*, printed, 1677. *Quarto*, containing ten Pages.

BY that which hath been ſpoken*, which is the Language of my Heart, I hope no indifferent judicious Reader will doubt of the cordial Affection, of the high Reſpects and due Reverence I bear to Parliament, as being the wholſomeſt Conſtitution (and done by the higheſt and happieſt Reach of Policy that ever was eſtabliſhed in this Iſland, to perpetuate the Happineſs thereof: Therefore I muſt tell that Gentleman, who was Author of a Book intituled, *The Popiſh Royal Favourite* (lately printed and expoſed to the World) that he offers me very hard Meaſure; nay, he doth me apparent Wrong, to term me therein, No Friend to Parliament, and a Malignant; a Character, which as I deſerve it not, ſo I diſdain it.

For the firſt Part of his Charge, I would have him know, that I am as much a Friend, and as real an affectionate humble Servant and Votary to the Parliament, as poſſibly he can be; and will live and die with theſe Affections about me: And I could wiſh, that he were Secretary of my Thoughts a While; or, if I may take the Boldneſs to apply that Compariſon his late Majeſty uſed in a famous Speech to one of his Parliaments, I could wiſh there were a Chryſtal Window in my Breaſt, through which the World might eſpy the inward Motions and Palpitations of my Heart; then would he be certified of the Sincerity of this Proteſtation.

For the ſecond Part of his Charge, to be a Malignant, I muſt confeſs to have ſome Malignity that lurks within me, much againſt my Will; but it is no Malignity of Mind, it is amongſt the Humours, not in my Intellectuals. And I believe, there is no natural Man, let him have his Humours never ſo well balanced, but hath ſome of this Malignity reigning within him: For, as long as we are compoſed of the four Elements, whence theſe Humours are derived, and with whom they ſymboliſe in Qualities; which Elements the Philoſophers hold to be in a reſtleſs Contention amongſt

* *i. e.* In his Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament, printed in Vol. I. of this Miſcellany, p. 34.

themſelves (and the *Stoick* thought that the *World ſubſiſted by this innate, mutual Strife*) as *long, I ſay, as the four Humours, in Imitation* of their *Principles*, the Elements, are in perpetual Reluctancy, and combate for Predominancy, there muſt be ſome Malignity lodged within us, as aduſted Choler, and the like; whereof I had late Experience, in a dangerous Fit of Sickneſs it pleaſed God to lay upon me, which the Phyſicians told me proceeded from the malignant hypocondriacal Effects of Melancholy; having been ſo long in this *Saturnine* black Condition of cloſe Impriſonment, and buried alive between the Walls of this fatal *Fleet*. Theſe Kinds of Malignities, I confeſs, are very riſe in me; and, they are not only incident, but connatural to every Man according to his Complexion: And, were it not for this inceſſant Struggling and Enmity againſt the Humours for Maſtery, which produceth ſuch malignant Effects in us, our Souls would be loth ever to depart from our Bodies, or to abandon this Manſion of Clay.

Now, what Malignity my Accuſer means, I know not; if he means Malignity of Spirit, as ſome Antipathy or ill Impreſſion upon the Mind, ariſing from Diſaffection, Hatred, or Rancour, with a Deſire of ſome deſtructive Revenge, he is mightily deceived in me: I malign or hate no Creature that ever God made, but the Devil, who is the Author of all Malignity; and, therefore, is moſt commonly in *French*, *le Malin Eſprit*, the *Malignant Spirit*. Every Night before I go to Bed, I have the Grace, I thank God for it, to forgive all the World, and not to harbour, or let rooſt in my Boſom, the leaſt malignant Thought; yet, none can deny, but the Aſperſions, which this my Accuſer caſts upon me, were enough to make me a Malignant towards him; yet, it could never have the Power to do it: For I have prevailed with myſelf to forgive him this wrong Cenſure of me, iſſuing rather from his Not-knowledge of me, than from Malice; for we never mingled Speech, or ſaw one another in our Lives, to my Remembrance; which makes me wonder the more, that a Profeſſor of the Law, as he is, ſhould pronounce ſuch a poſitive Sentence againſt me ſo ſlightly. But, methinks, I overhear him ſay, That the precedent Diſcourſe of Parliament is involved in Generals; and the Tropick Axiom tells us, 'that *Dolus verſatur in 'univerſalibus*, there is Double-dealing in Univerſals: His *Meaning is, that I am no Friend to this preſent Parliament* (though he ſpeaks in the plural Number, Parliaments) and conſequently, he concludes me a Malignant: Therein, I muſt tell him alſo, that I am traduced; and I am confident it will never be proved againſt me, from any Actions, Words, or Letters, though divers of mine have been intercepted, or any other Miſdemeanor, though ſome Things are fathered upon me, which never dropped from my Quill. Alas! how unworthy and uncapable am I to cenſure the Proceedings of that great Senate, that high *Synedrion*, wherein the Wiſdom of the whole State is epitomiſed? It were a Preſumption in me, of the higheſt Nature that could be: It is enough for me to pray for the proſperous Succeſs of their Conſultations: And, as I hold it my Duty, ſo I have good Reaſon ſo to do, in regard I am to have my Share in the Happineſs; and, could the utmoſt of my poor Endeavours, by any Miniſterial humble Office (and, ſometimes, the meaneſt Boatſwain may help to preſerve the Ship from ſinking) be ſo happy, as to contribute any Thing to advance that great Work, which I am in Deſpair to do, *while I am thus under Hatches in this Fleet)* I would eſteem it the greateſt Honour that poſſibly could befall me; as I hold it now to be my greateſt Diſaſter, to have fallen ſo heavily under an Affliction of this Nature, and to be made a Sacrifice to publick Fame, than which there is no other Proof, nor that yet urged againſt me, or any Thing elſe produced after ſo long, ſo long Captivity, which hath brought me to ſuch a low Ebb, and put me ſo far behind in the Courſe of my poor Fortunes, and, indeed, more than half undone me. For, although my whole Life, ſince I was left to myſelf to ſwim, as they ſay, without Bladders, has been Nothing elſe but a continued Succeſſion of Croſſes, and that there are but few red Letters found, God wot, in the Almanack of my Age (for which I account not myſelf a Whit the leſs happy) yet, this Croſs has carried with it a greater Weight, it hath been of a larger Extent, longer Continuance, and lighted heavier upon me, than any other; and, as I have preſent Patience to bear it, ſo I hope for ſubſequent Grace to make Uſe of it accordingly, that my old Motto may be ſtill confirmed, Παθήματα μαθήματα.

He

He produceth my Atteſtation for ſome Paſſages in *Spain*, at his Majeſty's being there; and he quotes me right, which obligeth me to him: And I hope all his Quotations, wherein he is ſo extraordinary copious and elaborate in all his Works, are ſo; yet I muſt tell him, that thoſe interchangeable Letters * which paſſed between his Majeſty and the Pope, which were originally couched in *Latin*, the Language wherein all Nations treat with *Rome*, and the Empire with all the Princes thereof; thoſe Letters, I ſay, are adulterated in many Places, which I impute not to him, but to the *French* Chronicler, from whom he took them in Truſt. The Truth of that Buſineſs is this: The World knows there was a tedious Treaty of an Alliance betwixt the Infanta Donna *Maria* (who now is Empreſs) and his Majeſty, which, in regard of the ſlow affected Pace of the *Spaniard*, laſted about ten Years, as that in *Henry the Seventh*'s Time, betwixt Prince *Arthur* and, afterwards, Queen *Catharine*, was ſpun out above Seven. To quicken, or rather to conſummate the Work, his Majeſty made that adventurous Journey, through the whole Continent of *France*, into *Spain*; which Voyage, though there was a great deal of Gallantry in it (whereof all Poſterity will ring, until it turn at laſt to a Romance) yet it proved the Bane of the Buſineſs, which it is not the Errand of ſo poor a Pamphlet as this to unfold. His Majeſty being there arrived, the ignorant common People cried out, the Prince of *Wales* came thither to make himſelf a Chriſtian. The Pope writ to the Inquiſitor General, and others, to uſe all Induſtry they could to reduce him to the *Roman* Religion; and one of *Olivares*'s firſt Compliments to him, was, *That he doubted not but that his Highneſs came thither to change his Religion:* Whereunto he made a ſhort Anſwer, *That he came not thither for a Religion, but for a Wife.* There were extraordinary Proceſſions made, and other Artifices uſed, by Protraction of Things, to make him ſtay there of Purpoſe till the Spring following, to work upon him the better: And the Infanta herſelf deſired him (which was eſteemed the greateſt Favour he received from her all the While) to viſit the Nun of *Carion*; hoping that the ſaid Nun, who was ſo much cried up for Miracles, might have wrought one upon him; but her Art failed her: Nor was his Highneſs ſo weak a Subject to work upon, according to his late Majeſty's Speech to Doctor *Maw* and *Wren*: Who when they came to kiſs his Hands, before they went to *Spain* to attend the Prince their Maſter, *He wiſhed them to have a Care of* Buckingham; *as touching his Son* Charles, *he apprehended no Fear at all of him; for he knew him to be ſo well-grounded a* Proteſtant, *that nothing could ſhake him in his Religion.* The *Arabian* Proverb is, That the Sun never ſoils in his Paſſage, though his Beams reverberate never ſo ſtrongly, and dwell never ſo long upon the miry Lake of *Mæotis*, the black-turfed *Moors* of *Holland*, the aguiſh Wooſe of *Kent* and *Eſſex*, or any other Place, be it never ſo dirty: Though *Spain* be a hot Country, yet one may paſs and repaſs through the very Center of it, and never be Sun-burnt, if he carry with him Bongrace, and a ſuch a one his Majeſty had.

Well, after his Majeſty's Arrival at *Madrid*, the Treaty of Marriage went on ſtill (though he told them at his firſt Coming, that he came not thither like an Ambaſſador, to treat of Marriage; but as a Prince, to fetch Home a Wife); and, in regard they were of different Religions, it could not be done without a Diſpenſation from the Pope; and the Pope would grant none, unleſs ſome Capitulations were ſtipulated in Favour of the *Romiſh* Catholicks in *England* (the ſame in Subſtance were agreed on with *France*). Well, when the Diſpenſation came, which was negotiated ſolely by the King of *Spain*'s Miniſters; becauſe his Majeſty would have as little to do as might be with *Rome*, Pope *Gregory the Fifteenth*, who died a little after, ſent his Majeſty a Letter, which was delivered by the Nuncio, whereof an Anſwer was ſent a While after: Which Letters were imprinted and expoſed to the View of the World, becauſe his Majeſty would not have People whiſper, that the Buſineſs was carried in a clandeſtine Manner. And truly, beſides this, I do not know of any Letter, or Meſſage, or Compliment, that ever paſſed betwixt his Majeſty and the Pope, before or after. Some Addreſſes, peradventure, might be made to the Cardinals, to whom the Drawing of thoſe matrimonial Diſpatches was referred, to quicken the Work; but this was only by Way of Civil Negotiation.

Now, touching that reſponſory Letter from his Majeſty, it was no other than a Compliment in the ſevereſt Interpretation; and ſuch

* Theſe Letters, tranſlated from the *French*, are printed, in the *Harleian* Miſcellany, immediately after this Vindication.

Formalities paſs betwixt the Crown of *England* and the great *Turk*, and divers Heathen Princes. The Pope writ firſt, and no Man can deny, but by all moral Rules, and in common human Civility, his Majeſty was bound to anſwer it, eſpecially conſidering how punctual they are in thoſe Countries to correſpond in this Kind, how exact they are in repaying Viſits, and the Performance of ſuch Ceremonies: And, had this Compliance been omitted, it might have made very ill Impreſſions, as the Poſture of Things ſtood then; for it had prejudiced the great Work in Hand, I mean the Match, which was then in the Heat and Height of Agitation: His Majeſty's Perſon was there engaged, and ſo it was no Time to give the leaſt Offence. They, that are never ſo little verſed in Buſineſs Abroad, do know that there muſt be Addreſſes, Compliances, and Formalities of this Nature (according to the *Italian* Proverb, *That one muſt ſometimes light a Candle to the Devil*) uſed in the Carriage of Matters of State, as this great Buſineſs was, whereon the Eyes of all *Chriſtendom* were ſo greedily fixed; a Buſineſs which was like to bring with it ſuch an univerſal Good, as the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, the Quenching of thoſe hideous Fires in *Germany*, and the Eſtabliſhing of a Peace through all the Chriſtian World.

I hope none will take Offence, that in this Particular, which comes within the Compaſs of my Knowledge, being upon the Stage when this Scene was acted, I do this Right to the King my Maſter, in diſplaying the Truth, and putting her forth in her own Colours: A rare Thing in theſe Days.

Touching the *Vocal Foreſt*, an Allegorical Diſcourſe, that goes Abroad under my Name, a good While before the Beginning of this Parliament, which this Gentleman cites (and that very faithfully) I underſtand there be ſome that mutter at certain Paſſages therein, by putting ill Gloſſes upon the Text, and taking with the Left Hand, what I offer with the Right: (Nor is it a Wonder for Trees which lie open, and ſtand expoſed to all Weathers, to be nipped:) But I deſire this Favour, which, in common Juſtice, I am ſure in the Court of *Chancery* cannot be denied me, it being the Privilege of every Author, and a received Maxim through the World, *Cujus eſt condere, ejus eſt interpretari*: I ſay, I crave this Favour, to have Leave to expound my own Text, and I doubt not then but to rectify any one in his Opinion of me, and that, in Lieu of the *Plums which I give him from thoſe Trees, he will not throw the Stones at me.*

Moreover, I deſire thoſe that are over-critical Cenſurers of that Piece, to know, that as in Divinity it is a Rule, *Scriptura parabolica non eſt argumentativa*; ſo it is in all other Kinds of Knowledge. *Parables* (whereof that Diſcourſe is compoſed) *though preſſed never ſo hard, prove nothing.* There is another Rule alſo, That Parables muſt be gently uſed, like a Nurſe's Breaſt; which, if you preſs too hard, you ſhall have Blood inſtead of Milk.

But as the Author of the *Vocal Foreſt* thinks he hath done neither his Country, nor the Commonwealth of Learning, any Prejudice thereby (that maiden Fancy having received ſo good Entertainment and Reſpect Abroad, as to be tranſlated into divers Languages, and to gain the publick Approbation of ſome famous Univerſities); ſo he makes this humble Proteſt unto all the World, that though the Deſign of that Diſcourſe was partly Satyrical (which peradventure induced the Author to ſhrowd it of Purpoſe under Shadows of Trees; and where ſhould Satyrs be, but amongſt Trees?) Yet it never entered into his Imagination to let fall from him the leaſt Thing that might give any Offence to the High and Honourable Court of Parliament, whereof he had the Honour to be once a Member, and hopes he may be thought worthy again: And, were he guilty of ſuch an Offence, or Piacle, rather, he thinks he ſhould never forgive himſelf, though he were appointed his own Judge. If there occur any Paſſage therein, that may admit a hard Conſtruction, let the Reader obſerve, that the Author doth not poſitively aſſert, or paſs a Judgment on any Thing in that Diſcourſe which conſiſts principally of conciſe, curſory Narrations, of the choiceſt Occurrences and Criticiſms of States according as the Pulſe of Time did beat then: And Matters of State, as all other ſublunary Things, are ſubject to Alterations, Contingencies, and Change, which makes the Opinions and Minds of Men vary accordingly; not one amongſt Twenty is the ſame Man To-day as he was four Years ago, in Point of Judgment, which turns and alters according to the Circumſtance and Succeſs of Things: And it is a true Saying, whereof we find common

mon Experience, *Posterior dies est prioris Magister*: The Day following is the former Day's School-master. There is another Aphorism, *The Wisdom of one Day is Foolishness to another*; and it will be so as long as there is a Man left in the World.

I will conclude with this modest Request to that Gentleman of the Long Robe: That, having unpassionately perused what I have written in this small Discourse, in penning whereof my Conscience guided my Quill all along as well as my Hand, he would please to be so charitable and just, as to reverse that harsh Sentence upon me, To be no Friend to Parliaments, and a Malignant.

Behold! Two Letters, the one written by the Pope to the (then) Prince of *Wales*, now King of *England*: The other, an Answer to the said Letter, by the said Prince, now his Majesty of *England*. Printed in the Year of Discoveries, 1642. *Quarto*, containing four Pages.

Most Noble Prince, Salvation and Light of the Divine Grace:

FOrasmuch, as *Great-Britain* hath always been fruitful in Virtues, and in Men of great Worth, having filled the one, and the other World, with the Glory of her Renown; she doth also very often draw the Thoughts of the holy Apostolical Chair, to the Consideration of her Praises. And, indeed, the Church was but then in her Infancy, when the King of Kings did choose her for his Inheritance, and so affectionately, that we believe the *Roman* Eagles have hardly outpassed the Banner of the Cross. Besides that, many of her Kings, instructed in the Knowledge of the true Salvation, have preferred the Cross before the Royal Scepter, and the Discipline of Religion before Covetousness, leaving Examples of Piety to other Nations, and to the Ages yet to come. So that, having merited the Principalities, and first Place of Blessedness in Heaven, they have obtained, on Earth, the triumphant Ornaments of true Holiness. And although, now the State of the *English* Church is altered, we see, nevertheless, the Court of *Great-Britain* adorned and furnished with moral Virtues, which might serve to support the Charity that we bear unto her, and be an Ornament to the Name of Christianity, if, withal, she could have, for her Defence and Protection, the Orthodox and Catholick Truth. Therefore, by how much the more, the Glory of your most noble Father, and the Apprehension of your Royal Inclination, delights us, with so much more Zeal, we desire that the Gates of the Kingdom of Heaven might be opened unto you, and that you might purchase to yourself the Love of the universal Church. Moreover, it being certain that *Gregory* the Great, of most blessed Memory, hath introduced to the *English* People, and taught to their Kings the Law of the Gospel, and the Respect of Apostolical Authority: We, as inferior to him in Holiness and Virtue, but equal in Name and Degree of Dignity, it is very reasonable, that we, following his blessed Footsteps, should endeavour the Salvation of those Provinces, especially at this Time, when your Design, most noble Prince, elevates us to the Hope of an extraordinary Advantage: Therefore, as you have directed your Journey to *Spain*, towards the Catholick King, with Desire to ally yourself to the House of *Austria*, we do much commend your Design, and, indeed, do testify openly, in this present Business, that you are he that takes the principal Care of our Prelacy. For, seeing that you desire to take in Marriage a Daughter of *Spain*, from thence we may easily conjecture, that the ancient Seeds of Christian Piety, which have so happily flourished in the Hearts of the Kings of *Great-Britain*, may, God prospering them, revive again in your Soul: And, indeed, it is not to be believed, that the same Man should love such an Alliance, that hates the Catholick Religion, and should take Delight to oppress the holy Chair,

Chair. To that Purpoſe, we have commanded, to make continually moſt humble Prayers to the Father of Lights, that he would be pleaſed to put you as a fair Flower of the Chriſtianiſm, and the only Hope of *Great-Britain*, in Poſſeſſion of that moſt noble Heritage, that your Anceſtors have purchaſed for you, to defend the Authority of the Sovereign High Prieſt; and, to fight againſt the Monſters of Hereſy. Remember the Days of old, inquire of your Fathers, and they will tell you the Way that leads to Heaven; and, what Way the temporal Princes have taken to attain to the everlaſting Kingdom. Behold the Gates of Heaven opened, the moſt holy Kings of *England*, who came from *England* to *Rome* accompanied with Angels, did come to honour, and do Homage to the Lord of Lords, and to the Prince of the Apoſtles in the Apoſtolical Chair: their Actions and their Examples being as ſo many Voices of God, ſpeaking and exhorting you to follow the Courſe of the Lives of thoſe to whoſe Empire you ſhall one Day attain.

Is it poſſible that you can ſuffer, that the Hereticks ſhould hold them for impious, and condemn thoſe that the Faith of the Church teſtifies to reign in the Heavens with *Jeſus Chriſt*, and have Command and Authority upon all Principalities and Empires of the Earth? Behold how they tender you the Hand of this truly happy Inheritance, to conduct you ſafe and ſound at the Court of the Catholic King, and that deſire to bring you back again into the Lap of the *Roman* Church; beſeeching, with unſpeakable Sighs and Groans, the God of all Mercy for your Salvation, and do tender you the Arms of the Apoſtolical Charity, to embrace you with all Chriſtian Affection; you that are her deſired Son, in ſhewing you the happy Hope of the Kingdom of Heaven. And indeed you cannot give a greater Conſolation to all the People of the Chriſtian Eſtates, than to put the Prince of the Apoſtles in Poſſeſſion of your moſt noble Iſland, whoſe Authority hath been held ſo long in the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, for the Defence of Kingdoms, and for a Divine Oracle, which will eaſily arrive, and that without Difficulty, if you open your Heart to the Lord that knocks, upon which depends all the Happineſs of that Kingdom.

It is of our great Charity that we cheriſh the Praiſes of the Royal Name; and that which makes us deſire that you and your Royal Father might be ſtiled with the Names of Deliverers, and Reſtorers of the ancient and paternal Religion of *Great-Britain*, which we hope for, truſting in the Providence of God, in whoſe Hands are the Hearts of Kings, and who cauſeth the People of the Earth to receive Healing, to whom we will always labour, with all our Power, to render you gracious and favourable: In the Interim, take Notice, by theſe Letters, of the Care of our Charity, which is none other than to procure your Happineſs; and it will never grieve us to have written them, if the Reading of them ſtir but the leaſt Spark of the Catholick Faith, in the Heart of ſo great Prince, who we wiſh to be filled with long Continuance of Joy, and flouriſhing in the Glory of all Virtues.

Given at Rome, *in the Palace of St.* Peter, *the* 20*th of* April, 1623, *in the third Year of our Popedom.*

Pope *Gregory the Fifteenth* having wrote the foregoing Letter to the Prince of *Wales*, it was preſented to him by the Nuncio of his Holineſs in *Spain*, he being accompanied with the *Italian* Lords that then were in the Court.

The Prince of Wales, *having received this Letter, made the following Anſwer, which was after publiſhed.*

Moſt Holy Father,

I Received the Diſpatch from your Holineſs, with great Content; and with that Reſpect, which the Piety and Care, wherewith your Holineſs writes, doth require: It was an unſpeakable Pleaſure to me, to read the generous Exploits of the Kings, my Predeceſſors; in whoſe Memory, Poſterity hath not given thoſe Praiſes and Elogies of Honour, as were due to them: I do believe, that your Holineſs hath ſet their Examples before my Eyes, to the End, that I might imitate them in all my Actions; for, in Truth, they have often expoſed their Eſtates and Lives for the Exaltation of the Holy Chair; And the Courage, with which they have aſſaulted the Enemies of the Croſs of *Jeſus Chriſt*, hath not been leſs, than the Care and Thought which I have, to the End, that the Peace and Intelligence, which hath hitherto been wanting in *Chriſtendom*, might be bound with a true and ſtrong Concord; for, as the common Enemy of the Peace watcheth always to put Hatred

tred and Diſſenſion amongſt Chriſtian Princes; ſo I believe that the Glory of God requires that we ſhould endeavour to unite them: And I do not eſteem it a greater Honour to be deſcended from ſo great Princes, than to imitate them, in the Zeal of their Piety, in which it helps me very much to have known the Mind and Will of our thrice honoured Lord and Father, and the holy Intentions of his Catholick Majeſty, to give a happy Concurrence to ſo laudable a Deſign; for it grieves him extremely to ſee the great Evils, that grow from the Diviſion of Chriſtian Princes, which the Wiſdom of your Holineſs foreſaw, when it judged the Marriage which you pleaſed to deſign, between the *Infanta* of *Spain* and myſelf, to be neceſſary to procure ſo great a Good; for it is very certain, that I ſhall never be ſo extremely affectionate to any Thing in the World, as to endeavour Alliance with a Prince, that hath the ſame Apprehenſion of the true Religion with myſelf: Therefore, I intreat your Holineſs to believe, that I have been always very far from encouraging Novelties, or to be a Part of any Faction againſt the Catholick, Apoſtolick *Roman* Religion: But, on the Contrary, I have ſought all Occaſions, to take away the Suſpicion, that might reſt upon me, and that I will employ myſelf for the Time to come, to have but one Religion, and one Faith, ſeeing that we all believe in one *Jeſus Chriſt*. Having reſolved in myſelf, to ſpare Nothing that I have in the World, and to ſuffer all Manner of Diſcommodities, even to the Hazarding of my Eſtate and Life, for a Thing ſo pleaſing unto God: It reſts only, that I thank your Holineſs, that you have been pleaſed to afford me the Leave; and I pray God to give you a bleſſed Health, and his Glory, after ſo much Pains, which your Holineſs takes in his Church. Signed,

Charles Stuart.

N. B. *Theſe are Tranſlations of the two Letters contained in the* French *Hiſtory of* England, &c. *which was twice printed in* Paris, Cum Privilegio.

A Modern Account of *Scotland:* Being an exact Deſcription of the Country, and a true Character of the People and their Manners. Written from thence by an *Engliſh* Gentleman. Printed in the Year 1670. *Quarto*, containing twenty Pages.

IF all our *European* Travellers direct their Courſe to *Italy*, upon the Account of its Antiquity, Why ſhould *Scotland* be neglected, whoſe wrinkled Surface derives its Original from the Chaos? The firſt Inhabitants were ſome Stragglers of the fallen Angels, who reſted themſelves on the Confines, till their Captain *Lucifer* provided Places for them in his own Country. This is the Conjecture of learned Criticks, who trace Things to their Originals; and this Opinion was grounded on the Devil's Brats yet reſident amongſt them (whoſe Foreſight, in the Events of Good and Evil, exceeds the Oracles at *Delphos*) the ſuppoſed Iſſue of thoſe priſtine Inhabitants.

Names of Countries were not then in Faſhion, thoſe came not in till *Adam*'s Days, and Hiſtory, being then in her Infancy, makes no Mention of the Changes of that renowned Country; in that Interval betwixt him and *Moſes*, when their Chronicle commences, ſhe was then baptiſed (and moſt think with the Sign of the Croſs) by the venerable Name of *Scotland*, from *Scota*, the Daughter of *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt*. Hence came the Riſe and Name of theſe preſent Inhabitants, as their Chronicle informs us, and is not to be doubted of, from divers conſiderable Circumſtances; the Plagues of *Egypt* being entailed upon them, that of Lice (being a Judgment unrepealed) is an ample Teſtimony, theſe loving Animals

accompanied them from *Egypt*, and remain with them to this Day, never forſaking them (but as Rats leave a Houſe) till they tumble into their Graves. The Plague of Biles and Blains is hereditary to them, as a diſtinguiſhing Mark from the reſt of the World, which (like the Devils cloven Hoof) warns all Men to beware of them. The Judgment of Hail and Snow is naturaliſed and made free Deniſon here, and continues with them from the Sun's firſt Ingreſs into *Aries*, till he has paſſed the thirtieth Degree of *Aquary*.

The Plagues of Darkneſs was ſaid to be thick Darkneſs, to be felt, which moſt undoubtedly theſe People have a Share in, as the Word Σκοτιν, Darkneſs, implies; the Darkneſs being appliable to their groſs and blockiſh Underſtandings (as I had it from a Scholar of their own Nation). Upon theſe Grounds this Original is undeniably allowed them, and the Country itſelf (in Pyramids) reſembles *Egypt*, but far exceeds them both in Bulk and Number; theirs are but the Products of Men's Labours, but theſe are Nature's own Handy-work; and, if *Atlas* would eaſe a Shoulder, here he may be fitted with a Supporter.

Italy is compared to a Leg, *Scotland* to a Louſe, whoſe Legs and engrailed Edges repreſent the Promontories and Buttings out into the Sea, with more Nooks and Angles than the moſt conceited of my Lord-Mayor's Cuſtards; nor does the Compariſon determine here: A Louſe preys upon its own Foſterer and Preſerver, and is productive of thoſe minute Animals called Nits; ſo *Scotland*, whoſe Proboſcis joins too cloſe to *England*, has ſucked away the Nutriment from *Northumberland*, as the Country itſelf is too true a Teſtimony, and, from its oppoſite A——, has calved thoſe nitty Iſlands, called the *Orcades* and the *Shetland (quaſi Shite-land)* Iſlands.

The Arms of the Kingdom was anciently a Red Lion rampant in a Field of Gold, but, *Anno Domini* 787, they had the Augmentation of the double Treſſure, for aſſiſting the *French* King; but his Majeſty's Arms in *Scotland* is a mere *Hyſt ron Proteron*, the Pride of the People being ſuch, as to place the *Scots* Arms in the dexter Quarter of the Eſcutcheon, and make the Unicorn the dexter Supporter, with the Thiſtle at his Heel, with a ſuitable Motto, *Nemo me impune laceſſit*, true enough; whoever deals with them ſhall be ſure to ſmart for it: The Thiſtle was wiſely placed there, partly to ſhew the Fertility of the Country, Nature alone producing Plenty of theſe gay Flowers, and partly as an Emblem of the People, the Top thereof having ſome Colour of a Flower, but the Bulk and Subſtance of it, is only ſharp, and poiſonous Pricks.

Woods they have none, that ſuits not with the Frugality of the People, who are ſo far from propagating any, that they deſtroy thoſe they had upon this politick State Maxim, That Corn will not grow on the Land peſtered with its Roots, and their Branches harbour Birds, Animals above their humble Converſation, that exceeds not that of hornleſs *Quadrupedes*; marry, perhaps, ſome of their Houſes lurk under the Shelter of a Plump of Trees (the Birds not daring ſo high a *Preſumption*) like *Hugh Peters*'s Puſs in her Majeſty, or an Owl in an Ivy-buſh. Some Fir-woods there are in the High-lands, but ſo inacceſſible, that they ſerve for no other Uſe than Dens for thoſe ravenous Wolves with two Hands, that prey upon their Neighbourhood, and ſhelter themſelves under this Covert; to whom the Sight of a Stranger is as ſurpriſing as that of a Cockatrice. The Vallies for the moſt Part are covered with Beer, or Bigg, and the Hills with Snow; and, as in the Northern Countries the Bears and Foxes change their Coats into the Livery of the Soil, ſo here the Moor-fowl, called *Termagants*, turn white, to ſuit the Sample, though the Inhabitants ſtill ſtand to their *Egyptian* Hue.

They are freed from the Charge and Incumbrance of Incloſures, the Whole being but one large Waſte, ſurrounded with the Sea: Indeed, in many Places you may ſee half a Rood of Land divided with an earthen Bank, into many differing Apartments, according to the Quality of Beaſts that are to poſſeſs them.

The whole Country will make up a Park, Foreſt, or Chace, as you will pleaſe to call it; but, if you deſire an Account of particular Parks, they are innumerable, every ſmall Houſe having a few Sodds thrown into a little Bank about it, and this for the State of the Buſineſs, forſooth, muſt be called a Park, though not a Pole of Land in it.

If the Air was not pure and well refined by its Agitation, it would be ſo infected with the Stink

Stink of their Towns, and the Steams of the nasty Inhabitants, that it would be pestilential and destructive; indeed, it is too thin for their gross Senses, that must be fed with suitable Viands, their Meat not affecting their distempered Palates, without having a damnable Hogoe; nor Musick their Ears, without loud and harsh Discord, and their Nostrils (like a *Jew*'s) chiefly delight in the perceptible Effluviums of an old Sir R——.

Fowl are as scarce here as Birds of Paradise, the Charity of the Inhabitants denying Harbour to such Celestial Animals, though Gulls and Cormorants abound, there being a greater Sympathy betwixt them. There is one Sort of ravenous Fowl amongst them, that has one Web-foot, one Foot suited for Land, and another for Water; but, whether or no this Fowl, being particular to this Country, be not a lively Picture of the Inhabitants, I shall leave to wiser Conjectures.

Their Rivers, or rather Arms of the Sea, are short, few Places in *Scotland* being above a Day's Journey from the Sea; but they are broad, deep, and dangerous, pestered with Multitudes of Porpoises, or Sharks (some of them, perhaps, amphibious too, that live more on Land than Water) and destroy their Salmon, the great Commodity of this Country; which, being too good for the Inhabitants, are barreled up, and converted into Merchandise, *&c.* The Banks and Borders of these Rivers, especially near their Towns, are adorned with hardy *Amazons*, though inverted, their Valour being chiefly from the Waist downwards; which Parts they readily expose to all the Dangers of a naked Rencounter. The Exercise of their Arms (I should say, Feet) is much about Linnen; Sheets are Sufferers; a fit Receiver is provided (not unlike a shallow Pulpit to mind them of their Idol Sermons) wherein foul Linnen is laid to suffer Persecution; so they turn up all, and tuck them about their Waists, and bounce into a Buck-tub; then go their Stock, and belabour poor Lint, till there be not a dry Thread on it. Hence came the Invention of Fulling-mills; the Women taught the Men, and they put in Practice.

The Country is full of Lakes and Loughs, and they well stocked with Islands; so that a Map thereof looks like a Pillory Coat bespattered all over with Dirt and rotten Eggs, some Pieces of the Shells, floating here and there, representing the Islands.

Their Cattle are only Representatives, of what are in other Countries, these being so epitomised, that it is hard to know what Class they relate to. Their Horses are hardy, and not without Gall, as some say, other Horses are, using both Tooth and Nail to mischief you; that they may not use more State than their Masters, they go bare foot, which preserves them from the Gout; and, if *Hudibras*'s Horse had been of this Race, he had not needed a Corn-cutter: Their Furniture or Harness, is all of the same Matter, all Wood from Head to Tail, Bridle, Saddle, Girth, Stirrups, and Crupper, all Wood; nothing but a Withy will bind a Witch, and, if these be called Witches, I shall not oppose it, since, by their untoward Tricks, one would guess the Devil to be in them; their Bridles have not Bits, but a Kind of Musroll of two Pieces of Wood; their Crupper is a Stick of a Yard's Length, put a-cross their Docks, both Ends thereof being tied with woven Wood to the Saddle. Their Bed and Board too, is all of the same dry Straw, and when they have it up, whip on Harness, and away. Their Neat are Hornless, the Owners claiming sole Propriety in those Ornaments, nór should I deny them their Necklace too, for methinks that hoisted Wood would mightily become them. Their Sheep too have the same Preferment, they are coupled together, near their Master's Palace. Some Animals they have by the Name of Hogs but more like Porcupines, bristled all over, and these are likewise fastened to the Free-hold by the former Artifice; all their Quadrupedes, Dogs only excepted, in which Sort, they much abound, are honoured with wooden Bracelets, about their Necks, Legs, or Arms, *&c.*

Their Cities are poor and populous, especially *Edinburgh*, their Metropolis, which so well suits with the Inhabitants, that one Character will serve them both, *viz.* High and Dirty. The Houses mount seven or eight Stories high, with many Families on one Floor, one Room being sufficient for all Occasions, Eating, Drinking, Sleeping, and Shit——. The most Mannerly step but to the Door, and nest upon the Stairs. I have been in an Island, where it was difficult to tread without breaking an Egg; but to move here, and not murder a

T—, is next to an Impoſſibility; the whole Pavement is Pilgrim-ſalve, moſt excellent to liquor Shoes withal, and ſoft and eaſy for the bare-foot Perambulators. The Town is like a double Comb, an Engine not commonly known amongſt them, one great Street, and each Side ſtocked with narrow Allies, which I miſtook for Common-ſhores; but, the more one ſtirs in a T—, the more it will ſtink. The other Cities and Towns are Copies from this Original, and therefore need no Commentators to explain them; they have ſeven Colleges, or rather Schools, in four Univerſities; the Regents wear what coloured Cloaths, or Gowns, they pleaſe, and commonly no Gowns at all; ſo that it is hard to diſtinguiſh a Scholar, from an ordinary Man, ſince their Learning ſhines not out of their Noſes; the younger Students wear Scarlet Gowns, only in Term Time; their Reſidence is commonly in the Town, only at School Hours they convene in the College, to conſult their Oracle *Buchanan*; their chief Studies are for Pulpit-preferment, to prate out four or five Glaſſes, with as much Eaſe, as drink them; and this they attain to in their ſtripling Years, commencing Mr. of Arts (that is meant only Mr. of this Art) before one would judge them fit for the College; for as ſoon as they can walk as far as the School, which they will do very young, for like Lapwings they run, with Shells on their Heads, they are ſent thither, where they find no Benches to ſit on (only one for the Mr.) but have a little Heath and Fadder ſtrewed for them to lie upon, where they litter together, and chew the Cud on their Fathers Horn-books, and, in good Time, are preferred to the Bible; from this petty School, away with them to the Grammar-School, *viz.* the College, where, in three or four Year's Time, they attain to (their *ne plus ultra*) the Degree of *A. M.* that is, they can, *extempore*, coin Graces and Prayers for all Occaſions; if you crack a Nut, there is a Grace for that; drink a Diſh of Coffee, Ale, or Wine, or what elſe, he preſently furniſhes you with a Grace for the Nonce; ſo if you pare your Nails, go to Stool, or any other Action of like Importance, he can as eaſily ſuit you with a Prayer, as draw on a Glove; and the Wonder of all, is, That this Prayer ſhall be ſo admirably framed, that it may indifferently quadrate with any Occaſion, an Excellency no where ſo common, as in this Country. Thus you ſee the young Man has commenced, and got Strength enough to walk to the Kirk, and enter the Chair; where we ſhall find him anon, after we have viewed the Out-ſides of their Kirks, ſome of which have been of ancient Foundations, and well and regularly built; but Order and Uniformity is in perfect Antipathy to the Humour of this Nation, theſe goodly Structures being either wholly deſtroyed (as at St. *Andrews* and *Elgin*, where, by the remaining Ruins, you may ſee what it was in Perfection) or very much defaced; they make Uſe of no Choirs, thoſe are either quite pulled down, or converted into another Kirk; for it is common here to have three, four, or five Kirks under one Roof, which, being preſerved intire, would have made one good Church, but they could not then have had Preaching enough in it: Out of one Pulpit now they have thirty Sermons *per* Week, all under one Roof, Plenty of ſpiritual Proviſion, which guſts much better with a Mixture of the Fleſh; as you may gueſs by their Stools of Repentance in every Kirk, well furniſhed with Whore-mongers and Adulterers of both Sexes. In *Venice*, the Shadows only of Curtezans are expoſed to publick View only in Effigie; but here the Whore, in Perſon, has a high Place provided her in the View of the whole Congregation, for the Benefit of Strangers, who, ſome think, need not this Direction, but may truck for all Commodities with the firſt they meet with. They uſe no Service-Book, nor Whore of *Babylon*'s Smock, as they term a Surplice, nor Decency, nor Order in their divine or rather contumelious Service. Would a King think himſelf honoured by Subjects, that petitioned him with Bonnet veiled, but cocked his Cap, while his Requeſt was granting; while precious Mr. Presbyter grimaces, prays, or howls, the Monſter Rabble veils; but, as ſoon as Text is taken, Blue-bonnet takes Place again, and this Pulpit-prater is eſteemed more than God's Ambaſſador, having the Holy Spirit at his Beck to prompt him every Word he ſpeaks, yet not three Sentences of Senſe together, ſuch Blaſphemy as I bluſh to mention.

Their Chriſtenings, as all other Things, are without Form, only Water poured on the Infant, and ſuch Words uſed as Sir *John*'s *Mephiſtophilus* ſupplies him with, and ſo the Child commences Chriſtian, as good (or better) than the beſt of them. Some think Marriage an unneceſſary Thing amongſt them, it

being more generous and uſual amongſt them to take one another's Words: However, it is thus performed, The young Couple, being attended with Tagrag and Bobtail, gang to Kirk, where Mr. Scruple, like a good Caſuiſt, controverts the Point in Hand to them, and ſchools Mr. Bridegroom in his Leſſon; then directs his Diſcourſe to Mrs. Bride, who, being the weaker Veſſel, ought to have the more Pains taken with her; he chalks out the Way ſhe is to walk in, in all its Particulars, and joins their Hands, and then let them fall too in God's Name: Home they go with loud raviſhing Bag-pipes, and dance about the Green, till they part by Couples to Repetition, and ſo put the Rules in Practice; and perhaps Sir *Roger* follows Mrs. Bride to her Apartment, to ſatisfy her Doubts, where he uſes ſuch pungent and preſſing Arguments, as ſhe never forgets as long as ſhe lives.

When any one dies, the Bell-man goes about ringing their Paſſing-Bell, and acquaints the People therewith, in Form following: *Beloved Brouthrin and Suſters, I let yau to wot hat thir is an fauthful Broothir lawtli departd awt of this priſant Varld, awt thi Pleſuir of Aulmoughti Good* (and then he veils his Bonnet) *his Naum is* Volli Voodcock, *thrid Son to* Jimmoy Voodcock *a Cordinger; he ligs aut thi ſext Door vethin thi Nord Gawt, cloſe on thi Nawthwr Rawnd, and I wod yaw gang to bus Burying on* Thruſdau *before Twa a Cloak*, &c. The Time appointed for his Burying being come, the Bell-man calls the Company together, and he is carried to the Burying-place, and thrown into the Grave, as Dog *Lyon* was, and there is an End of *Wolli*. Few People are here buried in their Kirks, except of their Nobility, but in the Kirk Garths, or in a Burying-place on Purpoſe, called the *Hoof*, at the further End of the Town, like our Quakers, incloſed with a Wall, ſo that it ſerves not only as a Burying-Place, but an Exchange to meet in: Perhaps in one Part of it their Courts of Judicature are kept; in another are Butts to ſhoot at for Recreation. All agree that a Woman's Tongue is the laſt Member ſhe moves; but the *Latin* Proverb, *Mulieri ne credas*, &c. ſeems to prove it after Death: I am ſure the Pride of this People never leaves them, but follows them to their long Homes (I was about to have ſaid to the Devil) for the meaneſt Man muſt have a Grave-ſtone full fraught with his own Praiſes, though he was the vileſt Miſcreant on Earth; and miſerable *Memento mori's*, both in *Engliſh* and *Latin*, nay *Greek* too, if they can find a *Greek* Word for *Cordinger*, the Calling he was of; and all this in ſuch miſerable *Scotch* Orthography, that it is hard to diſtinguiſh one Language from another.

The Caſtles of Defence in this Country are almoſt impregnable, only to be taken by Treachery or long Siege, their Water failing them ſooneſt: They are built upon high and almoſt inacceſſible Rocks, only one forced Paſſage up to them, ſo that a few Men may eaſily defend them. Indeed all the Gentlemen's Houſes are ſtrong Caſtles, they being ſo treacherous one to another, that they are forced to defend themſelves in Strong-holds: They are commonly built upon ſome ſingle Rock in the Sea, or ſome high Precipice near the Mid-land, with many Towers, and ſtrong Iron Grates before their Windows (the lower Part whereof is only a wooden Shutter, and the upper Part Glaſs) ſo that they look more like Priſons than Houſes of Reception: Some few Houſes there are of late Erection, that are built in a better Form, with good Walks and Gardens about them, but their Fruit rarely comes to any Perfection. The Houſes of the Commonalty are very mean, Mud-wall and Thatch the beſt; but the poorer Sort live in ſuch miſerable Hutts as never Eye beheld, it is no Difficulty to piſs over them; Men, Women, and Children, pig all together in a poor Mouſe-hole of Mud, Heath, and ſuch-like Matter: In ſome Parts where Turf is plentiful, they build up little Cabbins thereof, with arched Roofs of Turf, without a Stick of Timber in it; when the Houſe is dry enough to burn, it ſerves them for Fuel, and they remove to another. The Habit of the People is very different, according to the Qualities, or the Places they live in, as Low-land or High-land Men. The Low-land Gentry go well enough habited, but the poorer Sort go (almoſt) naked, only an old Cloke, or a Part of their Bed-cloaths thrown over them. The Highlanders wear ſlaſhed Doublets, commonly without Breeches, only a Plad tied about their Waſts, *&c.* thrown over one Shoulder, with ſhort Stockings to the Gartering-place, their Knees and Part of their Thighs being naked; others have Breeches and Stockings all of a Piece of Plad-ware, cloſe to their Thighs; in one Side of their Girdle ſticks a Durk.

Durk or Skean, about a Foot or half a Yard long, very ſharp, and the Back of it filed into divers Notches, wherein they put Poiſon; on the other Side, a Brace, at leaſt, of Braſs Piſtols; nor is this Honour ſufficient, if they can purchaſe more, they muſt have a long ſwinging Sword.

The Women are commonly two-handed Tools, ſtrong-poſted Timber; they diſlike *Engliſhmen*, becauſe they have no Legs, or, like themſelves, Poſts to walk on: The Meaner go Barefoot and Barehead, with two black Elflocks on either Side their Faces; ſome of them have ſcarce any Cloaths at all, ſave Part of their Bed-clothes pinned about their Shoulders, and their Children have Nothing elſe on them but a little Blanket; thoſe Women, that can purchaſe Plads, need not beſtow much upon other Clothes, theſe Cover-ſluts being ſufficient. Thoſe of the beſt Sort, that are very well habited in their modiſh Silks, yet muſt wear a Plad over all for the Credit of their Country.

The People are proud, arrogant, vainglorious Boaſters, bloody, barbarous, and inhuman Butchers. Couſenage and Theft is in Perfection amongſt them, and they are perfect *Engliſh* Haters; they ſhew their Pride in exalting themſelves, and depreſſing their Neighbours. When the Palace at *Edinburgh* is finiſhed, they expect his Majeſty will leave his rotten Houſe at *Whitehall*, and live ſplendidly amongſt his nown Countrymen the *Scots*; for they ſay, That *Engliſhmen* are very much beholden to them, that we have their King amongſt us. The Nobility and Gentry lord it over their poor Tenants, and uſe them worſe than Gally-ſlaves; they are all bound to ſerve them, Men, Women, and Children; the firſt Fruits are always the Landlords Due, he is the Man that muſt firſt board all the young married Women within his Lairdſhip, and their Sons are all his Slaves, ſo that any mean Laird will have ſix or ten, or more Followers; beſides, thoſe of his own Name, that are inferior to him, muſt all attend him (as he himſelf muſt do his Superior, of the ſame Name, and all of them attend the Chief) if he receives a Stranger, all this Train muſt be at his Beck, armed as aforeſaid; if you drink with them in a Tavern, you muſt have all this Rubbiſh with you; and, if you offend the Laird, his Durk ſhall ſoon be ſheathed in your Belly, and, after his, every one of his Followers, or they ſhall ſuffer themſelves that refuſe it, that ſo they may be all alike guilty of the Murder: Every Laird of Note, hath a Gibbet near his Houſe, and has Power to condemn and hang any of his Vaſſals; ſo they dare not oppoſe him in any Thing, but muſt ſubmit to his Commands, let them be never ſo unjuſt and tyrannical. There are two many Teſtimonies of their Cruelty amongſt themſelves in their own Chronicles, Forty of their Kings have been barbarouſly murdered by them, and half as many more have either made away themſelves, for Fear of their Torturing of them, or have died miſerably in ſtrait Impriſonment. What ſtrange Butcheries have been committed in their Feuds, ſome of which are in Agitation at this Day, *viz. Argyle* with the *Macclanes*, and *Mac Donnels* about *Mula* Iſland, which has coſt already much Blood, and is likely will coſt much more before it will be decided; their Spirits are ſo mean, that they rarely rob, but take away Life firſt, lying in Ambuſcade, they ſend a Brace of Bullets, on Ambaſſy, through the Traveller's Body; and, to make ſure Work, they ſheath their Durks in his lifeleſs Trunk; perhaps, to take off their Fire-edges, as new Knives are ſtuck in a Bag-pudding. If an Highlander be injured, thoſe of his own Name muſt defend him, and will certainly have Satisfaction from the Offenders: A late Inſtance whereof was at *Inverneſs*, a conſiderable Town, where one of the *Macdonnels* was ſlain, but, ſhortly, the chief of the Name came down againſt the Town with fifteen-hundred of his own Name, and threatened to fire the Town, but the Inhabitants compounded with them for two-thouſand Pounds.

Their Cruelty deſcends to their Beaſts, it being a Cuſtom, in ſome Places, to feaſt upon a living Cow; they tie in the Middle of them, near a great Fire, and then cut Collops of this poor living Beaſt, and broil them on the Fire, till they have mangled her all to Pieces; nay, ſometimes they will only cut off as much as will ſatisfy their preſent Appetites, and let her go, till their greedy Stomachs calls for a new Supply; ſuch horrible Cruelty, as can ſcarce be paralleled in the whole World! Their Theft is ſo well known, that it needs no Proving; they are forced to keep Watch over all they have, to ſecure it; their Cattle are watched Day and Night, or otherwiſe they would be overgrown by Morning. In the Highlands, they do it publickly before the Face of the Sun; if one Man has two Cows, and another wants,

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he ſhall ſoon ſupply himſelf from his Neighbour, who can find no Remedy for it. The Gentry keep an Armory in their own Houſes, furniſhed with ſeveral Sorts of Fire-Arms, Pikes, and Halberds, with which they arm their Followers, to ſecure themſelves from the Rapine of their Neighbourhood. The Lowland Language may be well enough underſtood by an *Engliſhman*, but the Highlanders have a peculiar Lingua to themſelves, which they call *Erſt*, unknown to moſt of the Lowland Men, except only in thoſe Places that border on them, where they can ſpeak both: Yet, theſe People are ſo curriſh, that, if a Stranger inquire the Way in *Engliſh*, they will certainly anſwer in *Erſt*, and find no other Language than what is forced from them with a Cudgel. If *Cornelius Agrippa* had travelled *Scotland*, ſure Cookery had not been found in his Vanity of Sciences; ſuch is their ſingular Skill in this Art, that they may defy the World to rival them; King *James*'s Treat for the Devil, that is, a Poll of Ling, a Joll of Sturgeon, and a Pig, with a Pipe of Tobacco for Digeſtion, had been very complete, if the Ordering thereof had been aſſigned to a Cook of this Country, who can ſuit every Diſh, with its proper Hogoe, and bring Corruption to your Table, only to mind Men of Mortality. Their Meat is Carrion when it is killed, but, after it has been a Fortnight a perfuming with the Aromatick Air, ſtrained through the clammy Trunks of Fleſh-flies, then it paſſes the Trial of Fire under the Care of one of thoſe exquiſite Artiſts, and is diſhed up in a Sea of ſweet *Scotch* Butter, and ſo covered and ſerved hot up to the Table: O how happy is he that is placed next to it, with a Privilege to uncover it, and receive the hot Steams of this dainty Diſh, almoſt ſufficient to cure all Diſtempers. It will be needleſs to inſtance, *in Particulars* ſo plain and evident to all that have travelled through the Country, that they may certainly bear away the Bell from all their neighbouring Nations, or, indeed, from the whole World. Their Nobility and Gentry have Tables plentifully enough furniſhed, but few or none of them have their Meat better ordered: To put one's Head into their Kitchen-doors, is little leſs than deſtructive; to enter Hell alive, where the black Fairies are buſied in mangling dead Carcaſes, and the Fire and Brimſtone, or rather Stew and Stink, is ready to ſuffocate you; and yet, which is ſtrange, theſe Things are agreeable to the Humours of the People. The poorer Sort live of Haddock, Whiting, and ſowre Milk, which is cried up and down their Streets, *Whea buyes ſawer Milk*, and upon the ſtinking Fragments that are left at their Laird's Table. Prodigious Stomachs, that, like the *Gulon*, can feed on their own Excrements, and ſtrain their Meat through their Stomachs, to have the Pleaſure of devouring it again!

Their Drink is Ale made of Beer-Malt, and tunned up in a ſmall Veſſel, called a Cogue; after it has ſtood a few Hours, they drink it out of the Cogue, Yeſt and all; the better Sort brew it in larger Quantities, and drink it in wooden Queighs, but it is ſorry Stuff, yet excellent for Preparing Birdlime; but Wine is the great Drink with the Gentry, which they pour in like Fiſhes, as if it were their natural Element; the Glaſſes, they drink out of, are conſiderably large, and they always fill them to the Brim, and away with it; ſome of them have arrived at the Perfection to tope Brandy at the ſame Rate: Sure theſe are a Bowl above *Bacchus*, and of Right ought to have a nobler Throne than a Hogſhead.

Muſick they have, but not the Harmony of the Spheres, but loud terrene Noiſes, like the Bellowing of Beaſts. The loud Bagpipe is their chief Delight; ſtringed Inſtruments are too ſoft to penetrate the Organs of their Ears that are only pleaſed with Sounds of Subſtance.

The Highways in *Scotland* are tolerably good, which is the greateſt Comfort a Traveller meets with amongſt them; they have not Inns, but Change-Houſes (as they call them) poor ſmall Cottages, where you muſt be content to take what you find, perhaps Eggs with Chucks in them, and ſome Lang-Cale; at the better Sort of them, a Diſh of chopped Chickens, which they eſteem a dainty Diſh, and will take it unkindly if you do not eat very heartily of it, though, for the moſt Part, you may make a Meal with the Sight of the Fare, and be ſatisfied with the Steam only, like the Inhabitants of the World in the Moon. Your Horſes muſt be ſent to a Stabler's (for the Change-Houſes have no Lodging for them) where they may feed voluptuouſly on Straw only, for Graſs is not to be had; and Hay is ſo much a Stranger to them, that they are ſcarce familiar with the Name of it.

The *Scotch* Gentry commonly travel from one

one Friend's Houſe to another, ſo ſeldom make Uſe of a Change-Houſe; their Way is to hire a Horſe and a Man for Two-pence a Mile: They ride on the Horſe thirty or forty Miles a Day; and the Man, who is his Guide, foots it beſide him, and carries his Luggage to boot. The beſt Sort keep only a Horſe or two for themſelves and their beſt Friend, all the reſt of the Train foot it beſide them. The Commonalty are ſo uſed to worſhip and adore their Lairds, that, when they ſee a Stranger in any tolerable Equipage, they honour him with the Title of Laird, at leaſt, *An't pleaſe you, my Laird ſuch a one*, or *an't pleaſe you, my Laird Dr.* at every bare Word, forſooth.

The Nobility ſhew themſelves very great before Strangers; they are conducted into the Houſe by many of their Servants, where the Lord, with his Troop of Shadows, receives them with the grand Paw, then enter into ſome Diſcourſe of their Country, till you are preſented with a great Queigh of Syrup of Beer; after that a Glaſs of White-Wine, then a Rummer of Claret, and ſometimes after that a Glaſs of Sherry-Sack, and then begin the Round with Ale, again, and ply you briſkly, for it is their Way of ſhewing you are welcome, by making you drunk; if you have longer Time to ſtay, you ſtick cloſe to Claret, till *Bacchus* wins the Field, and leaves the conquered Victims groveling on the Place where they received their Overthrow. At your Departure you muſt drink a *Dongha Doras*, in *Engliſh*, a Stirrup-Cup, and have the Satisfaction to have my Lord's Bagpipe (with his loud Pipes, with his Lordſhip's Coat of Armour on a Flag) ſtrut about you, and enchant you with a *Loth to depart*.

Their Money is commonly Dollars, or Mark-Pieces, coined at *Edinburgh*; but their Way of Reckoning is ſurpriſing to a Stranger. To receive a Bill of an hundred Pounds in one of their Change-Houſes, when one would not ſuppoſe they had any of the Value of an hundred Pence. They call a Penny a Shilling, and every twenty Shillings, *viz.* twenty Pence, a Pound; ſo the Proportion of their Pound to ours is twelve to one. Strangers are ſure to be groſly impoſed upon in all their Change-Houſes, and there is no Redreſs for it: If an *Engliſhman* ſhould complain to their Magiſtrates, they would all take a Part againſt him, and make ſure to ſqueeſe him.

The Concluſion of the Abridgment of the *Scotch Chronicle*, is the rare and wonderful Things of that Country; as in *Orkney*, their Ewes bring forth two Lambs a Piece; that in the Northermoſt of *Shetland* Iſlands, about the Summer Solſtice, there is no Night; that in the Park of *Cumbernaule* are white Kine and Oxen; that at *Slanes* there is a petrifying Water in a Cove; that at *Aberdeen* is a Vitrioline Well, that they ſay is excellent to diſſolve the Stone, and expel Sand from the Reins and Bladder, and good for the Cholick, being drunk in *July*, &c. Theſe prodigious Wonders in one Country are admirable, but theſe are not half of them. *Lougneſs* never freezes; in *Lough Lommond* are Fiſhes without Fins: And, *2dly*, The Waters thereof rage in great Waves without Wind, in calm Weather: And, *3dly* and *laſtly*, Therein is a floating Iſland: In *Kyle* is a deaf Rock, twelve Feet every Way, yet a Gun, diſcharged on one Side of it, ſhall not be heard to the other. In another Place is a Rocking-Stone of a reaſonable Bigneſs, that, if a Man puſh it with his Finger, it will move very lightly, but, if he addreſs his whole Force, it availeth nothing; with many more Marvels of like Nature, which I would rather believe than go thither to diſprove. To conclude, the whole Bulk and Selvedge of this Country is all Wonder too great for me to unriddle; there I ſhall leave it as I found it, with its agreeable Inhabitants in

A Land where one may pray, without ſurſt Intent;
Oh! may they never ſuffer Baniſhment.

Naſhe's

Naſhe's Lenten Stuff, containing, The Deſcription and firſt Procreation and Increaſe of the Town of *Great Yarmouth*, in *Norfolk*: With a new Play never played before, of the Praiſe of the Red Herring. Fit of all Clerks of Noblemen's Kitchens to be read; and not unneceſſary by all Serving-Men, who have ſhort Board Wages, to be remembered.

Tamam peto per Undas.

London, printed for *N. L.* and *C. B.* and are to be ſold at the Weſt End of *Paul*'s, 1599. *Quarto*, containing eighty-three Pages.

To his worthy, good Patron, *Luſty Humphrey*, according as the Townſmen do chriſten him; *Little Numps*, as the Nobility and Courtiers do name him; and *Honeſt Humphrey*, as all his Friends and Acquaintance eſteem him; King of the Tobacconiſts *hic & ubique*, and a ſingular *Mecænas* to the Pipe and Tabor (as his patient Livery Attendant can witneſs) his bounden Orator, *T. N.* moſt proſtrately offers up this Tribute of Ink and Paper.

MOST *courteous, unlearned Lover of Poetry, and yet a Poet thyſelf, of no leſs Price than* H. S. *that, in Honour of Maid-marrian, gives Sweet-marjoram for his Empreſs, and puts the Sow moſt ſaucily upon ſome great Perſonage, whatever ſhe be, bidding her (as it runs in the old Song)*

——— Go from my Garden, go,
For there no Flowers for thee do grow.

Theſe be to notify to your diminutive Excellence, and compendious Greatneſs, what my Zeal is towards you, that in no ſtreighter Bonds would be pounded and inliſted, than in an Epiſtle Dedicatory. Too many more luſty Blood Bravemente Signiors, *with* Cale *Beards, as broad as Scullers Maples, that they make clean their Boats with, could I have turned it over, and had nothing for my Labour, ſome fair Words excepting; good Sir will it pleaſe you to come near, and drink a Cup of Wine? After my Return from* Ireland, *I doubt not but my Fortunes will be of ſome Growth to requite you. In the mean Time, my Sword is at your Command; and, before God, Money ſo ſcatteringly runs here and there upon* Utenſilia, *Furnitures, Ancients, and other neceſſary Preparations (and which is a double Charge, look how much Tobacco we carry with us to expel Cold, the like Quantity of Staves aker we muſt provide us of to kill Lice in that rugged Countr*

of Rebels) that I ſay unto you in the Words of a Martialiſt, We cannot do as we would. I am no incredulous Dydimus, *but have more Faith to believe they have no Coin, than they have Means to ſupply themſelves with it, and ſo leave them. To any other Carpet-monger, or Primroſe Knight of* Primero, *bring I a Dedication; if the Dice over Night have not befriended him, he ſleeps five Days and five Nights to new-ſkin his Beauty, and will not be known he is awake till his Men, upon their own Bonds (a diſmal World for Trenchermen, when their Maſters Bonds ſhall not be ſo good as theirs) have took up Commodities, or freſh Droppings of the Mint for him: And then; What then? He pays for the ten Dozen of Bottles he left upon the Score at the Tennis Court; he ſends for the Barber to depure, decurtate, and ſpunge him, whom having not paid a Twelvemonth before, he now rains down eight Quarter Angels into his Hand, to make his Liberality ſeem greater, and gives him a caſt Riding Jerkin, and an old* Spaniſh *Hat into the Bargain, and God's Peace be with him. The Chamber is not rid of the Smell of his Feet, but the greaſy Shoemaker with his Squirrel's Skin, and a whole Stall of Ware upon his Arm, enters, and wrencheth his Legs for an Hour together, and after ſhews his Tally. By S.* Loy *that draws deep, and by that Time his Tobacco Merchant is made even with, and he hath dined at a Tavern, and ſlept his Under-meal at a Bawdy-houſe, his Purſe is on the Heild, and only forty Shillings he hath behind to try his Fortune with at the Cards in the Preſence; which if it proſper, the Court cannot contain him, but to* London *again he will, to revel it and have two Plays in one Night, invite all the Poets and Muſicians to his Chamber the next Morning, where, againſt their Coming, a whole Heap of Money ſhall be ſpread upon the Board, and all his Trunks opened to ſhew his rich Suits, but the Devil a whit he beſtows on them, ſave Bottle Ale and Tobacco, and deſires a general Meeting.*

The Particular of it is, that Bounty is Bankrupt, and Lady Senſuality licks all the Fat from the ſeven Liberal Sciences, that Poetry, if it were not a Trick to pleaſe my Lady, would be excluded out of Chriſtian Burial, and, inſtead of Wreaths of Lawrel to crown it with, have a Bell with a Cock's Comb clapped on the Crown of it by old Johannes de Indagines, *and his Choir of Dorbeliſts. Wherefore, the Premiſſes conſidered (I pray you conſider of that Word* Premiſſes, *for ſomewhere I have borrowed it) neither to Rich, Noble, Right Worſhipful, or Worſhipful, of Spiritual or Temporal, will I conſecrate this Work, but to thee and thy capering Humour alone; that, if thy Stars had done thee Right, they ſhould have made thee one of the mightieſt Princes of* Germany, *not for thou canſt drive a Coach, or kill an Ox ſo well as they, but that thou art never well but when thou art amongſt the Retinue of the Muſes, and there ſpendeſt more in the Twinkling of an Eye, than in a whole Year thou gotteſt by ſome graſierly Gentility thou followeſt. A King thou art by Name, and a King of Good-fellowſhip by Nature, whereby I ominate this Encomium of the King of Fiſhes was predeſtinated to thee from thy Swaddling Cloaths. Hug it, ingle it, kiſs it, and cull it now thou haſt it, and renounce Eating of green Beef and Garlick till* Martlemas, *if it be not the next Stile to* The Strife of Love in a Dream: *or,* The lamentable Burning of *Tiverton. Give me good Words, I beſeech thee, though thou giveſt me nothing elſe, and thy Words ſhall ſtand for thy Deeds, which I will take as well in Worth, as if they were the Deeds and Evidences of all the Land thou haſt. Here I bring you a Red Herring, if you will find Drink to it, there's an End, no other Detriments will I put you to. Let the Kan of ſtrong Ale your Conſtable, with the Toaſt his brown Bill, and Sugar and Nutmegs his Watchmen, ſtand in a Readineſs to entertain me every Time I come by your Lodging. In* Ruſſia *there are no Preſents but of Meat & Drink; I preſent you with Meat, and you, in honourable Courteſy to requite me, can*

do

do no leſs than preſent me with the beſt Morning's Draught of Merry-go-down in your Quarters; and ſo I kiſs the Shadow of your Feets Shadow, amiable Donſel, expecting your ſacred Poems of the Hermit's Tale, *that will reſtore the Golden Age amongſt us, and ſo, upon my Soul's Knees, I take my Leave.*

Yours, for a whole Laſt of Red Herrings,

Th. Naſhe.

To his READERS, *he cares not* what they be.

NASHE's *Lenten Stuff!* And why *Naſhe's Lenten Stuff?* Some ſcabbed ſcalled Eſquire replies: Becauſe I had Money lent me at *Yarmouth*; and I pay them again in Praiſe of their own Town and the Red-Herring. And, if it were ſo, Goodman Pig-wiggen, Were not that honeſt Dealing? Pay thou all thy Debts ſo, if thou canſt for thy Life. But thou art a Ninny-hammer, that is not it; therefore, *Nickenoky*, I call it *Naſhe's Lenten Stuff*, as well for that it was moſt of my Study the laſt *Lent*, as that we uſe ſo to term any Fiſh that takes Salt, of which the Red-Herring is one of the apteſt. O! but, ſaith another *John Dringle*, there is a Book of the *Red-Herring's Tail*, printed four Terms ſince, that made this ſtale. Let it be a Tail of Haberdine, if it will, I am nothing entailed thereunto; I ſcorn it, I ſcorn it, that my Works ſhould turn Tail to any Man. Head, Body, Tail, and all of a Red-Herring you ſhall have of me, if that will pleaſe you; or, if that will not pleaſe you, ſtay till *Eaſter* Term, and then, with the Anſwer to the *Trim Tram*, I will make you laugh your Hearts out. Take me at my Word, for I am the Man that will do it. This is a light Friſkin of my Wit, like the Praiſe of Injuſtice, the Fever Quartan, *Buſiris*, or *Phalaris*, wherein I follow the Trace of the famouſeſt Scholars of all Ages, whom a wantoniſing Humour once in their Life-time hath poſſeſſed to play with Straws, and turn Mole-hills into Mountains.

Every Man can ſay Bee to a Battledore, and write in Praiſe of Virtue and the ſeven Liberal Sciences; thraſh Corn out of the full Sheaves, and fetch Water out of the *Thames*; but out of dry Stubble to make an After-harveſt, and a plentiful Crop without Sowing, and wring Juice out of a Flint, that is *Pierce a God's Name*, and the right Trick of a Workman. Let me ſpeak to you about my huge Words, which I uſe in this Book, and then you are your own Men to do what you liſt: Know, it is my true Vein to be *Tragicus Orator*, and, of all Stiles, I moſt affect and ſtrive to imitate *Aretine's*, not caring for this demure, ſoft *mediocre genus*, that is like Water and Wine mixed together; but give me pure Wine of itſelf, and that begets good Blood, and heats the Brain thoroughly. I had as live have no Sun, as have it ſhine faintly; no Fire, as a ſmothering Fire of ſmall Coals; no Cloaths, rather than wear Linſey-wolſey. Apply it for me, for I am called away to correct the Faults of the Preſs, that eſcaped in my Abſence from the Printing-houſe.

THE ſtrange Turning of the *Iſle of Dogs*, from a Comedy to a Tragedy two Summers paſt, with the troubleſome Stir, which happened about it, is a general Rumour, that hath filled all *England*, and ſuch a heavy Croſs laid upon me, as had well near confounded me: I mean, not ſo much in that it ſequeſtered me from the wonted Means of my Maintenance, which is as great a Maim to any Man's Happineſs, as can be feared from the Hands of Miſery, or the deep Pit of Deſpair, whereinto I was fallen, beyond my greateſt Friends Reach, to recover me; but that in my

Exile, and infome discontented Abandonment, the silliest Miller's Thumb, or contemptible Stickle-bank of my Enemies, is as busy nibbling about my Fame, as if I were a dead Man thrown amongst them to feed upon. So I am, I confess, in the World's outward Appearance, though perhaps I may prove a cunninger Diver than they are aware; which if it so happen, as I am partly assured, and that I plunge above Water once again, let them look to it, for I will put them in Brine, or a piteous Pickle every one*. But let that pass, though they shall find I will not let it pass, when Time serves, I having a Pamphlet hot a Brooding, that shall be called the *Barbers Warming pan*, and to the Occasion a-fresh of my Falling in Alliance with this Lenten Argument. That unfortunate imperfect Embryo † of my idle Hours, the *Isle of Dogs* before-mentioned, breeding unto me such bitter Throws in the Teaming, as it did, and the Tempests, that arose at its Birth, so astonishing, outrageous, and violent, as if my Brain had been conceived of another *Hercules*; I was so terrified with my own Increase (like a Woman long traveling to be delivered of a Monster) that it was no sooner born, but I was glad to run from it. To inconsiderate headlong Rashness this may be censured in me, in being thus prodigal in Advantaging my Adversaries; but my Case is now smothered secret, and, with light Cost of rough cast Rhetorick, it may be tolerably plaistered over, if under the Pardon and Privilege of incensed higher Powers it were lawfully indulged me freely to advocate my own Astrology. Sufficeth what they in their grave Wisdoms shall prescribe, I, in no Sort, will seek to acquit, nor presumptuously attempt to dispute against the Equity of their Judgments, but humble and prostrate appeal to their Mercies. Avoid or give Ground I did, *scriptum est*, I will not go from it, and *post varios casus*, variable Knight-Errant Adventures, and Outroads, and Inroads, in great *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, I arrived at the latter End of Autumn. Where having scarce looked about me, my presaging Mind said to itself, *Hic favonius serenus est, hic auster umbricus*, This is a predestinated fit Place for *Pierse Pennyless* to set up his Staff in. Therein not much diameter to my divining Hopes, did the Event sort itself, for six Weeks first and last; under that predominant Constellation of *Aquarius* or *Jove's Nectar* filled, took I up my Repose, and there met with such kind Entertainment and benign Hospitality, when I was *Una litera plusquam* ‡ *medicus*, as *Plautus* saith, and not able to line to myself with my own Juice; as some of the Crums of it, like the Crums in a bushy Beard, after a great Banquet, will remain in my Papers, to be seen when I am dead and under Ground: From the base Perusing of which, infinite Posterities of hungry Poets shall receive good Refreshing, even as *Homer* by *Galatæon* was pictured vomiting in a Bason (in the Temple that *Ptolemy Philopater* erected to him) and the rest of the succeeding Poets after him, greedingly lapping up what he disgorged. That good old blind Bibber of *Helicon*, I wot well, came a Begging to one of the chief Cities of *Greece*, and promised them vast corpulent Volumes of Immortality, if they would bestow upon him but a slender Outbrother's Annuity of Mutton and Broth, and a Pallet to sleep on; and, with Derision, they rejected him; whereupon he went to their Enemies, with the like Proffer, who used him honourably, and whom he used so honourably, that to this Day, though it be three-thousand Years since, their Name and Glory flourish green in Men's Memory through his Industry. I trust you make no Question but those dull-pated Pennisathers, that in such dudgeon Scorn rejected him, drunk deep of the sour Cup of Repentance for it, when the high Flight of his Lines in common Brute was applauded. Yea in the Word of one no more wealthy, than he was (wealthy said I, nay I will be sworn, he was a grand Jury-man, in Respect of me) those grey Beard Huddle-duddles, and crafty Cum-twangs, were struck with such stinging Remorse of their miserable Euclionism and Sundgery, that he was not yet cold in his Grave, but they challenged him to be born amongst them, and they, and six Cities more, entered a sharp War about it, every one of them laying Claim to him as their own: And to this Effect, hath *Buchanan* an Epigra-

* Quassa tamen nostra est, non mersa nec obruta navis. † An imperfect Embryo, I may well call it, for, I having begun but the Introduction and first Act of it, the other four Acts without my Consent, or the least Guess of my Drift or Scope, by the Players were supplied, which bred both their Trouble and mine too. ‡ Medicus.

Urbes

Urbes certarunt ſeptem de patria Homeri,
Nulla domus vivo patria nulla fuit.

Seven Cities ſtrove, where *Homer* firſt ſhould come,
When living, he no Country had nor Home.

I alledge this Tale to ſhew how much better my Lack was than *Homer*'s (though all the King of *Spain*'s *Indies* will not create me ſuch a niggling Hexameter-founder, as he was) in the firſt Proclaiming of my Bank-rout Indigence and Beggary, to bend my Courſe to ſuch a courteous compaſſionate Clime as *Yarmouth*; and to warn others that advance their Heads above all others, and have not reſpected, but rather flatly oppoſed themſelves againſt the Friar-mendicants of our Profeſſion, what their Amercements, and unreprieveable Penance, will be, except they tear open their Oyſter-mouthed Pouches quickly, and make double Amends for their Parſimony. I am no *Tireſias* or *Calchas* to propheſy, but yet I cannot tell, there may be more reſounding Bell metal in my Pen, than I am aware; and, if there be, the firſt Peel of it is *Yarmouth*'s: For a Pattern or tiny Sample, what my elaborate Performance would be in this Caſe, had I a full-ſailed Gale of Proſperity to encourage me; whereas, at the diſhumoured Compoſing hereof, I may juſtly complain with *Ovid:*

Anchora jam noſtram non tenet ulla ratem.

My State is ſo toſt and weather-beaten, that it hath now no Anchor-hold left to cleave unto. I care not, if in a dim Fair of Landſkip I take the Pains to deſcribe this ſupereminent principal Metropolis of the red Fiſh. A Town it is, that, in rich Situation, exceedeth many Cities, and without the which, *Caput gentis*, the ſwelling Battlements of *Gurguntus*, a Head City of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, would ſcarce retain the Name of a City, but become as ruinous and deſolate as *Thetford* or *Ely*, out of an Hill or Heap of Sand, reared and forced from the Sea moſt miraculouſly, and by the ſingular Policy and unceſſant ineſtimable Expence of the Inhabitants, ſo firmly piled and rampired againſt the fumiſh Waves Battery, or ſuing the leaſt Action of Recovery, that it is more conjectural of the Twain, the Land, with a Writ of an *Ejectio firmæ*, will get the upper Hand of the Ocean, than the Ocean one Crow's Skip prevail againſt the Continent. Forth of the Sands, thus ſtrugglingly as it exalteth and lifts up its glittering Head: So of the Neighbouring Sands, no leſs ſemblably (whether, in Recordation of their worn out Affinity, or no, I know not) it is ſo inamorately protected and patroniſed, that they ſtand as a Trench or Guard about it in the Night, to keep off their Enemies. Now, in that drowſy Empire of the pale-faced Queen of Shades, maugre letting drive upon their Barricadoes, or impetuouſly contending to break through their Chain or Bar, but they intomb and baliſt with ſudden Deſtruction. In this tranſcurſive Reportory, without ſome obſervant Glance, I may not dully overpaſs the gallant Beauty of their Haven, which having but as it were a Welt of Land, or as M. *Camden* calls it, *lingulam terræ*, a little Tongue of the Earth, betwixt it and the wide Main, ſticks not to manage Arms, and hold its own undefeaſably againſt that univerſal unbounded Empire of Surges, and ſo hath done for this hundred Years. Two Miles in Length it ſtretches its winding Current, and then meets with a ſpacious River or Back-water, that feeds it. A narrow Channel or *Iſthmus*, in raſh View, you would opinionate it; when this I can devoutly aver, I beholding it with both my Eyes this laſt Fiſhing, ſix hundred reaſonable Barks and Veſſels of good Burthen, with Advantage, it hath given Shelter to, at once in her Harbour, and moſt of them riding abreaſt before the Key betwixt the Bridge and the South-gate. Many Bows Length beyond the Mark, my Pen roves not, I am certain; if I do, they ſtand at my Elbow that can correct me. The delectableſt luſty Sight and movingeſt Object methought it was that our Iſle ſets forth, and Nothing behind in Number with the invincible *Spaniſh Armada*, though they were not ſuch *Gargantuan* boiſterous Gulliguts as they; though Ships and Galleaſſes they would have been reckoned in the Navy of King *Edgar*, who is chroniçled and regiſtered, with three-thouſand Ships of War, to have ſcoured the narrow Seas, and ſailed round about *England* every Summer. That which eſpecially nouriſhed the moſt prime Pleaſure in me, was after a Storm, when we were driven in Swarms, and lay cloſe pettered together as thick as they could pack; the next Day following, if it were fair, they would cloud the whole Sky with Canvas, by ſpreading their drabbled

Sails in the full Clue Abroad a Drying, and make a braver Shew with them, than ſo many Banners and Streamers diſplayed againſt the Sun, on a Mountain Top. But how *Yarmouth* of itſelf ſo innumerably populous and repleniſhed, and in ſo barren a Spot ſeated, ſhould not only ſupply her Inhabitants with plentiful Purveyance of Suſtenance, but provide and victual moreover this monſtrous Army of Strangers, was a Matter that egregiouſly puzzled and intranced my Apprehenſion. *Hollanders*, *Zelanders*, *Scots*, *French*, *Weſtern men*, *Northern men*, beſides all the Hundreds, and Wapentakes, nine Miles Diſtance, fetch the beſt of their Viands and Mangery from her Market. For ten Weeks together, this Rabble Rout of Outlandiſhers are billetted with her, yet, in all that While, the Rate of no Kind of Food is raiſed, nor the Plenty of their Markets one Pint of Butter rebated; and at the ten Weeks End, when the Camp is broken up, no Impreſſion of any Dearth left, but rather more Store than before. Some of the Town Dwellers have ſo large an Opinion of their ſettled Proviſion, that if all her Majeſty's Fleet at once ſhould put into their Bay, within twelve Days Warning, with ſo much double Beer, Beef, Fiſh, and Biſket, they would bulk them as they could wallow away with.

Here I could break out into a boundleſs Race of Oratory, in ſhrill Trumpeting and Concelebrating the royal Magnificence of her Government, that, for State and ſtrict Civil Ordering, ſcarcely admitteth any Rivals: But I fear it would be a Theme diſpleaſing to the grave Modeſty of the diſcreet preſent Magiſtrates; and therefore conſultively I overſlip it; howſoever I purpoſe not in the like nice Reſpect to leap over the laudable Pedigree of *Yarmouth*, but will fetch her from her Swadling Clouts or Infancy; and reveal to you when and by whom ſhe was firſt forced out of the Ocean's Arms, and ſtarted up and aſpired to ſuch ſtarry Sublimity; as alſo acquaint you with the notable Immunities, Franchiſes, and Privileges ſhe is endowed with, beyond all her Confiners, by the deſcending Line of Kings from the Conqueſt.

There are of you, it may be, that will account me a Palterer for Hanging out the Sign of the *Red-Herring* in my Title-page, and no ſuch Feaſt towards, for aught you can ſee. Soft and fair, my Maſters; you muſt walk and talk before Dinner an Hour or two, the better to whet your Appetites to taſte of ſuch a dainty Diſh as the Red-Herring; and, that you may not think the Time tedious, I care not if I bear you Company, and lead you a ſound Walk round about *Yarmouth*, and ſhew you the Length and Breadth of it.

The Maſters and Batchelors Commencement Dinners, at *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, are betwixt Three and Four in the Afternoon, and the reſt of the Antecedence of the Day worn out in Diſputations: Imagine this the Act or Commencent of the Red Herring, that proceedeth Batchelor, Maſter, and Doctor, all at once; and therefore his Diſputations muſt be longer. But to the Point: May it pleaſe the whole Generation of my Auditors to be advertiſed, how that noble Earth, where the Town of *Great Yarmouth* is now mounted, and where ſo much Fiſh is ſold, in the Days of Yore hath been the Place where you might have catched Fiſh, and as plain a Sea, within theſe ſix-hundred Years, as any Boat could tumble in; and ſo was the whole Level of the Marſhes betwixt it and *Norwich*. *Anno Domini* 1000, or thereabouts (as I have ſcraped out of worm-eaten Parchment) and in the Reign of *Canutus*, he that died drunk at *Lambeth*, or *Lome-hith*, ſomewhat before, or ſomewhat after, not an Apprenticeſhip of Years varying,

——— *Caput extulit undis*,
The Sands ſet up Shop for themſelves;

And, from that Moment to this ſextine Century (or, let me not be taken with a Lye, Five-hundred ninety-eight, that wants but a Pair of Years to make me a true Man) they would no more live under the Yoke of the Sea, or have their Heads waſhed with his bubbly Spurn, or Barber's Balderdaſh,* but clearly quitted, diſterminated, and relegated themſelves from his inflated Capriciouſneſs of Playing the Dictator over them.

The Northern Wind was the clanging Trumpeter, who, with the terrible Blaſt of his Throat, in one yellow Heap, or plump-cluſtered, or congeſted them together, even as the Weſtern Gales in *Holland*, right over-againſt them, have wrought unruly Havock, and thraſhed and ſwept the Sands ſo before them, that they have choaked or clammed up the middle Walk, or Door of the *Rhine*, and made it as ſtable a Clod-mould, or Turf-ground, as

any

any Hedger can drive Stake into. *Caſter*, two Miles diſtant from this *New Yarmouth* we treat of, is inſcribed to be that *Old Yarmouth*, whereof there are Specialties to be ſeen in the oldeſt Writers, and yet, ſome viſible apparent Tokens remain of a Haven that ran up to it, and there had its Entrance into the Sea, by aged Fiſhermen commonly termed *Grubs Haven*, though now it be gravelled up, and the Stream, or Tide-gate, turned another Way. But this is moſt warrantable, the *Alpha* of all the *Yarmouths* it was, and not the *Omega* correſpondently, and, from her withered Root, they branch the high Aſcent of their Genealogy. *Omnium rerum viciſſitudo eſt*, One's Falling is another's Riſing; and ſo it fell out with that ruined Dorpe, or Hamlet, which, after it had relapſed into the Lord's Hands for Want of Reparations, and there were not Men enough in it to defend the Shore from Invaſion, one *Cerdicus*, a plaſhing *Saxon*, that had revelled here, and there, with his Battle-axe, on the bordering Banks of the decrepid overworn Village, now ſurnamed *Gorlſtone*, threw forth his Anchor, and, with the Aſſiſtance of his Spear, inſtead of a Pike-ſtaff, leaped a-ground like a ſturdy Brute, and his Yeomen bold caſt their Heels in their Necks, and friſked it after him; and thence ſprouted that obſcene Appellation of *Sarding Sands*, with the Draff of the carterly Hoblobs thereabouts, concocted or digeſted for a Scripture Verity, when the right *Chriſtendom* of it is *Cerdick Sands*, or *Cerdick Shore*, of *Cerdicus* ſo denominated, who was the firſt May-lord, or Captain of the *Morris dance*, that, on thoſe imbenched Shelves, ſtamped his Footing where Cods and Dog-fiſh ſwam not a Warp of Weeks forerunning, and, till he had given the Onſet, they baulked them as Quickſands. By and by, after his Jumping upon them, the *Saxons*, for that *Garianonum*, or *Yarmouth*, that had given up the Ghoſt, in thoſe ſlimy plaſhy Fields of *Gorlſtone* trouled up a ſecond *Yarmouth*, abutting on the Weſt-ſide of the Shore of this *Great Yarmouth*, that is; but, feeling the Air to be unwholſome and diſagreeing with them, to the overwhart Brink or Verge of the Flood, that writ all one Style of *Cerdick-Sands*, they diſlodged, with Bag and Baggage, and there laid the Foundation of a third *Yarmouth*, *Quam nulla poteſt abolere vetuſtas*, that I hope will hold up her Head till *Doomſday*. In this *Yarmouth*, as Mr. *Camden* ſaith, there were ſeventy Inhabitants, or Houſholders, that paid Scot and Lot in the Time of *Edward* the Confeſſor; but a Chronographical *Latin* Table, which they have hanging up in their *Guildhall*, of all their Tranſmutations from their Cradlehood, infringeth this a little, and flatters her, ſhe is a great Deal younger, in a fair Text Hand, texting unto us, how, in the Scepterdom of *Edward* the Confeſſor, the Sands firſt began to grow into Sight at low Water, and more ſhallow at the Mouth of the River *Hirus* or *Ierus*, whereupon it was dubbed *Iernmouth*, or *Yarmouth*; and then there were two Channels, one on the North, another on the South, where through the Fiſhermen did wander and waver up to *Norwich*, and divers Parts of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, all the Fenny *Lerna* betwixt, that, with Reed, is ſo imbriſtled, being, as I have foreſpoken or ſpoken before, *Madona*, *Amphitrite*, fluctuous Demeſnes, or Fee-ſimple.

From the City of *Norwich* on the Eaſt Part, it is ſixteen Miles disjunct and diſlocated; and, though betwixt the Sea and the ſalt Flood it be interpoſed, yet in no Place about it can you dig ſix Feet deep, but you ſhall have a guſhing Spring of freſh or ſweet Water for all Uſes, as apt and accommodated as St. *Winifred*'s Well, or *Tower-Hill* Water at *London*, ſo much praiſed and fought after. My Tables are not yet one Quarter emptied, of my Notes out of their Table, which becauſe it is, as it were, a Sea Rudder diligently kept amongſt them from Age to Age, of all their Ebbs and Flows, and Winds that blew with or againſt them, I tie myſelf to more preciſely, and thus it leadeth on:

In the Time of King *Harold* and *William the Conqueror*, this Sand of *Yarmouth* grew to a ſettled Lump, and was as dry as the Sands of *Arabia*, ſo that thronging Theatres of People (as well Aliens as *Engliſhmen*) hived thither about the Selling of Fiſh and Herring, from St. *Michael* to St. *Martin*, and there built Sutlers Booths and Tabernacles, to canopy their Heads in from the Rheum of the Heavens, or the Clouds diſſolving Cataracts. King *William Rufus* having got the golden Wreath about his Head, one *Herbertus*, Biſhop of the See of *Norwich*, hearing of the Gangs of good Fellows that hurtled and buſtled thither, as thick as it had been to the Shrine of St. *Thomas à Becket*, or our Lady of *Walſingham*, built a certain Chapel there for the Service of God, and Salvation of Souls.

In the Reign of King *Henry* the *Firſt*, King *Stephen*, King *Henry* the *Second*, and *Richard Ile Cœur de Lyon*, the Apoſtaſy of the Sands from the yelping World was ſo great, that they joined themſelves to the main Land of *Eaſtſkege*, and whole Tribes of Males and Females trotted, barged it thither, to build and inhabit, which the ſaid Kings, whilſt they wielded their Swords temporal, animadvertiſed of, aſſigned a Ruler or Governor over them, that was called the King's Provoſt; and that Manner of Provoſtſhip or Government remained in full Force and Vertue of all their four Thronethips, *alias* a hundred Years, even till the Inauguration of King *John*, in whoſe Days the forewritten of Biſhop of *Norwich*, ſeeing the numerous Increaſe of Souls of both Kinds, that there had framed their Neſts, and meant not to forſake them till the Soul-Bell tolled them thence, pulled down his Chapel, and, what by himſelf and the devout Oblations and Donatives of the Fiſhermen upon every Return with their Nets full, re-edified and raiſed it to a Church of that Magnitude, as, Under-Minſters and Cathedrals, very eaſily; it admits any, Hail, Fellow, well met; and the Church of St. *Nicholas*, he hallowed it, whence *Yarmouth* Road is nicknamed the Road of St. *Nicholas*. King *John*, to comply, and keep Conſort with his Anceſtors, in furthering of this new Water-Work, in the ninth Year of the ingirting his anointed Brows with the refulgent *Ophir* Circle, and, *Anno* 1209, ſet a freſh Gloſs upon it, of the Town or free Borough of *Yarmouth*, and furniſhed it with many ſubſtantial Privileges and Liberties, to have and to hold the ſame of him, and his Race, for fifty-five Pounds Yearly. In *Anno* 1240, it perched up to be governed by Bailiffs, and, in a narrower Limit than the Forty Years under Meal of the Seven Sleepers, it had ſo much Tow, to her Diſtaff, and was ſo well lined and bumbaſted, that, in a Sea-Battle, her Ships and Men conflicted the *Cinque Ports*, and therein ſo laid about them, that they burnt, took, and ſpoiled the moſt of them; whereof ſuch of them as were ſure Flights, (ſaving a Reverence of their Manhoods) ran crying and complaining to King *Henry the Second*, who, with the Advice of his Council, ſet a Fine of a thouſand Pounds on the *Yarmouth* Men's Heads for that Offence, which Fine, in the Tenth of his Reign, he diſpenſed with, and pardoned.

Edward the Firſt, and *Edward the Second* likewiſe, let them lack for no Privileges, changing it from a Borough to a Port Town, and there ſetting up a Cuſtom-Houſe, with the Appurtenances for the Loading and Unloading of Ships. *Henry the Third*, in the Fortieth of his Reign, cheared up their Bloods with two Charters more, and in *Anno* 1262, and forty five of his Court-keeping, he permitted them to wall in their Town, and moat it about with a broad Ditch, and to have a Priſon or Jail in it. In the Swindge of his Trident he conſtituted two Lord Admirals over the whole Navy of *England*, which he diſpoſed in two Parts; the one to bear Sway from the *Thames* Mouth Northward, called *The Northern Navy*; the other to ſhape his Courſe from the *Thame's* Mouth to the Weſtward, termed *The Weſtern Navy*; and over this Northern Navy, for Admiral, commiſſionated one *John Peerbrown*, Burgeſs of the Town of *Yarmouth*, and over the Weſtern Navy one Sir *Robert Laburnus*, Knight.

But *Peerbrown* did not only hold his Office, all the Time of that King doing plauſible Service, but was again re-admiralled by *Edward the Third*, and ſo died; in the Fourteenth of whoſe Reign he met with the *French* King's Navy, being four-hundred Sail, near to the Haven of *Sluſe*, and there ſo ſliced and ſlaſhed them, and tore their Planks to Mammocks, and their lean Guts to Kites Meat, that their beſt Mercy was Fire and Water, which hath no Mercy; and not a Victualler or a Drumbler of them hanging in the Wind aloof, but was Rib-roaſted, or had ſome of his Ribs cruſhed with their Stone-darting Engines, no Ordnance then being invented. This *Edward the Third*, of his propenſive Mind towards them, united to *Yarmouth Kirtly* Road, from it ſeven Miles vacant, and, ſowing in the Furrows that his Predeceſſors had entered, enhanced the Price of their Privileges, and brought them not down one Barley Kernel.

Richard the Second, upon a Diſcord betwixt *Leyſtoffe* and *Yarmouth*, after divers Law-Days, and arbitrary Mandates to the Counties of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, directed about it, in proper Perſon, 1385, came to *Yarmouth*, and, in his Parliament the Year enſuing, confirmed unto it the Liberties of *Kirtly* Road, (the only Motive of all their Contention). *Henry the Fifth*, or the *Fifth* of the *Henries* that ruled over us, abridged them not a Mite

of

of their purchaſed Prerogatives, but permitted them to build a Bridge over their Haven, and aided and furthered them in it. *Henry the Sixth*, *Edward the Fourth*, *Henry the Seventh*, and *King Henry the Eighth*, with his Daughters Queen *Mary*, and our *Charæ natum ſoboles*, Queen *Eliſabeth*, have not withered up their Hands in ſigning and ſubſcribing to their Requeſts; but our Virgin Rectoreſs, moſt of all, hath ſhowered down her Bounty upon them, granting them greater Grants than ever they had, beſides By-Matters of the Clerk of the Marketſhip, and many other Benevolences towards the Reparation of their Port. This, and every Town, hath its Backwinters or Froſts that nip it in the Blade (as not the cleareſt Sunſhine but hath his Shade, and there is a Time of Sickneſs as well as of Health). The Backwinter, the Froſt biting, the Eclipſe or Shade, and Sickneſs of *Yarmouth*, was a great Sickneſs or Plague in it, 1348, of which, in one Year, ſeven thouſand and fifty People toppled up their Heels there. The new Building at the Weſt End of the Church was begun there 1330, which, like the imperfect Works of *King*'s College in *Cambridge*, or *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*, have too coſtly large Foundations to be ever finiſhed.

It is thought if the Town had not been ſo ſcourged, and eaten up by that Mortality, of their own Purſes they would have proceeded with it; but now they have gone a nearer Way to the Wood, for with wooden Galleries in the Church that they have, and ſtairy Degrees of Seats in them, they make as much Room to ſit and hear, as a new Weſt-End would have done.

The Length and Breadth of *Yarmouth*, I promiſed to ſhew you, have with you; but firſt look wiſtly upon the Walls, which, if you mark, make a ſtretched out Quadrangle with the Haven. They are in Compaſs, from the South Chains to the North Chains, two-thouſand one-hundred and fourſcore Yards: They have ſixteen Towers upon them; Mounts underſonging and inflanking them, formerly two, now three, which have their thundering Tools, to compel *Diego Spaniard* to duck, and ſtrike the Wind-cholick into his Paunch, if he prance too near them, and will not veil to the Queen of *England*. The Compaſs about the Wall of this new Mount is five-hundred Feet, and in the Meaſure of Yards eight-ſcore and ſeven: The Breadth of the Foundation nine Feet, the Depth within Ground Eleven: The Height to the Setting thereof, fifteen Feet, and in Breadth at the Setting of it, five Feet three Inches, and the procerous Stature of it, ſo imbailing and girdling in this Mount, twenty Feet and ſix Inches. Gates to let in her Friends, and ſhut out her Enemies, *Yarmouth* hath ten, Lanes Sevenſcore: As for her Streets, they are as long as threeſcore Streets in *London*, and yet they divide them but into Three. Void Ground in the Town from the Walls to the Houſes, and from the Houſes to the Haven, is not within the Verge of my Geometry. The Liberties of it on the Freſh-water one Way, as namely, from *Yarmouth* to *St. Tooley*'s in *Beckles-water*, are ten Miles, and from *Yarmouth* to *Hardlie-croſs* another Way, ten Miles, and, concluſively, from *Yarmouth* to *Weybridge* in the Narrow North-water, ten Miles: In all which Fords, or Meanders, none can attach, arreſt, diſtreſs, but their Officers; and, if any drown themſelves in them, their Coroners ſit upon them.

I had a Crotchet in my Head, here to have given the Reins to my Pen, and run aſtray throughout all the Coaſt-Towns of *England*; digging up their Dilapidations, and raking out of the Duſt-heap, or Charnel-houſe of tenebrous Antiquity, the rotteneſt Relick of their Monuments, and bright ſcoured the Canker-eaten Braſs of their firſt Bricklayers and Founders, and commented and paralogiſed on their Condition in the Preſent, and in the Preter Tenſe: Not for any Love or Hatred I bear them, but that I would not be ſnubbed, or have it caſt in my Diſh, that therefore I praiſe *Yarmouth* ſo rantingly, becauſe I never elſewhere baited my Horſe, or took my Bow and Arrows, and went to Bed. Which Leeſing, had I been let alone, I would have put to bed with a *Recumbentibus*, by uttering the beſt that with a ſafe Conſcience might be uttered of the beſt, or worſt, of them all; and notwithſtanding all at beſt, that Tongue could ſpeak, or Heart could think of them, they ſhould bate me an Ace of *Yarmouth*. Much Brain-toſſing and Breaking of my Skull it coſt me; but farewel it, and farewel the Bailiffs of the *Cinque-Ports*, whoſe primordial *Gethneliaca* was alſo dropping out of my Inkhorn, with the Silver Oar of their Barony by *William* the Conqueror, conveighed over to them at that Nick, when he firmed and rubricked

Kentiſhmen's Gavel-kind of the Son to inherit at Fifteen, and the Felony of the Father not to draw a Foot of Land from the Son, and amongſt the Sons the Portion to be equally diſtributed; and if there were no Sons, much Good do it the Daughters, for they were to ſhare it after the ſame Tenure, and might alienate it how they would, either by Legacy or Bargain, without the Conſent of the Lord.

To ſhun Spight I ſmothered theſe Dribblements, and refrained to deſcant, how *William the Conqueror*, having heard the Proverb of *Kent* and *Chriſtendom*, thought he had won a Country as good as all *Chriſtendom*, when he was enfeoffed of *Kent*; for which, to make it ſure unto him, after he was entailed thereunto, nought they aſked they needed to aſk twice, it being enacted before the Words came out of their Mouth. Of that profligated Labour yet my Breaſt pants and labours, a whole Month's Mind of revolving Meditation I ravelling out therein (as *Ravelling out* ſignifies *Penelopes telam retexere*, the Unweaving of a Web before woven and contexted.) It pities me, it pities me, that, in Cutting of ſo fair a Diamond as *Yarmouth*, I have not a Caſket of duſky, *Corniſh* Diamonds by me, and a Box of muddy Foils the better to ſet it forth: *Ut nemo miſer, niſi comparatus, ſic nihil pro mirifico, niſi cum aliis conferatur: Cedite ſoli, ſtellæ ſcintillantes; ſoli Garrianano cedite, reliqua oppida veligera ſedium navalium ſpecioſiſſimo; ſed redeo ad vernaculum.*

All Commonwealths aſſume their Prenominations of their common divided Wealth, as where one Man hath not too much Riches, and another Man too much Poverty: Such was *Plato*'s Community, and *Lycurgus*'s and the old *Romans* Laws of Meaſuring out their Fields, their Meads, their Paſtures and Houſes, and Meting out to every one his Child's Portion. To this *Commune Bonum* (or, Every Horſe his Loaf) *Yarmouth*, in Propinquity, is as the Buckle to the Thong, and the next Finger to the Thumb; not that it is Sib, or Cater-couſin to any Mongrel *Democratia*, in which one is all, and all are one, but that, in her, as they are not all one, ſo one or two there pocket not up all the Pieces, there being two hundred in it worth three-hundred Pounds a-piece, with Poundage and Shillings to the Lurched, ſet aſide the Bailiff's four-and-twenty and eight-and-forty. Put out my Eye who can with ſuch another Brag of any Sea-town within two-hundred Miles of it. But this Common Good within itſelf is nothing to the Common Good it communicates to the whole State. Shall I particulariſe unto you *quibus viis & modis*, how and wherein? There is my Hand to't, I will do it, and this is my *Exordium:* A Town of Defence it is to the Counties of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* againſt the Enemies (ſo accounted at the firſt Granting of their Liberties) and by the natural Strength of the Situation ſo apparent, being both invironed with many Sands, and now of late, by great Charge, much more fortified, than in ancient Times. All the Realm it profiteth many Ways; as, by the free Fair of Herrings, chiefly maintained by the Fiſhermen of *Yarmouth* themſelves; by the great Plenty of ſalted Fiſh there, not ſo little two Years paſt, as four-hundred Thouſand; wherein were employed about fourſcore Sail of Barques of their own.

By the Furniſhing forth of forty Boats for Mackarel at the Spring of the Year, when all Things are deareſt, which is a great Relief to all the Country thereabouts, and, ſoon after *Bartholomew-tide*, a hundred and twenty Sail of their own for Herrings, and forty Sail of other Ships and Barques, trading *Newcaſtle*, the *Low Countries*, and other Voyages. *Norwich*, at her Majeſty's Coming in Progreſs thither, preſented her with a Shew of Knitters, on a high Stage placed for the Nonce; *Yarmouth*, if the like Occaſion were, could clap up as good a Shew of Netbraiders, or, thoſe that have no Clothes to wrap their Hides in, or Bread to put in their Mouths, but what they earn and get by Braiding of Nets (not ſo little as two-thouſand Pounds they yearly diſperſing amongſt the poor Women and Children of the Country, for the Spinning of Twine to make them with, beſides the Labour of the Inhabitants in Working them) and, for a commodious green Place, near the Sea-Shore, to mend and dry them, not *Saliſbury* Plain, or *Newmarket* Heath (tho' they have no Vicinity or Neighbourhood with the Sea, or ſcarce with any Ditch or Pond of freſh Water) may overpeer, or outcrow her, there being above five-thouſand Pounds Worth of them at a Time upon her Dens a Sunning. A convenient Key within her Haven ſhe hath, for the Delivery of Nets and Herrings, where you may lie a-float at low Water; I beſeech

you

you do not ſo in the *Thames*; many ſerviceable Mariners and Seafaring Men ſhe traineth up; but of that in the Herring.

The Marſhes and lower Grounds, lying upon the three Rivers that vagary up to her, comprehending many thouſand Acres, by the vigilant Preſervation of their Haven, are increaſed in Value more than Half, which elſe would be a *Mæotis Palus*, a Mear, or Lake of Eels, Frogs, and wild Ducks. The City of *Norwich*, as in the *Præludium* hereof I had a Twitch at, fares never the worſe for her, nor would fare ſo well, if it were not for the Fiſh of all Sorts that ſhe cloyeth her with, and the Fellowſhip of their Haven, into which their three Rivers infuſe themſelves, and through which, their Goods and Merchandiſe, from beyond Seas, are keeled up, with ſmall Coſt, to their very Threſholds, and to many good Towns on this Side, and beyond. I would be loth to build a *Labyrinth* in the Gatehouſe of my Book, for you to loſe yourſelves in, and therefor I ſhred of many Things; we will but caſt over the Bill of her Charge, and talk a Word or two of her Buildings, and break up and go to Breakfaſt with the Red-Herring. The Haven hath coſt, in theſe laſt twenty-eight Years, twenty-ſix thouſand two-hundred fifty-ſix Pounds, four Shillings, and Five-pence: Fortification and Powder, ſince *Anno* 1587, two-thouſand Marks; the Sea Service in *Anno* 1588, eight-hundred Pounds; the *Portugueſe* Voyage, a thouſand Pounds; the Voyage to *Cales* as much.

It hath loſt, by the *Dunkirkers*, a thouſand Pounds; by the *Frenchmen*, Three-thouſand; by *Wafting*, Eight-hundred; by the *Spaniards*, and other Loſſes not rated, at the leaſt, Three-thouſand more. The continual Charge of the Town, in Maintenance of their Haven, five-hundred Pounds a Year, *Omnibus annis*, for ever; the Fee-farm of the Town fifty-five Pounds, and five Pounds a Year above for *Kirtley* Road. The continual Charge of the Bridge over the Haven, their Walls, and a Number of other odd Reckonings we deal not with, towards all which they have not, in certain Revenues, above fifty or threeſcore Pounds a Year, and that is in Houſes. The yearly Charge towards the Proviſion of Fiſh for her Majeſty, one-thouſand Pounds; as for arable Matters of Tillage and Huſbandry, and Graſing of Cattle, their barren Sands will not bear them, and they get not a Beggar's Noble by one or other of them, but their whole Harveſt is by Sea.

It were to be wiſhed, that other Coaſters were ſo induſtrious as *Yarmouth*, in winning the Treaſure of Fiſh out of thoſe Profundities, and then we ſhould have twenty Eggs a Penny; and, it would be as plentiful a World as when Abbies ſtood; and now, if there be any plentiful World, it is in *Yarmouth*. Her ſumptuous Porches, and garniſhed Buildings, are ſuch, as no Port-Town in our *Britiſh* Circumference, nay, take ſome Port-Cities overplus into the Bargain, may ſuitably ſtake with, or adequate.

By the Proportion of the Eaſt-ſurpriſed *Gades*, or *Cales*, divers have tried their Cunning to configurate a twin-like Image of it, both in the correlative Analogy of the ſpan-broad Rouſe running betwixt, as alſo of the Skirt, or Lappet of Earth, whereon it ſtands, herein only limiting the Difference, That the Houſes here have not ſuch flat Cuſtard-crowns at the Top, as they have. But I, for my Part, caſt it aſide, as too obſcure a Canton to demonſtrate and take the Altitude by of ſo *Elyſian* an Habitation as *Yarmouth*. Of a bouncing, ſide-waſted Pariſh in *Lancaſhire* we have a flying Voice diſperſed, where they go nine Miles to Church every *Sunday*; but, Pariſh for Pariſh, throughout *Lancaſhire*, *Cheſhire*, or *Wingandecoy*, both for Numbers in Groſs of honeſt Houſholders, youthful, courageous, valiant Spirits, and ſubſtantial, grave Burghers, *Yarmouth* ſhall drop Vie with them, to the laſt *Edward*'s Groat they are worth. I am poſting to my propoſed Scope, or elſe I could run ten Quires of Paper out of Breath, in further traverſing her Rights and Dignities.

But of that Fraught I muſt not take in too liberally, in Caſe I want Stowage for my Red-Herring, which I rely upon as my wealthieſt Loading. Farewell, flouriſhing *Yarmouth*, and be every Day more flouriſhing than other, until the latter Day; while I have my Senſe, or Exiſtence, I will perſiſt in Loving thee, and ſo, with this abrupt Poſtſcript, I leave thee. I have not travelled far, though conferred with fartheſt Travellers, from our own Realm; I have turned over venerable *Bede*, and plenteous Beadrolls of Friary Annals following on the Back of him; *Polydore Virgil*, *Buchanan*, *Camden's Britannia*, and moſt Records of Friends, or Enemies, I have ſearched, as concerning the later Model of it; none of

the inland Parts of it, but I have traded them as frequently as the middle Walk in *Paul*'s, or my Way to Bed every Night; yet, for aught I have read, heard, or seen, *Yarmouth*, Regal *Yarmouth*, of all maritime Towns that are no more but Fisher-towns, solely reigneth, *sans peer*.

Not any where is the Word severelier practised, the Preacher reverentlier observed and honoured, Justice soundlier ministered, and a warlike People peaceablier demeanoured, betwixt this and the *Grand Cathay*, and the Strand of *Prester John*.

Adieu, adieu, ten-thousand-fold delicate Paramour of *Neptune*, the next Year my Standish may happen to address another Voyage unto thee, if this have any Acceptance. Now it is high Heaking-time, and, be the Winds never so Easterly adverse, and the Tide fled from us, we must violently tow, and hale in our redoubtable Sophy of the floating Kingdom of *Pisces*, whom so much as by Name I should not have acknowledged, had it not been that I mused, how *Yarmouth* should be invested in such Plenty and Opulence; considering, that, in Mr. *Hackluyt's English* Discoveries, I have not come in Ken of one Mizzen-mast of a Man of War bound for the *Indies*, or *Mediterranean* Stern-bearer sent from her Zenith or Meridian. Mercurial-breasted Mr. *Harborne* always accepted a rich Spark of Eternity first lighted and inkindled at *Yarmouth*, or there first bred, and brought forth to see the Light; who since, in the hottest Degrees of *Leo*, hath ecchoing noised the Name of our Island, and of *Yarmouth*, so *Tritonly*, that not an Infant of the curtailed, skin-clipping Pagans, but talk of *London* as frequently, as of their Prophet's Tomb at *Mecca*, and as much Worships or Maiden-peace, as it were but one Sun, that shined over them all. Our first Ambassador was he to the *Behemoth* of *Constantinople*; and, as *Moses* was sent from the omnipotent God of Heaven, to persuade Sultan *Pharaoh* to let the Children of *Israel* go, so, from the prepotent Goddess of the Earth, *Eliza*, was he sent to set free the *English* Captives, and open unto us the Passage into the *Red-sea* and *Euphrates*. How impetrable he was in mollifying the * adamantinest Tyranny of Mankind, and hourly Crucifier of *Jesus Christ* crucified, and Rooter up of *Palestine*; those that be scrutinous to pry into, let them revolve the Digests of our *English* Discoveries, cited up in the Precedents, and be documentised most locupletely of him, and none but him, who in Valuation is worth eighteen huge *Argus*'s full of our presentdated mishapen childish Travellers, have I took, sent, or come in the Wind of, that ever *Yarmouth* unshelled or ingendered, to weather it on till they lost the North-star, or sailed just Antipodes against us; nor, walking in the Streets so many Weeks together, could I meet with any of these swaggering Captains (Captains that wore a whole Ancient in a Scarf, which made them go Heave-shouldered, it was so boisterous) or hustitusty youthful ruffling Comrades, wearing every one three Yards of Feather in his Cap for his Mistress's Favour, such as we stumble on at each second Step at *Plymouth*, *Southampton*, and *Portsmouth*; but, an universal merchantly Formality, in Habit, Speech, and Gestures, though little Merchandise they beat their Heads about, Queen *Norwich* for that going between them and Home; at length (O, that Length of the full Point spoils me, all gentle Readers, I beseech you, pardon me) I fell a Communing hereupon with a Gentleman, a Familiar of mine, and he eftsoons defined unto me, that the Red Herring was this old *Ticklecob*, or *Magister fac totum*, that brought in the Red Ruddocks and the Grummel Seed as thick as Oatmeal, and made *Yarmouth* for Argent to put down the City of *Argentine*. Do but convert, said he, the slendrest twinkling Reflex of your Eye-sight to this flinty Ring that ingirts it, these towered Walls, port-cullissed Gates, and gorgeous Architectures that condecorate and adorn it, and then perponder of the Red-Herring's Priority and Prevalence, who is the only inexhaustible Mine that hath raised and begot all this, and, minutely to riper Maturity, fosters and cherisheth it. The Red-Herring alone it is that countervails the burthensome Detriments of our Haven, which every Twelvemonth devours a Justice of Peace's Living, in Wiers and Banks to beat off the Sand, and overthwart Ledging and Fencing it in; that defrays all Impositions and outward Payments to her Majesty (in which *Yarmouth* gives not the Wall to fix, though sixteen Moth-eaten Bur-

* The Adamant mollified with nothing but Blood.

gesses

geſs Towns, that have Daubers and Thatchers to their Mayors, challenge, in Parliament, the upper Hand of it) and for the Vaward, or Suburbs of my Narration, that impails our ſage Senators, or *Ephori*, in princely Scarlet, as pompous Oſtentive as the *Vinti quatter*, or Lady *Troynonant*; wherefore, quoth he, if there be in thee any Whit of that unquenchable ſacred Fire of *Apollo*, as all Men repute, and that *Minerva*, amongſt the Number of her Heirs, hath adopted thee, or thou wilt commend thy Muſe to Sempiternity, and have Images and Statues erected to her after her unſtringed ſilent Interment and Obſequies, rouſe thy Spirits out of this drowſy Lethargy of Melancholy they are drenched in, and wreſt them up to the moſt outſtretched airy Strain of Elocution, to chaunt and carrol forth the *Altezza* and Excelſitude of this monarchical floody *Induperator*.

Very tractable to this Lure I was trained, and put him not to the full Anviling of me with any ſound hammering Perſuaſion, in that at the firſt Sight of the Top-gallant Towers of *Yarmouth*, and a Week before he had broken any of theſe Words betwixt his Teeth, my Muſe was ardently inflamed to do it ſome Right; and how to bring it about fitter I knew not, than in the Praiſe of the Red-Herring, whoſe proper Soil and Nurſery it is. But this I muſt give you to wit, however I have took it upon me, That, never ſince I ſpouted Ink, was I of worſe Aptitude to go through with ſuch a mighty *March* Brewage as you expect, or temper you one right Cup of that ancient Wine of *Falernum*, which would laſt forty Years, or conſecrate to your Fame a perpetual Temple of the Pine-trees of *Ida*, which never rot. For, beſides the loud bellowing prodigious Flaw of Indignation, ſtirred up againſt me in my Abſence and Extermination from the upper Region of our celeſtial Regimen, which hath dung me in a Manner down to the infernal Bottom of Deſolation, and ſo troubedly bemudded with Grief and Care every Cell or Organ-pipe of my purer intellectual Faculties, that no more they conſort with any ingenious playful Merriments; of my Note-books, and all Books elſe, here in the Country, I am bereaved, whereby I might enamel and hatch over this Device more artificially and maſterly, and attire it in its true orient Varniſh and Tincture; wherefore, Heart and Good-will, a Workman is nothing without his Tools; had I my Topicks by me inſtead of my learned Council to aſſiſt me, I might, perhaps, marſhal my Terms in better Array, and beſtow ſuch coſtly Cookery on this *Marine magnifico*, as you would prefer him before Tart and Galingale, which *Chaucer* pre-eminenteſt encomioniſeth above all Junquetries or Confectionaries whatſoever.

Now you muſt accept of it as the Place ſerves, and, inſtead of Comfits and Sugar to ſtrew him with, take well in worth a Farthing-worth of Flower, to white him over and wamble him in, and I having no great Pieces to diſcharge for his Benvenue, or Welcoming in, with this Volley of Rhapſodies or Small-ſhot, he muſt reſt pacified; and ſo *ad rem*, ſpur, cut through thick and thin, and enter the triumphal Chariot of the Red-herring.

Homer of Rats and Frogs hath heroicked it; other oaten Pipers after him, in Praiſe of the Gnat, the Flea, the Haſle-nut, the Graſhopper, the Butterfly, the Parrot, the Popinjay, Philip-ſparrow, and the Cuckow; the wantoner Sort of them ſing Deſcant on their Miſtreſs's Glove, her Ring, her Fan, her Looking-glaſs, her Pantofle, and on the ſame Jury, I might impannel *Johannes Secundus*, with his Book of the Two-hundred Kinds of Kiſſes. Philoſophers come ſneaking in with their Paradoxes of Poverty, Impriſonment, Death, Sickneſs, Baniſhment, and Baldneſs; and as buſy they are about the Bee, the Stork, the conſtant Turtle, the Horſe, the Dog, the Ape, the Aſs, the Fox, and the Ferret. Phyſicians deafen our Ears with the *Honorificabilitudinitatibus* of their Heavenly *Panaceæa*, their ſovereign Guiacum, their Clyſters, their Treacles, their Mithridates compacted of forty ſeveral Poiſons, their bitter Rhubarb, and torturing *Stibium*.

The poſterior *Italian* and *German* Cornugraphers ſtick not to applaud and canonize unnatural Sodomitry, the Strumpet errant, the Gout, the Ague, the Dropſy, the Sciatica, Folly, Drunkenneſs, and Slovenry. The *Galli Gallinacei*, or cocking *French*, ſwarm every piſſing While in their primmer Editions, *Imprimeda jour duy*, of the unſpeakable healthful Conducibleneſs of the *Gomorrhan* great *Poco*, a *Poco*, their true Countryman every Inch of him, the preſcript Laws of *Tennis* or *Baloune*

(which

(which is moſt of their Gentlemen's chief Livelihoods) the Commodity of Hoarſneſs, Blear-eyes, Scabbed-hams, Thread-bare Clokes, Poached-eggs, and Panado's. Amongſt our *Engliſh* harmonious Calino's, one is up with the Excellence of the brown Bill and the long Bow; another plays his Prizes in Print, in driving it home with all Weapons, in Right of the Noble Science of Defence: A Third writes paſſing inamorately, of the Nature of White-meats, and juſtifies it under his Hand to be bought and ſold every-where, that they exceed *Nectar* and *Ambroſia*: A Fourth comes forth with Something in Praiſe of Nothing: A Fifth, of an inflamed Heal to Copperſmiths-Hall, all to betimes it of the Diverſity of red Noſes, and the Hierarchy of the Noſe *Magnificat*: A Sixth ſweeps behind the Door all earthly Felicities, and makes Baker's Maulkins of them, if they ſtand in Competency with a ſtrong Dozen of Points; Marry, they muſt be Points of the Matter, you muſt conſider, whereof the foremoſt Codpiece Point is the Crane's Proverb in painted Clothes, Fear God, and obey the King; and the reſt, ſome have Tags, and ſome have none: A Seventh ſets a Tobacco-pipe inſtead of a Trumpet to his Mouth, and of that divine Drug proclaimeth Miracles: An Eighth capers it up to the Spheres in Commendation of Dancing: A Ninth offers Sacrifice to the Goddeſs *Cloaca*, and diſports himſelf very ſcholarly and wittily about the Reformation of Cloſe-ſtools, and Houſes of Office, and Spicing and imbalming their rank Intrails, that they ſtink not. A Tenth ſets forth Remedies of toaſted Turns againſt Famine.

To theſe I might wedge in *Cornelius* the *Brabantine*, who was felonioufly ſuſpected, in 87, for penning a * Diſcourſe of *Tuftmockados*; and a Country Gentleman of my Acquaintance, who is launching forth a Treatiſe, as big garbed, as the *French* Academy of the *Cornucopia* of a Cow, and, what an advantageable Creature ſhe is, beyond all the four-footed Rabblement of Herbagers and Graſs-champers, Day nor Night, that ſhe can reſt for filing and tampering about it; as alſo a ſworn Brother of his, that ſo bangeth poor Paper, in Laud of Bag-pudding, as a *Switzer* would not believe it. Neither of their *Decads* are yet ſtamped, but, before *Midſummer* Term, they will be, if their Words be ſure Payment; and then tell me, if our *Engliſh* Sconſes be not right *Sheffield* or no.

The Application of this whole Catalogue of waſte Authors is no more but this, *Quot capita tot [illegible]æ*, So many Heads, ſo many Whirligigs; and, if all theſe have terlery-gincked it ſo frivolouſly of, they know not what, I may, *Cum gratia & privilegio*, pronounce it, that a Red-Herring is Wholeſome in a froſty Morning, and rake up ſome few ſcattered Syllables together, in the Poliſhing; Excurſions and Circumquaques, but *Totaliter appoſitum*.

That *Engliſh* Merchandiſe is moſt precious, which no Country can be without; if you aſk *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Suſſex*, or *Lemſter*, or *Cotſwold*, what Merchandiſe that ſhould be, they will anſwer you, it is the very ſame, which *Polydore Virgil* calls, *Vere aureum vellus*, The true Golden Fleece of our Wool and *Engliſh* Cloth, and nought elſe: Other ingrating Upland Cormorants will grunt out, It is *Grana paradiſi*, Our Grain or Corn that is moſt ſought after. The *Weſterners* and *Northerners*, That it is Lead, Tin, and Iron. Butter and Cheeſe, Butter and Cheeſe, ſaith the Farmer; but from every one of theſe I diſſent, and will ſtoutly abide by it, that, to trowl in Caſh throughout all Nations of *Chriſtendom*, there is no Fellow to the Red-Herring. The *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian* have Wool enough of their own, whereof they make Cloth to ſerve their Turn, though it be ſomewhat caurſer than ours. For Corn, none of the Eaſt Parts but what ſurpaſſeth us; of Lead and Tin is the moſt Scarcity in Foreign Dominions, and Plenty with us, though they are not utterly barren of them. As for Iron, about *Iſenborough*, and other Places of *Germany*, they have Quadruple the Store that we have. As touching Butter and Cheeſe, the *Hollanders* cry, By your Leave we muſt go before you; and the *Tranſalpiners*, with their lordly *Parmeſan* (ſo named of the City of *Parma*, in *Italy*, where it is firſt clout-cruſhed and made) ſhoulder in for the Upper-hand as hotly; whenas, of our appropriate Glory of the Red-Herring, no Region, betwixt the Poles Artick and Antartick, may, can, or will rebate from us one Scruple.

On no Coaſt, like ours, is it caught in ſuch Abundance, no where dreſſed in his right Cue but under our Horizon; hoſted, roaſted, and

* See the Epiſtle Commendatory, before Mr. *Samuel Daniel*'s Tranſlation of the *Empreſſes* of *Paulus Jovius*.

toaſted

toaſted here alone it is, and as well powdered and ſalted as any *Dutchman* would deſire. If you articulate with me of the Gain or Profit of it, without the which, the new ſangleſt Rarity, that no Body can boaſt of but ourſelves, after three Day's Gazing, is reverſed over to Children for Babies to play with: Behold, it is every Man's Money from the King to the Courtier; every Houſholder, or Goodman *Baltrop*, that keeps a Family in Pay, caſts for it as one of his ſtanding Proviſions. The poorer Sort make it three Parts of their Suſtenance: With it, for his Dinner, the patchedeſt *Leather pilche Laboratho* may dine like a *Spaniſh* Duke, when the niggardly Mouſe of Beef will coſt him Sixpence. In the Craft of Catching, or Taking, and Smudging it, merchant and chapmanable as it ſhould be, it ſets a Work Thouſands, who live all the reſt of the Year gaily well, by what, in ſome few Weeks they ſcratch up then, and come to bear Office of Queſtman and Scavenger in the Pariſh where they dwell; which they could never have done, but would have begged or ſtarved, with their Wives and Brats, had not this Captain of the ſquamy Cattle ſo ſtood their good Lord and Maſter: Carpenters, Shipwrights, Makers of Lines, Ropes, and Cables, Dreſſers of Hemp, Spinners of Thread, and Net-weavers it gives their Handfuls to, ſets up ſo many Salthouſes to make Salt, and Salt upon Salt; keeps in Earnings the Cooper, the Brewer, the Baker, and Numbers of other People, to gill, waſh, and pack it, and carry it and recarry it.

In Exchange of it from from other Countries, they return Wine and Woads, for which is always paid ready Gold, with Salt, Canuas, Vitre, and a great Deal of good Traſh. Her Majeſty's Tributes and Cuſtoms, this *Semper Auguſtus* of the Sea's finny Freeholders, augmenteth and inlargeth unaccountably, and, to the Increaſe of Navigation, for her Service, he is no Enemy.

Voyages of Purchaſe or Repriſals, which are now grown a common Traffick, ſwallow up and conſume more Sailors and Mariners than they breed, and lightly not a Slop of a Ropehaler they ſend forth to the Queen's Ships, but he is firſt broken to the Sea in the Herringman's Skiff or Cock-boat, where, having learned to brook all Waters, and drink as he can out of a tarry Can, and eat poor *John* out of ſmutty Platters when he may get it, without Butter or Muſtard, there is no Ho with him, but, once heartened thus, he will needs be a Man of War, or a Tobacco-taker, and wear a Silver Whiſtle. Some of theſe, for their haughty Climbing, come Home with wooden Legs, and ſome with none, but leave Body and all behind; thoſe, that eſcape to bring News, tell of Nothing but eating Tallow and young Blackamoors, of five and five to a Rat in every Meſs, and the Ship-boy to the Tail; of ſtopping their Noſes when they drunk ſtinking Water that came out of the Pump of the Ship, and cutting a greaſy Buff Jerkin in Tripes, and broiling it for their Dinners. Divers *Indian* Adventures have been ſeaſoned with direr Miſhaps, not having, for eight Days Space, the Quantity of a Candle's-end amongſt eight Score to greaſe their Lips with; and, landing in the End to ſeek Food, by the Cannibal Savages they have been circumvented, and forced to yield their Bodies to feed them.

Our mitred Archpatriarch, *Leopold Herring*, exacts no ſuch * *Muſcovian* Vaſſalage of his Liegemen, though he put them to their Trumps other Times, and ſcuppets not his Beneficence into their Mouths with ſuch freſh Water Facility, as *M. Aſcham*, in his *Schoolmaſter*, would imply. His Words are theſe, in his Cenſure upon *Varro*: *He enters not*, ſaith he, *into any great Depth of Eloquence, but, as one carried in a ſmall low Veſſel by himſelf very nigh the common Shore; not much unlike the Fiſhermen of* Rye, *or Herring-men of* Yarmouth, *who deſerve, by common Men's Opinion, ſmall Commendation for any cunning Sailing at all.* Well, he was her Majeſty's Schoolmaſter, and a St. *John*'s Man in *Cambridge*, in which Houſe once I took up my Inn for ſeven Years together lacking a Quarter, and yet love it ſtill, for it is, and ever was, the ſweeteſt Nurſe of Knowledge in all that Univerſity. Therefore I will keep fair Quarter with him, and expoſtulate the Matter more tamely. *Memorandum non ab uno*, I vary not a Minnum from him, that, in the captious Myſtery of Monſieur *Herring*, low Veſſels will not give their Heads for the Waſhing, holding their own Pell-mell in all Weathers, as roughly as vaſter Timber-men, though not ſo near the Shore, as, through Ignorance

* That is, for a Man to be his own Executioner, and, at his Prince's Beck, to go up to the Top of the Rock, and thence throw himſelf headlong. Vol. lxiii, Page 2.

of

of the Coaſt he foundeth; nor one Man by himſelf alone to do every Thing, which is the Opinion of one Man by himſelf alone, and not believed of any other. Five to one, if he were alive, I would beat againſt him, ſince one, without five, is as good as none, to govern the moſt Egg-ſhell Shallop that floateth, and ſpread her Nets, and draw them in. As ſtifly could I controvert it with him about pricking his Card ſo badly in Cape *Norfolk*, or *Sinus Yarmouthienſis*, and diſcrediting our Countrymen for Shore creepers, like theſe *Colcheſter* Oyſtermen, or Whitingmongers and Sprateatchers. *Solyman Herring*, I would you ſhould perſuade yourſelves, is loftier-minded, and keepeth more aloof than ſo; and thoſe that are his Followers, if they would ſeek him where he is, more than common Danger they muſt incur in cloſe Driving under Sands, which alternately, or betwixt Times, when he is diſpoſed to inſconſe himſelf, are his intrenching Rendezvous, or Caſtle of Retiring; and otherwiſe, forty or threeſcore Leagues in the roaring Territory, they are glad, on their wooden Horſes, to poſt after him, and ſcour it, with the *Ethiopian* Pitchboards, till they be windleſs in his Queſt and Purſuing. Returning from waiting on him, have with you to the *Adriatick*, and Abroad every where far and near, to make Port-ſail of their perfumed ſmoky Commodities, and, that Toil rocked aſleep, they are for *Ultima Theule*, the North-Seas, or *Iceland*, and thence yerk over that worthy *Palamede* Don *Pedro de Linge*, and his worſhipful Nephew *Hugo Haberdine*, and a Trundle tail Tike or Shaugh or two; and, towards *Michaelmas*, ſcud Home to catch Herring again. This argues they ſhould have ſome Experience of Navigation, and are not ſuch Halcyons to build their Neſts all on the Shore, as Mr. *Aſcham* ſuppoſeth.

Rye is one of the ancient Towns belonging to the *Cinque Ports*, yet limpeth Cinque Ace behind *Yarmouth*, and it will ſink when *Yarmouth* riſeth, and yet, if it were put in the Balance againſt *Yarmouth*, it would riſe when *Yarmouth* ſinketh; and, to ſtand thraſhing no longer about it, *Rye* is *Rye*, and no more but Rye and *Yarmouth* Wheat compared with it. Wherefore, had he been a right Clerk of the Market, he would have ſet a higher Price on the one than the other, and ſet that one of higheſt Price above the other.

Thoſe, that deſerve by common Men's Opinion ſmall Commendation for any cunning Sailing at all, are not the *Yarmouthers*; however, there is a foul Fault in the Print eſcaped, that curſedly ſquinteth and leereth that Way; but the bonny Northern Coblers of his Country, with their *Indian* Canoes, or Boats like great Beef Tubs, or Kneading Troughs, firking as light as wiſt through the glaſſy Fields of *Thetis*, as if it were the Land of Ice, and ſliding over the boiling Deſart ſo early, and never bruiſe one Bubble of it, as though they contended to outſtrip the Light-foot Tripper in the *Metamorphoſis*, who would run over the ripe-bending Ears of Corn, and never ſhed or periſh one Kernel. No ſuch Iron-fiſted *Cyclops* to hew it out of the Flint, and run through any Thing, as theſe Froſt-bitten Crab-Tree faced Lads, ſpun out of the Hards of the Tow, which are Donſel Herrings Lackies at *Yarmouth* every Fiſhing.

Let the careeringeſt Billow confeſs and abſolve itſelf, before it prick up its Briſtles againſt them; for, if it come up on their dancing Horſe, and offers to tilt it with them, they will aſk no truſtier Lances than their Oars, to beat out the Brains of it, and ſtop its Throat from Belching.

Theſe Rubs removed, on with our Game as faſt as we may, and, to the Gain of the Red Herring again, another Craſh. *Item*, if it were not for this *Huniades* of the liquid Element, that Word *Quadrageſima*, or *Lent*, might be clean ſpunged out of the Kalendar, with Rogation Week, Saints Eves, and the whole Ragman Roll of Faſting Days; and Fiſhmongers might keep *Chriſtmas* all the Year, for any overlaviſh Takings they ſhould have of Clowns and clouted Shoes, and the Rubbiſh Menialty; their beſt Cuſtomers, and their bloody Adverſaries, the Butchers, would never leave cleaving it out in the whole Chines, till they had got a Lord Mayor of their Company as well as they. Nay, out of their [illegible] they would be haunted with continual Takings, and ſtand croſs-gagged, with Knives in their Months, from one *Shrove-Tueſday* to another, and wear Candles-Ends in their Hats at *Midſummer*, having no Time to ſhave their Pricks, or waſh their Fly-blown Aprons, if *Domingo Rufus*, or *Sacrapant Herring*, cauſed not the Dice to run contrary.

The *Romiſh* rotten *Pythagoreans*, or *Carthuſian* Friars, that mump on nothing but Fiſh, in what a flegmatick Predicament would they be, did not this Counter-poiſon of the

Spit-

ſixty-fold more reſtorative than emout and preſerve them, which aſted, and dried as it is, not only rheumatick Inundations, but is n for a Pint of Wine overplus. t Smack that *Yarmouth* hads in it, it hath made it *Lippitudo Attica* (as s ſaid of *Ægina*, her near adjacent Con-onter) the Blemiſh and Stain of all her Salt-Water Siſters in *England*, and multiplied it from a Mole-Hill of Sand, to a Cloud-crowned Mount *Teneriff*, abbreviately and meetly, according to my old *Sarum* plain Song I have harped upon; and that, if there were no other Certificate, or Inſtance of the inlinked Conſanguinity betwixt him and Lady *Lucar*, is *Inſtar mille*, worth a Million of Witneſſes, to exemplify the Riches of him. The Poets were trivial, that ſet up *Helen's* Face for ſuch a top-gallant Summer May-Pole for Men to gaze at, and ſtrutted it out ſo in their buſkin Brags of her Beauty, whereof the only *Circe's* Paſs, and Repaſs, was that which drew a thouſand Ships to *Troy*, to fetch her back with a Peſtilence. Wiſe Men in *Greece*, in the mean While, to [illegible] ſo about a Whore.

Eloquious hoary Beard, Father *Neſtor*, you were one of them, and you Mr. *Ulyſſes*, the prudent Dwarf of *Pallas*, another, of whom it is *Iliadized*, that your very Noſe dropped Sugar-Candy, and that your Spittle was Honey. *Natalis Comes*, if he were above Ground, would be ſworn upon it. As loud a ringing * Miracle, as the attractive melting Eye of that Strumpet, can we ſupply them with of our Dapper *Piemont Huldrick Herring*, which draweth more Barques to *Yarmouth* Bay, than her Beauty did to *Troy*. O! he is attended upon moſt *Babylonically*, and *Xerxes* ſo evercloyed not the *Helleſpont*, with his Frigates, Gallies, and Brigantines, as he mantleth the narrow Seas, with his Retinue, being not much behind in the Checkroll of his Janiſaries and Contributories, with Eagle-ſoaring *Bullingbrook*, that at his Removing of Houſhold into Baniſhment, as Father *Froyſard* threaps us down, was accompanied with forty-thouſand Men, Women, and Children weeping, from *London* to the Land's End, at *Dover*. A Colony of critical *Zenos*, ſhould they ſinew their ſyllogiſtical Cluſter-fiſts in one Bundle, to confute and diſprove Moving, were they but, during the Time they might lap up a Meſs of buttered Fiſh, in *Yarmouth* one Fiſhing, ſuch a violent Motion of toiling *Myrmidons* they ſhould be Spectators of, and a confuſed Stirring to and fro of a † *Lepanto* like Hoſt of unfatigable Flood-bickerers, and Foam-curbers, that they would not move or ſtir one Foot, till they had diſclaimed and abjured their bedrid Spittle Poſitions. In Truth and Sincerity, I never crowded through this confluent Herring Fair, but it put me in Memory of the great Year of Jubilee, in *Edward the Third's* Time, in which it is ſealed and delivered under the Hands of a publick Notary, three-hundred Thouſand People roamed to *Rome*, for Purgatory Pills, and paternal venial Benedictions, and the Ways beyond Sea were ſo bunged up with your daily Orators or Beads-men, and your Crutched and Crouched Friars or Croſs-creepers and bare-foot Penitentaries, that a Snail could not wriggle in her Horns betwixt them. Small Things we may expreſs by great, and great by ſmall; though the Greatneſs of the Red-Herring be not ſmall, as ſmall a Hop on my Thumb as he ſeemeth. It is with him, as with great Perſonages, which from their high Eſtate, and not their high Statures, propagate the elevated Titles of their *Gogmagogs*. Caſt his State, who will, and they ſhall find it to be very high-coloured, as high-coloured as his Complexion, if I ſaid there were not a Pimple to be abated. In *Yarmouth*, he hath ſet up his State-Houſe, where, one Quarter of a Year, he keeps open Court for *Jews* and *Gentiles*.

To fetch him in, in ‡ *Trojan* Equipage, ſome of every of the Chriſt-Croſs Alphabet of outlandiſh *Coſmopolis* furrow up the rugged Brine, and ſweep through his tumultuous Ooze, will or nill he, rather than, in tendering their Allegiance, they ſhould be benighted with Tardity. For our *Engliſh Microcoſmos* or *Phœnician Dido's* Hide of Ground, no Shire, County, Count Palatine, or Quarter of it, but rigs out ſome oaken Squadron or other to waft him along ‖ *Cleopatræan* § *Olympickly*, and not the leaſt Nook or Crevice of them, but is parturi-

* In old Time, they uſed to ring out at any Miracle. † The Sea Battle at *Lepanto* fought in the Beginning of her Majeſty's Reign. ‡ The fatal wooden Horſe at *Troy*, fetched in with ſuch Pomp. ‖ *Cleopatra's* glorious Sailing to meet *Anthony*. § The ſolemn Bringing of the Champions at *Olympus*.

ent of the like Superofficiouſneſs *, arming forth, though it be but a Catch or Pink no capabler than a Rundlet or Waſhing-bowl, to imp the Wings of his Convoy. Holy St. *Taurbard*, in what Droves, the gouty-bagged *Londoners* hurry down, and dye the Watchet Air of an Iron Ruſſet Hue with the Duſt, that they raiſe in hot-ſpurred Rowelling it on to perform Compliments unto him? One Beck more, to the Bailiffs of the *Cinque-Ports*, whom I was a ruder Barbarian than *Smill*, the Prince of the *Crims* and *Nagayans*, if in this Action, I ſhould forget (having had good Chear at their Tables, more than once or twice, whilſt I loitered in this paragonleſs Fiſh-Town) City, Town, or Country. *Robin Hood* and little *John* and who not, are induſtrious and careful to eſquire and ſafe conduct him in; but in Uſhering him in, next to the Bailiffs of *Yarmouth*, they trot before all, and play the Provoſt Marſhals, helping to keep good Rule, the firſt three Weeks of his Ingreſs, and never leave Roaring it out with their braſen Horn, as long as they ſtay, of the Freedoms and Immunities fourcing from him. Being thus entered or brought in, the Conſiſtorians, orſettled Standers of *Yarmouth*, commence inteſtine Wars amongſt themſelves, who ſhould give him the largeſt Hoſpitality, and gather about him, as flocking to hanſel him, and ſtrike him good Luck, as the Sweetkin Madams did about valiant Sir *Walter Manny*, the Martial Tutor unto the *Black Prince*, he that built the *Charter-Houſe*; who being upon the Point of a hazardous Journey into *France*, either to win the Horſe, or loſe the Saddle (as it runs in the Proverb) and taking his Leave at Court, in a Suit of Mail from Top to Toe, all the Ladies clung about him, and would not let him ſtretch out a Step, till they had fettered him, with their variable Favours, and embroidered over his Armour, like a gaudy Summer Mead, with three Scarfs, Bracelets, Chains, and Ouches; in generous Regard whereof he ſacramentally obliged himſelf, That had the *French* King as many Giants in his Country, as he hath Pears or Grapes, and they ſtood all inraged on the Shore to hinder his Diſembarking, through the thickeſt thorny Quickſet of them, he would pierce, or be toſt up to Heaven, on their Spears; but, in Honour of thoſe debonair *Idalian* Nymphs and their ſpang[illegible] he would be the firſt Man ſho[illegible] his Kingdom, or unſheath Stee[illegible] As he promiſed, ſo was his † [illegible] Execution, and in Emulation o[illegible] Herds of Knights and Gentlemen [illegible] their right Eyes with a Piece of Sa[illegible] one, and vowed never to uncover them, o[illegible] them ſee Light, till, in the Advancement o[illegible] their Miſtreſſes Beauties, they had enacted with their brandiſhed *Bilboa* Blades ſome chivalrous *Bellerophon*'s Trick at Arms, that, from *Salomon*'s Iſlands to St. *Magnus* Corner, might cry, Clang again. O! it was a brave Age then, and ſo it is ever, where there are offenſive Wars, and not defenſive, and Men fight for the Spoil, and not in Fear to be ſpoiled, and are as Lions, ſeeking out their Prey, and not as Sheep, that lie ſtill, whilſt they are preyed on. The Red-Herring is a Legate of Peace, and ſo abhorrent from unnatural Blood-ſhed, that if, in his Quarrel or Bandying, who ſhould harbing him, there be any Hewing or Slaſhing, or Trials of Life and Death there, where that Hangman, Embowelling, is, his Purſuivants or Bailiffs return, *Non eſt inventus*; out of one Bamwick he is fled, never to be faſtened on there more. The *Scotch* Jockies, or *Red-ſhanks* (ſo ſirnamed of their immoderate Maunching up the Red-Shanks, or Red-Herrings) uphold and make good the ſame; their Clack or Gabbling to this Purport: 'How, *in diebus illis*, 'when *Robert de Breaux*, their gud King, 'ſent his deare Heart to the *Haly Land*, for 'Reaſon he caud not gang thider himſelf (or 'then, or thereabout, or whilome before, or 'whilome after, it matters not) they had the 'Staple or Fruits of the Herring in their 'Road or Channel, till a foule ill Feud aroſe 'amongſt his Sectaries and Servitours; and 'there was mickle Tule, and a black W[illegible]ld 'and a Deale of Whinyards drawne about 'him, and many ſackleſſe Wights and pra[illegible] 'Barnes run through the tender Weambs; 'and, fra thence, ne farry Taile of a Herring 'in thilke Sound they caud gripe.' This Language, or Parley, have I uſurped from ſome of the defteſt Lads in all *Edinburgh*-Town; which it will be no Impeachment for the Wiſeſt to turn looſe for a Truth, without any diffident Wreſtling with it. The Sym-

* Togging forth by the Strength of their Arms. ‡ the *Manny's* of *Kent* are deſcended.

† *Manny* quaſi *Manly*, and from him, I take

pathy

in our own frothy Streams napping; wherefore, without ſtering or Backing, this *Scotch* bear the Palm; and, if any ring or Backing be required, it by the Confeſſion of the ſix-hun- Witches executed in *Scotland* at *Bolomew-tide* was Twelvemonth, that, in *Yarmouth* Road, they were all together in a Plump on *Chriſtmas-eve* was two Years, when the great Flood was, and there ſtirred up ſuch *Ternado's* and *Furicano's* of Tempeſts (in Envy, as I collect) that the Staple of the Herring from them was tranſlated to *Yarmouth*, as will be ſpoken of there, whilſt any Winds, or Storms and Tempeſts chaſe and puff in the lower Region. They, and all the ſea-faring Towns under our temperate Zone of Peace, may well envy her Proſperity, but they cannot march Cheek by Jowl with her, or co-equal her; and there is no ſuch manifeſt Sign of great Proſperity, as a general Envy encompaſſing it. Kings and Noblemen it cleaves unto, that walk upright, and are any thing happy; and even amongſt mean Artificers it thruſts in its Foot, one of them envying another, if he have a Knack above another, or his Gains be greater; and, if in his Art they cannot diſgrace him, they will find a Starting-hole in his Life, that ſhall confound him: For Example: There is a * mathematical Smith, or Artificer, in *Yarmouth*, that hath made a Lock and Key that weighs but three Farthings; and a Cheſt, with a Pair of knit Gloves in the Till thereof, whoſe whole Poiſe is no more but a Groat. Now I do not think, but all the Smiths in *London*, *Norwich*, or *York*, if they heard of him, would envy him, if they could not out-work him. *Hydra* Herring will have every Thing † *Sybarite* dainty, where he lays Knife a-board, or he will fly them, he will not look upon them. Stately-born, ſtately-ſprung he is, the beſt Blood of the *Ptolemies* no ſtatelier; and, with what State he hath been uſed from his Swaddling-clouts, I have reiterated unto you; and, which is a Note above *Ela*, ſtately *Hyperion*, or the lordly Sun, the moſt rutilant Planet of the ſeven, in *Lent*, when *Heralius Herring* enters into his chief Reign and Scepterdom, ſkippeth and danceth the Goat's Jump on the Earth, for Joy of its Entrance. Do but mark him on your Walls, any Morning at that ſeaſon, how he ſallies and ſavantoes, and you will ſay I am no Fabler. Of ſo eye-bewitching, a deaurate, ruddy Dye is the Skin-coat of this Landſgrave, that happy is that Nobleman, who, for his Colours in Armoury, can neareſt imitate his chymical Temper. Nay, which is more, if a Man ſhould tell you, that the God *Hymen*'s ſaffron-coloured Robe were made of nothing but Red-Herrings Skins, you would hardly believe him. Such is the Obduracy and Hardneſs of Heart of a Number of Infidels, in theſe Days, they will tear Herrings out of their Skins, as faſt as one of theſe *Exchequer* Tellers can turn over a Heap of Money; but his Vertues, both exterior and interior, they have no more Taſte of, than of a Diſh of Stock-fiſh. Somewhere I have ſnatched up a Jeſt of a King, that was deſirous to try what Kind of Fleſh-meat was moſt nutritive and proſperous with a Man's Body; and, to that Purpoſe, he commanded four hungry Fellows, in four ſeparate Rooms by themſelves to be ſhut up for a Year and a Day; whereof the Firſt ſhould have his Gut bombaſted with Beef, and nothing elſe, till he cried *Hold, Belly, hold*; and ſo the Second to have his Paunch crammed with Pork, the Third with Mutton, and the Fourth with Veal. At the Twelvemonth's End they were brought before him, and he inquired of every one orderly, What he had eat? Thereupon outſtepped the ſtall-fed Foreman, that had been at Hoſt with the fat Ox, and was grown as fat as an Ox with Tiring on the Sir-loins, and baſt in his Face, *Beef, Beef, Beef.* Next, the *Norfolk* Hog, or Swine-worrier, who had got him a ſagging Pair of Cheeks, like a Sow's Paps that gives Suck, with the plentiful Maſte ſet before him, came lazily waddling in, and puffed out, *Pork, Pork, Pork.* Then the ſly Sheep-biter iſſued into the Midſt, and ſommerſetted and flipflapped it twenty Times above-ground as light as a Feather, and cried, *Mutton, Mutton, Mutton.* Laſt, the *Eſſex* Calf, or Lag-man, who had loſt the Calves of his Legs by gnawing on the Horſe-legs, ſhuddering and quaking, limped after, with a Viſage as pale as a Piece of white Leather, and a Staff in his Hand, and an Handkerchief on his Head, and very lamentably

* *John Thurkle.*

† The *Sybarites* never would make any Banquet, under a Twelvemonth's Warning.

vociferated,

viſcerated, *Veal*, *Veal*, *Veal*. A witty Toy of his noble Grace it was, and different from the Recipe's and Preſcriptions of modern Phyſicians, that to any ſick Languiſhers, if they be able to waggle their Chaps, propound Veal for one of the higheſt Nouriſhers.

But, had his Principality gone thorough with Fiſh as well as Fleſh, and put a Man to Livery with the Red-herring but as long, he would have come in * *Hurrey*, *Hurrey*, *Hurrey*, as if he were harrying and chacing his Enemies; and *Bevis* of *Hampton*, after he had been out of his Diet, ſhould not have been able to have ſtood before him. A cholerick Parcel of Food it is, that whoſo ties himſelf to Rack and Manger to for five Summers, and five Winters, he ſhall beget a Child that will be a Soldier and a Commander before he hath caſt his firſt Teeth; and an *Alexander*, a *Julius Cæſar*, a *Scanderbeg Barbaroſſa*, he will prove e're he aſpire to Thirty.

But to think on a Red-herring, ſuch a hot ſtirring Meat it is, is enough to make the craveneſt Daſtard proclaim Fire and Sword againſt *Spain*: The moſt itinerant Virgin Wax Phiſnomy, that taints his Throat with the leaſt Rib of it; it will imbrawn and iron-cruſt his Fleſh, and harden his ſoft bleeding Veins as ſtiff and robuſtious as Branches of Coral. The Art of kindling of Fires, that is practiſed in the Smoaking or Parching of him, is old Dog againſt the Plague: Too foul-mouthed I am, to becollow, or becollier him, with ſuch Chimney-ſweeping Attributes of Smoaking and Parching. Will you have the Secret of it? This well-meaning *Pater patriæ*, and Provedditor and Supporter of *Yarmouth*, which is the Lock and Key of *Norfolk*, looking pale and ſea ſick at his firſt Landing, thoſe that be his Stewards, or neceſſarieſt Men about him, whirl him, in a Thought, out of the raw cold Air, to ſome Stew or Hot-houſe, where immuring himſelf for three or four Days, when he un-houſeth him, or hath caſt off his Shell, he is as freckled about the Gills, and looks as red as a Fox, clummy, and is more ſurly to be ſpoken with than ever he was before; and, like *Lais* of *Corinth*, will ſmile upon no Man, except he may have his own Asking. There are that Number of Herrings vented out of *Yarmouth* every Year, though the Grammarians make no [redacted] *Halec*, as not only they are [redacted] thouſand Laſts than our own [redacted] but they fill all other Lands, to [redacted] own Prices, they ſell them, a[redacted] that can [redacted]lay Hold of them. [redacted] can it be otherwiſe? For if *Corniſh* [redacted] otherwiſe called Fumado's, taken on the [redacted] of *Cornwall*, from *July* to *November*, be [redacted] ſaleable as they are in *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, which are but Counterfeits to the Red-herring, as Copper to Gold, or Ockamy to Silver; much more their Elbows itch for Joy, when they meet with the true Gold, the true Red-Herring itſelf. No true Flying-fiſh but he; or if there be, that Fiſh never flies but when his Wings were wet, and the Red-Herring flies beſt when his Wings are dry; throughout *Belgia*, High *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy* he flies; and up into *Greece* and *Africa*, South, and Southweſt, Oſtrich-like, walks his Stations; and the Sepulchre Palmers or Pilgrims, becauſe he is ſo portable, fill their Scrips with them: Yea, no Diſpraiſe to the Blood of the *Ottomans*, the *Nabuchedoneſor* of *Conſtantinople*, and giantly *Antæus*, that never yawneth nor ſneeſeth but he affrighteth the whole Earth, gormandiſing, muncheth him up for Imperial Dainties, and will not ſpare his Idol *Mahomet* a Bit with him, no not though it would fetch him from Heaven forty Years before his Time; whence with his Dove, that he taught to peck Barley out of his Ear, and brought his Diſciples into a Fool's Paradiſe, that it was the Holy Ghoſt in her Similitude, he is expected every Minute to deſcend; but, I am afraid, as he was troubled with the Falling-ſickneſs in his Life-time, in like Manner it took him in his Mounting up to Heaven, and ſo *ab inferno nulla redemptio*, he is fallen backward into Hell, and they are never more like to hear of him. Whilſt I am ſhuffling and cutting with theſe long-coated *Turks*, would any Antiquary would explicate unto me this Remblere, or Quiddity: Whether thoſe † Turbanto Grout-heads, that hang all Men by the Throats on iron Hooks, even as our Towers hang all their Herrings by the Throats on wooden Spits, firſt learned it of our Herring-men, or our Herring-men of them? Why the Alchoranſhip of that *Beel-*

* As much to ſay as *Yrrey*, *Yrrey*, *Yrrey* one of the principal Places where the Herring is caught.
† *Turbans*, the great Lawn Roll, which the *Turks* wear about their Heads.

Zebub

[redacted]*os Zelim* afore-[redacted]ght in this ſhiny [redacted] except he had a De-[redacted]*idas* in Eating of Gold, or [redacted]ping of *Jupiter* of his golden [redacted] ſhoot my Fool's Bo[redacted] amongſt [redacted]able of *Midas*'s Eating Gold had [redacted] Shadow, or incluſive Pith in it, [redacted]e was of a queaſy Stomach, and nothing [redacted]e could fancy, but this new-found gilded Fiſh, which *Bacchus*, at his Requeſt, gave him, tho' it was not known here two-thouſand Years after, for it was the Delicates of the Gods, and no mortal Food, till of late Years. *Midas*, unexperienced of the Nature of it, for he was a Fool, and had Aſs's Ears, ſnapped it up at one Blow, and, becauſe in the Boiling or Seething it in his Maw, he felt it commotion a little and upbraid him, he thought he had eaten Gold *indeed*, and thereupon directed his Orizons to *Bacchus* afreſh, to help it out of his Crop again, and have Mercy upon him and recover him; he, propenſive and inclining to *Midas*'s Devotion in every Thing, in Lieu of the friendly Hoſpitalities, drunken *Silenus*, his Companion, found at his Hands when he ſtrayed away from him, bad him but go and waſh himſelf in the River *Pactolus*, that is, go waſh it down ſoundly with flowing Cups of Wine, and he ſhould be as well as ever he was. By the Turning of the River *Pactolus* into Gold, after he had rinſed and clarified himſelf in it, which is the Cloſe of the Fiction, is ſignified, that, in Regard of that bleſſed Operation of the Juice of the Grape in him, from that Day forth, in Nothing but golden Cups, he would drink or quaff it; whereas, in wooden Mazers, and *Agathocles* earthen Stuff, they trilled it off before, and that was the firſt Time that any golden Cups were uſed.

Follow this Tract in expounding the Tale [redacted] *Dionyſius* and *Jupiter*. No ſuch *Jupiter*, no [redacted] golden-coated Image was there; but it was a plain, golden-coated Red-Herring without Welt or Garde, whom, for the Strangeneſs of it (they having never beheld a Beaſt of that Hue before) in their Temples inſhrined for a God; and, inſomuch as *Jupiter* had ſhewed them ſuch ſlippery Pranks more than once or twice, in Shifting himſelf into ſundry Shapes, and raining himſelf down in Gold into a Woman's Lap, they thought this too might be a a Trick of Youth in him, to alter himſelf into the Form of this golden *Scali-ger*, or Red-Herring. And therefore, as to *Jupiter*, they fell down on their Marrow-bones, and lifted up their Hay-cromes unto him. Now, King *Dionyſius* being a good wiſe Fellow, for he was afterwards a Schoolmaſter, and had plaid the Coachman to *Plato*, and ſpit in *Ariſtippus* the Philoſopher's Face, many a Time and oft, no ſooner entered their Temple, and ſaw him ſit under his Canopy ſo budgly, with a whole Goldſmith's Stall of Jewels and rich Offerings at his Feet, but to him he ſtepped, and plucked him from his State with a Wennion; then, drawing out his Knife moſt iracundiouſly, at one Whiſk lopped off his Head, and ſtripped him out of his golden Demy or Mandillion, and ſlead him, and thruſt him down his Pudding-Houſe at a Gobb; yet, long it proſpered not with him, ſo revengeful a juſt *Jupiter* is the Red-Herring, for, as he tore him from his Throne, and uncaſed him of his Habiliments, ſo, in a ſmall Revolution of Years, from his Throne he was chaced, and clean ſtripped of his Royalty and, glad to play the Schoolmaſter at *Corinth*, and take a Rod in his Hand for his Scepter, and Horn-book *Pigmies* for his Subjects, *id eſt* (as I intimated ſome Dozen Lines before, of a Tyrant, to become a frowning Pedant, or Schoolmaſter.

Many of you have read theſe Stories, and could never pick out any ſuch *Engliſh*; no more would you of the *Iſmael Perſians Haly*, or *Mortuus Alli*, they worſhip, whoſe true Etymology is, *mortuum halec*, a dead Red-Herring, and no other, though, by Corruption of Speech, they falſe dialect and miſs-ſound it. Let any *Perſian* oppugn this, and, in Spite of his hairy Tuft, or Love-lock he leaves on, the Top of his Crown, to be pulled up, or pullied up to Heaven by, I will ſet my Foot to his, and fight it out with him, that their ſopperly God is not ſo good as a Red-Herring. To recount *ab ovo*, or from the Church-book of his Birth, how the Herring firſt came to be a Fiſh, and then, how he came to be King of Fiſhes, and gradually, how from White to Red he changed, would require as maſſy a Tome as *Hollinſhead*; but, in half a Penniworth of Paper, I will epitomiſe them. Let me ſee, Hath any Body in *Yarmouth* heard of *Leander* and *Hero*, of whom divine *Muſæus* ſung, and a diviner Muſe than him, *Kit Marlow?*

Two faithful Lovers they were, as every Apprentice in *Paul*'s Churchyard will tell you for your Love, and ſell you for your Money:

The

The one dwelt at *Abydos* in *Asia*, which was *Leander*; the other, which was *Hero*, his Mistress, or *Delia*, at *Sestos* in *Europe*, and she was a pretty Pinkany and *Venus*'s Priest; and, but an Arm of the Sea divided them: It divided them, and it divided them not, for over that Arm of the Sea could be made a long Arm. In their Parents the most Division rested; and their Towns, that, like *Yarmouth* and *Leostoff*, were still at Wrig Wrag, and sucked from their Mother's Teats serpentine Hatred one against each other; which drove *Leander*, when he durst not deal above-board, or be seen a-board any Ship, to sail to his Lady dear, to play the Didopper and ducking Water-spaniel to swim to her, nor that in the Day, but by Owl-light.

What will not blind Night do for blind *Cupid?* And what will not blind *Cupid* do in the Night, which is his Blindman's Holiday? By the Sea-side on the other Side, stood *Hero*'s Tower; such an other Tower as one of our *Irish* Castles, that is not so wide as a Belfry, and a Cobler cannot jert out his Elbows in; a Cage or Pigeon-house, roomsome enough to comprehend her, and the toothless Trot her Nurse, who was her only Chatmate and Chambermaid; consultively by her Parents being so incloistered from Resort, that she might live a chaste Vestal Priest to *Venus*, the Queen of Unchastity. She would none of that she thanked them, for she was better provided, and that, which they thought served their Turn best, of Sequestering her from Company, served her Turn best to embrace the Company she desired. Fate is a Spaniel that you cannot beat from you; the more you think to cross it, the more you bless it, and further it.

Neither her Father nor Mother vowed Chastity when she was begot; therefore she thought they begat her not to live chaste, and either she must prove herself a Bastard, or shew herself like them. Of *Leander* you may write upon, and it is written upon, she liked it well; and, for all he was a naked Man, and clean dispoiled to the Skin, when he sprawled through the brackish Suds to scale her Tower, all the Strength of it could not hold him out. O ware a naked Man, *Cytherea*'s Nuns had no Power to resist him; and some such Quality is ascribed to the Lion. Were he never so naked when he came to her, because he should not scathe her, she found a Means to cover him in her Bed; and, that he might not take Cold after his Swimming, she lay close by him to

fling, or Bopeep

While, without Wean

Nurse (as there be three Thi

Kind, till they be old, a Bawd

a Midwife) executed the huck

her Years, very charily and circum

their sliding Stars revolted from then

then, for seven Days together, the Wind

the *Hellespont* contended which should howl louder; the Waves dashed up the Clouds, and the Clouds, on the other Side, spit and drivelled upon them as fast.

Hero wept as trickling as the Heavens, to think that Heaven should so divorce them. *Leander* stormed worse than the Storms, that, by them, he should be so restrained from his *Cynthia*. At *Sestos* was his Soul, and he could not abide to tarry in *Abydos*. Rain, Snow, Hail, or blow it how it could, into the pitchy *Hellespont* he leapt, when the Moon and all Torch-Bearers were afraid to peep out their Heads; but he was peppered for it; he had as good have took Meat, Drink, and Leisure, for the churlish, frampoled Waves gave him his Belly-full of Fish-Broth, before, out of their Laundry or Wash-House they would grant him his Coquet, or *Transire*; and not only that, but they sealed him his *Quietus est*, for Curveting any more to the *Maiden Tower*, and tossed his dead Carcase, well bathed or parboiled, to the sandy Threshold of his Lemon or Orange, for a Disjune, or Morning Breakfast. All that live long Night could she not sleep, she was so troubled with the Rheum, which was a Sign she should hear of some Drowning: Yet, towards Cock-crowing, she caught a little Slumber, and then she dreamed, that *Leander* and she were playing at Check-stone, with Pearls, in the Bottom of the Sea.

You may see Dreams are not so vain as they are preached of, though, not in vain, Preachers inveigh against them, and bend themselves out of People's Minds, to exhale their foolish Superstition. The Rheum is the Student's Disease, and who study most dream most. The Labouring Men's Hands glow and blister after their Day's Work: The Glowing and Blistering of our Brains, after our Day-labouring Cogitations, are Dreams, and those Dreams are raking Vapours of no Impressions, if your matchless Couches be not half empty. *Hero* hoped, and therefore she dreamed (as all Hope

is

was where her inding, and turn- might wind her Heart or elſe turn him from her. th combated in her, and both ul, which made he[r] at Break at an old Crone is the Day, that is a Breaking?) to unloop her Luket, or ment, to look whence the Blaſts came, or what Gait or Pace the Sea kept, when forthwith her Eyes bred her Eye-Sore, the firſt White, whereon their tranſpiercing Arrows ſtuck, being the breathleſs Corpſe of *Leander*; with the ſudden Contemplation of this piteous Spectacle of her Love, ſodden to Haddock's Meat, her Sorrow could not chooſe but be indefinite, if her Delight in him were but indifferent; and there is no Woman but delights in Sorrow, or ſhe would not uſe it ſo lightly for every Thing.

Down ſhe ran in her looſe Night-Gown, and her Hair about her Ears (even as *Semiramis* ran out with her Lye-Pot in her Hand, and her black dangling Treſſes about her Shoulders, with her Ivory Comb inſnarled in them, when ſhe heard that *Babylon* was taken) and thought to have *kiſſed his dead* Corpſe alive again; but as, on his blue-jellied Sturgeon Lips, ſhe was about to clap one of thoſe warm Plaiſters, boiſterous Wool-Packs of ridged Tides came rolling in, and forced him from her (with a Mind belike to carry hi[m] back to *Abydos.*) At that ſhe became a frantick *Bacchanal* outright, and made no more Bones, but ſprang after him, and ſo reſigned up her Prieſthood, and left Work for *Muſæus* and *Kit Marlow*. The Gods and Goddeſſes, all on a Row, Bread and Crow, from *Ops* to *Pomona*, the firſt Apple-Wife, were ſo dumped with this miſerable Wreck, that they began to abhor all Moiſture for the Sea's Sake; and *Jupiter* could not endure *Ganymede*, his Cup-bearer, to come in his Preſence, both for the Diſlike he bore to *Neptune*'s baneful Liquor, as alſo that he was ſo like to *Leander*. The Sun was ſo in his Mumps upon it, that it was almoſt Noon before he could go to Cart that Day, and then with ſo ill a Will he went, that he had thought to have toppled his burning Car, or Hurly-Curry into the Sea (as *Phaeton* did) to ſcorch it and dry it up; and at Night, when he was begrimmed with Duſt and Sweat of his Journey, he would not deſcend as he was wont, to waſh him in the Ocean, but under a Tree laid him down to reſt in his Cloaths all Night; and ſo did the ſcowling Moon under another, hard by him, which of that are behighted the Trees of the Sun and Moon, and are the ſame that Sir *John Maundeville* tells us, he ſpoke with, and that ſpoke to *Alexander*. *Venus*, for *Hero* was her Prieſt, and *Juno Lucina* the Midwife's Goddeſs, for ſhe was now quickned, and caſt away by the Cruelty of *Æolus*, took Bread and Salt, and eat it, that they would be ſmartly revenged on that truculent windy Jailor; and they forgot it not, for *Venus* made his Son and his Daughter to commit Inceſt together. *Lucina*, that there might be ſome laſting Characters of his Shame, helped to bring her to Bed of a goodly Boy, and *Æolus*, bolting out all this, heaped Murder upon Murder.

The Dint of Deſtiny could not be repealed in the Reviving of *Hero* and *Leander*; but their heavenly Hood, in their Synod, thus decreed, that, as they were either of them Sea-borderers, and crowned in the Sea, ſtill to the Sea they muſt belong, and be divided in Habitation after Death, as they were in their Life-time. *Leander*, for that in a cold, dark, teſty Night he had his Paſsport to *Charon*, they terminated to the unquiet, cold Coaſt of *Iceland*, where half the Year is nothing but dark Night, and to that Fiſh tranſlated him, which with us is termed *Ling*. *Hero*, for that ſhe was pagled and tympaniſed, and ſuſtained two Loſſes under one, they foot-balled their Heads together, and proteſted to make the Stem of her, Loins of all Fiſhes, the ſtanting *Fabian* or *Palmerin* of *England*, which is *Cadwallader Herring*; and as their Meetings were but ſeldom, and not ſo often as welcome, ſo but ſeldom ſhould they meet in the Heel of the Week, at the beſt Men's Tables, upon *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, the holy Time of *Lent* exempted, and then they might be at Meat and Meal for ſeven Weeks together.

The Nurſe or Mother Mampudding, that was a Cowring on the Back-ſide, whilſt theſe Things were a Tragediſing, led by the Scretch or Outcry, to the Proſpect of this ſorrowful Heigho; as ſoon as, through the ravelled Button Holes of her blear Eyes, ſhe had ſucked in and received ſuch a Revelation of Doomſday, and that ſhe ſaw her Miſtreſs mounted a Cock-horſe, and hoiſted away to Hell or to Heaven, on the Backs of thoſe rough-headed Ruffians, down ſhe ſunk to the Earth, as dead as a Door Nail,

Nail, and never mumped Cruſt after. Whereof their Supernalities (having a Drop or two of Pity left of the huge Hogſhead of Tears, they ſpent for *Hero* and *Leander*) ſeemed to be ſomething ſorry, though they could not weep for it; and becauſe they would be ſure to have a Medicine, that ſhould make them weep at all Times, to that Kind of Grain they turned her, which we call Muſtard-ſeed, as well for that ſhe was a ſhrewiſh ſnappiſh Bawd, that would bite off a Man's Noſe with an Anſwer, and had rheumatick ſore Eyes, that ran always, as that ſhe might accompany *Hero* and *Leander*, after Death, as in her Life-time; and hence it is, that Muſtard bites a Man ſo by the Noſe, and makes him weep and water his Plants, when he taſteth it: And that *Hero* and *Leander*, the Red-Herring and Ling, never come to the Board without Muſtard, their Waiting-maid: And if you mark it, Muſtard looks of the tanned Wainſcot Hue, of ſuch a withered wrinkle-faced Beldam, as ſhe was, that was altered thereinto. Loving *Hero*, however altered, had a Smack of Love ſtill, and therefore to the Coaſt of *Lovingland* (to *Yarmouth* near adjoining, and within her Liberties of *Kirtley* Road) ſhe accuſtomed to come in Pilgrimage, every Year; but Contentions ariſing there, and ſhe remembering the Event of the Contentions betwixt *Seſtos* and *Abydos*, that wrought both *Leander*'s Death and her's, ſhunneth it of late, and retireth more Northwards; ſo ſhe ſhunneth unquiet *Humber*, becauſe *Elſtred* was drowned there, and the *Scots* Seas, as before; and every other Sea where any Blood hath been ſpilt, for her own Sea's Sake, that ſpilt her ſweet Sweetheart's Blood and her's.

Whippet, turn to a new Leſſon, and ſtrike we up *John* for the King, or tell how the Herring ſcrambled up to be King of all Fiſhes. So it fell upon a Time and Tide, though not upon a Holiday; a Faulconer bringing over certain Hawks out of *Ireland*, and airing them above Hatches on Ship board, and giving them Stones to caſt and ſcour, one of them broke looſe from his Fiſt, before he was aware, which being in her Kingdom, when ſhe was got upon her Wings, and finding herſelf empty gorged, after her Caſting; up to Heaven ſhe towered to ſeek Prey, but there being no Game to pleaſe her, down ſhe fluttered to the Sea again, and, a ſpeckled Fiſh playing above the Water, at it ſhe ſtruck, miſtaking it for a Partridge. A Shark or Tuberon, that lay gaping for the flying Fiſh har[redacted] ſeeing the Mark fa[redacted] a-loft, and ſnapped [redacted] Mouthful. The News of t[redacted] being carried by the King's [redacted] of the Land Fowls, there was No[redacted] Arm, Arm, to Sea, to Sea, Swa[redacted] mouſe, to take Chaſtiſement of that [redacted] of Blood and Death, committed againſt a [redacted] of their Blood Royal. Preparation was made, the Muſter taken, the Leaders allotted, and had their Bills to take up Pay; an old Goſhawk for General was appointed, for Marſhal of the Field a Sparhawk, whom, for no former Deſert, they put in Office, but becauſe it was one of their Lineage had ſuſtained that Wrong, and they thought they would be more implacable in Condoling and Commiſerating. The Peacocks with their ſpotted Coats and affrighting Voices, for Heralds, they pricked and enliſted; and the cockadoodling Cocks, for their Trumpeters (look upon any Cock, and look upon any Trumpeters, and ſee if he look not as red as a Cock, after his Trumpeting, and a Cock as red as he, after his Crowing.) The Kiſtrils or Windſuckers, that, filling themſelves with Wind, fly againſt the Wind evermore, for their full-failed Standard-bearers; the Cranes for Pikemen, and the Woodcocks for Demilances; and ſo of the reſt every one, according to that Place, by Nature, he was moſt apt for. Away to the Land's End they trig all the Sky-bred Chirpers of them; when they came there, *Æquora nos terrent & ponti triſtis imago.* They had Wings of Good-will to fly with, but no Webs on their Feet to ſwim with; for, except the Water Fowls had Mercy upon them, and ſtood their faithful Confederates and Back-Friends, on their Backs to tranſport them, they might return Home, like good Fools, and gather Straws to build their Neſts, or fall to their old Trade of picking Worms. In Sum, to the Water Fowls unanimouſly they recourſe, and beſought Duck, and Drake, Swan and Gooſe, Halcyons and Sea-pies, Cormorants and Sea-gulls for their hoary Aſſiſtance, and aidful Furtherance in this Action.

They were not obdurate to be intreated, though they had little Cauſe to revenge the Hawk's Quarrel, from them; having received ſo many high Diſpleaſures, and Slaughters, and Rapines of their Race; yet, in a general Proſecution, private Feuds they trod under Foot,

and

and ſubmitted their Endeavours to be at their Limitation in every Thing.

The Puffin that is Half Fiſh, Half Fleſh, a *John* indifferent, and an *Ambodexter* betwixt either, bewrayed this Conſpiracy to *Protæus*'s Herds, or the Fraternity of Fiſhes, which the greater Giants of *Ruſſia* and *Iceland*, as the Whale, the Sea-Horſe, the Norſe, the Waſſerman, the Dolphin, the Grampus, fleered and jeered at as a ridiculous Danger; but the leſſer Pigmies and Spawn of them thought it meet to provide for themſelves betimes, and elect a King amongſt them, that might lead them to Battle, and under whoſe Colours they might march againſt theſe Birds of a Feather, that had ſo colleagued themſelves together, to deſtroy them.

Who this King ſhould be, beſhackled their Wits, and laid them a dry Ground every one. No ravening Fiſh they would put in Arms, for Fear, after he had everted their Foes, and fleſhed himſelf in Blood, for Interchange of Diet, he would raven up them.

Some politick delegatory *Scipio*, or witty-pated *Petito*, like the Heir of *Laertes per aphæreſin*, *Ulyſſes*, well known unto them by his prolixious Sea-wandering, and Dancing on their topleſs tottering Hills, they would ſingle forth, if it might be, whom they might depoſe when they liſt, if he ſhould begin to tyranniſe; and ſuch a one as, of himſelf, were able to make a ſound Party, if all failed, and bid Baſe to the Enemy, with his own Kindred and Followers.

None won the Day in this, but the Herring, whom all their clamorous Suffrages ſaluted with *Vive le Roy*, God ſave the King, God ſave the King, ſave only the Plaiſe and the Butt, that made wry Mouths at him, and, for their Mocking, have wry Mouths ever ſince; and the Herring ever ſince wears a Coronet on his Head, in Token that he is, as he is. Which had the worſt End of the Staff in that Sea Journey or Canvazado, or whether ſome Fowler with his Nets, as this Hoſt of Feather-mongers were getting up to ride double, involved or intangled them; or the Water Fowls played them falſe, as there is no more Love betwixt them, than betwixt Sailors and Land Soldiers, and threw them off their Backs, and let them drown, when they were launched into the Deep: I leave to ſome *Alfonſus*, *Poggius* or *Æſop* to unwrap, for my Pen is tired in it. But this is notorious, the Herring, from that Time to this, hath gone with an Army, and never ſtirs Abroad without it; and, when he ſtirs Abroad with it, he ſends out his Scouts or Centinels before him, that oftentimes are intercepted, and by their parti-coloured Liveries deſcried, whom the Mariners, after they have took, uſe in this Sort: Eight or nine Times they ſwing them about the main Maſt, and bid them bring them ſo many Laſt of Herrings, as they have ſwinged them Times; and that ſhall be their Ranſom, and ſo throw them into the Sea again. King, by your Leave, for, in your Kingſhip, I muſt leave you, and repeat how from White to Red you chameleoniſed.

It is to be read, or to be heard of, how in the Puniſhip or Nonage of *Cerdick Sands*, when the beſt Houſes and Walls there were of Mud, or Canvas or Poldavies Intiltments, a Fiſherman of *Yarmouth*, having drawn ſo many Herrings he wiſt not what to do withal, hung the Reſidue that he could not ſell nor ſpend, in the ſutty Roof of his Shed a Drying: Or ſay thus, His Shed was a Cabinet in *decimo ſexto*, built on four Crutches, and he had no Room in it, but in that Garret or *Excelſis* to lodge them, where if they were dry, let them be dry; for in the Sea they had drunk too much, and now he would force them do Penance for it.

The Weather was cold, and good Fires he kept (as Fiſhermen, what Hardneſs ſoever they endure at Sea, they will make all ſmoak, but they will make amends for it when they come to Land) and what with his Firing and Smoaking, or ſmoaky Firing in that his narrow Lobby, his Herrings, which were as white as Whalebone when he hung them up, now looked as red as a Lobſter. It was four or five Days before either he or his Wife eſpied it, and, when they eſpied it, they fell down on their Knees and bleſſed themſelves, and cried, A Miracle! A Miracle! and with the Proclaiming it among their Neighbours they could not be content, but to the Court the Fiſherman would, and preſent it to the King, then lying at *Borough* Caſtle two Miles off.

Of this *Borough* Caſtle, becauſe it is ſo ancient, and there hath been a City there, I will enter into ſome more ſpecial Mention. The Flood *Waveny* running through many Towns of *High Suffolk* up to *Bungey*, and from thence incroaching nearer and nearer to the Sea, with its Twining and Winding it cuts out an Iſland

of ſome Amplitude, named *Lovingland:* The head Town in that Iſland is *Leoſtoff*, in which, be it known to all Men, I was born; though my Father ſprung from the *Naſhes* of *Herefordſhire*.

The next Town from *Leoſtoff*, towards *Yarmouth*, is *Corton*, and next *Gorlſton*. More inwardly, on the Left-hand, where *Waveny* and the River *Ierus* mix their Waters, *Cnoberi Urbs*, the City of *Cnober*, at this Day termed *Burgh*, or *Borough Caſtle*, had its Being.

This City and Caſtle, ſay *Bede* and Maſter *Camden*, or rather Mr. *Camden* out of *Bede*, by the Woods about it, and the Driving of the Sea up to it, was moſt pleaſant. In it one *Furſæus*, a *Scot*, built a Monaſtery, at whoſe Perſuaſion, *Sigebert*, King of the *Eaſt Angles*, gave over his Kingdom and led a Monaſtical Life there; but forth of that Monaſtery he was haled, againſt his Will, to encourage his Subjects in their Battle againſt the *Mercians*, where he periſhed with them.

Nothing of that Caſtle ſave tattered ragged Walls now remains, framed Fourſquare, and overgrown with Briars and Buſhes, in ſtubbing up of which, ſome Time ſince they dug up *Roman* Coins, and Buoys and Anchors. Well, thither our Fiſherman ſet the beſt Leg before, and unfardled to the King his whole Satchel of Wonders. The King was as ſuperſtitious in Worſhiping thoſe miraculous Herrings as the Fiſherman, licenſed him to carry them up and down the Realm for ſtrange Monſters, giving to *Cerdick Sands* (the Birth-place of ſuch Monſtroſities) many Privileges; and, in that the Quantity of them that were caught ſo increaſed, he aſſigned a broken Sluice in the Iſland of *Lovingland*, called *Herring Fleet*, where they ſhould diſburden and diſcharge their Boats of them, and render him Cuſtom. Our Herring-ſmoaker, having worn his Monſters ſtale throughout *England*, ſpirted over Seas to *Rome* with a Pedlar's Pack of them, in the Papal Chair of *Vigilius*, he that firſt inſtituted Saints Eves, or Vigils, to be faſted. By that Time he came thither, he had but three of his Herrings left; for, by the Way, he fell into the thieviſh Hands of Malecontents, and of Lance-knights, by whom he was not only robbed of all his Money, but was fain to redeem his Life beſide, with the better Part of his Ambry of burniſhed Fiſhes.

Theſe Herrings three he rubbed and curried over till his Arms ached again) to make them glow and glare like a Turkey Brooch, or a *London* Vintner's Sign, thick-jagged, and round fringed, with theaming Arſadine, and folding them in a Diaper Napkin, as Lilly-white as a Lady's Wedding Smock, to the Market-place of *Rome* he was ſo bold as to prefer them, and there, on a high Stool, unbraced and unlaced them, to any Chapman's Eye that would buy them. The Pope's Caterer, caſting a liquoriſh Glance that Way, aſked what it was he had to ſell: The King of Fiſhes, he anſwered. The King of Fiſhes, replied he; What is the Price of them? A hundred Ducats, he told him. A hundred Ducats, quoth the Pope's Caterer, that is a kingly Price indeed, it is for no private Man to deal with him: Then he is for me, ſaid the Fiſherman, and ſo unſheathed his Cuttle-bong, and from the Nape of the Neck to the Tail diſmembered him, and paunched him up at a Mouthful. Home went his Beatitude's Caterer with a Flea in his Ear, and diſcourſed to his Holineſs what had happened. Is it the King of Fiſhes? The Pope frowningly ſhook him up like a Cat in a Blanket, and is any Man to have him but I that am King of Kings, and Lord of Lords? Go, give him his Price I command thee, and let me taſte of him incontinently. Back returned the Caterer like a Dog that had burnt his Tail, and poured down the Herring Merchant his hundred Ducats for one of thoſe two of the King of Fiſhes unſold, which then he would not take, but ſtood upon two-hundred. Thereupon they broke off; the one urging that he had offered it him ſo before; and the other, that he might have took him at his Proffer; which ſince he refuſed, and now halpered with him; as he eat up the firſt, ſo would he eat up the ſecond, and let Pope, or Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, fetch it out of his Belly if they could: He was as good as his Word, and had no ſooner ſpoke the Word, but he did as he ſpoke. With a heavy Heart to the Palace the Yeoman of the Mouth departed, and rehearſed this ſecond ill Succeſs, wherewith *Peter*'s Succeſſor was ſo in his Mulligrums, that he had thought to have buffeted him, and curſed him with Bell, Book, and Candle; but he ruled his Reaſon, and bad him, though it coſt a Million, to let him have that third that reſted behind, and hie him expeditely thither, leſt

left ſome other ſnatched it up, and as faſt, from thence again; for he ſwore by his triple Crown, no Crumb of Refection would he gnaw upon, till he had ſweetened his Lips with it.

So ſaid, ſo done, thither he flew as ſwift as *Mercury*, and threw him his two-hundred Ducats, as he before demanded. It would not fadge, for then the Market was raiſed to three-hundred, and, the Caterer grumbling thereat, the Fiſher Swain was forward to ſettle him to his Tools, and tire upon it, as on the other two, had not he held his Hands, and deſired him to keep the Peace, for no Money ſhould part them: With that Speech he was qualified, and purſed the three-hundred Ducats, and delivered him the King of Fiſhes, teaching him to geremumble it, ſauce it, and dreſs it, and ſo ſent him away a glad Man. All the Pope's Cooks, in their white Sleeves, and Linnen Aprons, met him Mid-way, to entertain and receive the King of Fiſhes, and together by the Ears they went, who ſhould firſt handle him or touch him; but the Clerk of the Kitchen appeaſed that Strife, and would admit none but himſelf, to have the Scorching and Carbonading of it, and he kiſſed his Hand thrice, and made as many *Humbleſſoes* before he would finger it; and, ſuch Obeyſances performed, he dreſſed it as he was enjoined, kneeling on his Knees, and mumbling twenty *Ave Maries* to himſelf, in the Sacrificing it on the Coals, that his diligent Service in the Broiling and Combuſtion of it, both to his Kingſhip and to his Fatherhood, might not ſeem unmeritorious. The Fire had not pierced it, but, being a ſweaty Loggerhead, greaſy Sutor, endungeoned in his Pocket a Twelvemonth, it ſtunk ſo over the Pope's Palace, that not a Scullion but cried Foh; and thoſe, which at the firſt flocked the faſteſt about it, now fled the moſt from it, and ſought more to rid their Hands of it, than before they ſought to bleſs their Hands with it. With much Stopping of their Noſes, between two Diſhes they ſtewed it, and ſerved it up. It was not come within three Chambers of the Pope, but he ſmelt it; and, upon the Smelling of it, enquiring what it ſhould be that ſent forth ſuch a puiſſant Perfume, the Standers-by declared that it was the King of Fiſhes: I conceited no leſs, ſaid the Pope, for leſs than a King he could not be that had ſo ſtrong a Scent; and if his Breath be ſo ſtrong, What is he himſelf? Like a great King, like a ſtrong King I will uſe him, let him be carried back I ſay, and my Cardinals ſhall fetch him in with Dirge and Proceſſions under my Canopy.

Though they were double and double weary of him, yet, his Edict being a Law, to the Kitchen they returned him, whither, by and by, the whole College of Scarlet Cardinals, with their Croſiers, their Cenſers, their Hoſts, their *Agnus Dei's* and Crucifixes, flocked together, in Heaps, as it had been to the Conclave, or a General Council, and the ſenior Cardinal, that ſtood next in Election, to be Pope, heaved him up from the Dreſſer, with a Dirge of *De profundis natus eſt fex*; *rex* he ſhould have ſaid, and ſo have made true *Latin*, but the ſpirable Odour and peſtilent Steam, aſcending from it, put him out of his Biaſs of Congruity, and, as true as the trueſt *Latin* of *Priſcian*, would have queazened him, like the Damp that took both *Bell* and *Baram* away, and many a worthy Man that Day, if he had not been protected under the Pope's Canopy, and the other Cardinals, with their holy Water Sprinkles, quenched his foggy Fume and Evaporating. About and about the inward and baſe Court they circumducted him with *Kyrie eleiſon*, and *Halleluiah*, and the Chanters in their golden Copes, and white Surplices, chaunted it out above *Gloria Patri*; in praiſing of him, the Organs played, the Ordnance at the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* went off, and all Wind Inſtruments blew as loud as the Wind in Winter, in his Paſſado to the Pope's Ordinary or Dining-Chamber, where, having ſet him down, upon their Faces they fell flat, and licked every one his Ell of Duſt, in douking on all Four unto him.

The buſy Epitaſis of the Comedy was, when the Diſhes were uncovered, and the Swarthrutter ſowre took Air, for then he made ſuch an Air, as *Alcides* himſelf, that cleanſed the Stables of *Augæus*, nor any Hoſtler was able to endure.

This is once, the Pope it popped under Board, and out of his Palace worſe it ſcared him than *Neptune's Phocaſes* that ſcared the Horſes of *Hippolytus*, or the Harpies *Jupiter* Dogs ſent to vex *Phineus*; the Cardinals were at their *Ora pro nobis*, and held this Suffocation a meet Sufferance, for ſo Contemning the King of Fiſhes, and his Subjects, and fleſhly Surfeiting in their Carnivals. Necromantic Sorcery, Necromantic Sorcery, ſome evil Spirit of an Heretick it is, which thus moleſteth his Apo-

ſtolickſhip. The Friars and Monks caterwauled from the Abbots and Priors to the Novices, wherefore, *tanquam in circo*, we will tronce him in a Circle, and make him tell what Lanternman, or Groom of *Hecate*'s Cloſeſtool he is, that thus nefariouſly and proditoriouſly profanes and penetrates our holy Father's Noſtrils: What needs there any more Ambages? The Ringol, or ringed Circle was compaſſed and chalked out, and the King of Fiſhes, by the Name of the King of Fiſhes, conjured to appear in the Center of it; but *ſurdo cantant abſurdi*, *ſive ſurdum incantant fratres ſordidi*, He was a King abſolute, and would not be at every Man's Call; and if Friar *Pendela* and his Fellows had any Thing to ſay to him, in his Admiral Court of the Sea, let them ſeek him, and neither in *Hull*, *Hell*, nor *Halifax*.

They ſeeing, that, by their Charms and Spells they could ſpell nothing of him, fell to a more charitable Suppoſe, that it might be the diſtreſſed Soul of ſome King that was drowned, who, being long in Purgatory, and not relieved by the Prayers of the Church, had Leave, in that diſguiſed Form, to have Egreſs and Regreſs to *Rome*, to crave their Benevolence of Dirges, Trentals, and ſo forth, to help him him forward on his Journey to *Limbus Patrum*, or *Elyſium*; and becauſe they would not eaſily believe what Tortures in Purgatory he had ſuſtained, unleſs they were Eye-witneſſes of them, he thought to repreſent to all their Senſes the Image and Idea of his Combuſtion, and Broiling there, and the horrible Stench of his Sins accompanying both under his Frying and Broiling on the Coals, in the Pope's Kitchen, and the intolerable Smell or Stink he ſent forth under either. *Una voce* in this Spleen to Pope *Vigilius* they ran, and craved that this King of Fiſhes might firſt have Chriſtian Burial; next, that he might have Maſſes ſung for him, and laſt, that for a Saint he would canonize him. All theſe he granted, to be rid of his filthy Redolence, and his chief Caſket, wherein he put all his Jewels, he made the Coffin of his Incloſure, and, for his Inſainting, look the Almanack in the Beginning of *April*; and ſee if you can find out ſuch a Saint as Saint *Gildard*, which, in Honour of this gilded Fiſh the Pope ſo inſainted; nor there he reſted and ſtopped, but in the Mitigation of the very Embers whereon he was judged, that, after he was taken by them, ſumed moſt fulſomely of his fatty Droppings; he ordained Ember-weeks in their Memory, to be faſted everlaſtingly.

I had well-nigh forgot a ſpecial Point of my *Romiſh* Hiſtory, and that is, how Madam *Celina Comificia*, one of the curiouſeſt Curtezans of *Rome*, when the Fame of the King of Fiſhes was cannon-roared in her Ears, ſhe ſent all her Jewels to the *Jewiſh Lombard* to pawn, to buy and incaptive him to her Trencher; but her Purveyor came a Day after the Fair, and, as he came, ſo he fared, for not a Scrap of him, but the Cobs of the two Herrings, the Fiſhermen had eaten, remained of him, and thoſe Cobs, rather than he would go Home with a ſleeveleſs Anſwer, he bought at the Rate of fourſcore Ducats (they were rich Cobs you muſt rate them) and of them all Cobbing Country Chuffs, which make their Bellies and their Bags their Gods, are called rich Cobs. Every Man will not clap Hands to this Tale: The *Norwichers*, *Imprimis*, who ſay, the firſt Gilding of Herrings was deducted from them: And, after this Guiſe, they tune the Accent of their Speech, how that when *Caſtor* was *Norwich* (a Town two Miles beyond this *Norwich*, that is termed to this Day *Norwich Caſtor*, and having Monuments of a Caſtle in it, inviron-ing fifty Acres of Ground, and Ring-bolts in the Walls, whereto Ships were faſtened) our *Norwich*, now upon her Legs, was a poor Fiſher-Town, and the Sea ſpawled and ſpringed up to her common Stairs in *Conſur-ſtreet*.

All this may paſs in the Queen's Peace, and no Man ſay Bo to it: But, Bawwaw, quoth *Bagſhaw*, to that which drawlatcheth behind, of the firſt Taking of Herrings there, and Currying and Gilding them amongſt them; whereof, if they could whiſper to us any ſimple Likelihood, or raw-boned Carcaſs of Reaſon, more than their imaginary Dream of *Gilding-croſs* in their Pariſh of *St. Saviour*'s (now ſtumped up by the Roots) ſo named, as they would have it, of the ſmoaky Gilding of Herrings there firſt invented, I could well have allowed of; but they muſt bring better Cards before they win it from *Yarmouth*.

As good a Toy to mock an Ape was it of him, that ſhewed a Country Fellow the *Red-Sea*, where all the Red-Herrings were made (as ſome Places in the Sea, where the Sun is moſt tranſpiercing, and beats with his Rays ferventeſt,

ſerventeſt, will look as red as Blood) and the Jeſt of a Scholar in *Cambridge*, that ſtanding angling on the Town-bridge there, as the Country People on the Market-day paſſed by, ſecretly baited his Hook with a Red-Herring, with a Bell about the Neck; and ſo conveying it into the Water that no Man perceived it, all on the ſudden, when he had a competent Throng gathered about him, up he twitched it again, and laid it openly before them; whereat the gaping rural Fools, driven into no leſs Admiration than the common People about *London*, ſome few Years ſince, were at the Bubbling of *Moor-ditch*, ſwore by their Chriſtendoms, that, as many Days and Years as they had lived, they never ſaw ſuch a Miracle of a Red-Herring taken in Freſh-water before. That greedy Sea-gull, Ignorance, is apt to devour any Thing: For a new *Meſſias* they are ready to expect of the *Bedlam* Hatmaker's Wife by *London-Bridge*; he that proclaims himſelf *Elias*, and ſaith he is inſpired with Mutton and Porridge: And, with them, it is current, that Don *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, ſlain twenty Years ſince with *Stukeley* at the Battle of *Alcazar*, is raiſed from the Dead, like *Lazarus*, and alive to be ſeen at *Venice*. Let them look to themſelves as they will, for I am theirs to gull them better than ever I have done; and this I am ſure, I have diſtributed Gudgeon Dole amongſt them, as God's Plenty, as any Stripling of my ſlender Portion of Wit far or near. They needs will have it ſo, much Good do it them, I cannot do withal: For, if but careleſly, betwixt Sleeping and Waking, I write I know not what, againſt Plebeian Publicans and Sinners, no better than the ſworn Brokers of Candleſtick-Turners and Tinkers, and leave ſome Terms in Suſpence, that my Poſt-haſte Want of Argent will not give me Elbow-room enough to explain or examine as I would, out ſteps me an Infant Squib of the Inns of Court, that hath not half greaſed his Dining-cap, or ſcarce warmed his Lawyer's Cuſhion; and he, to approve himſelf an extravagant Stateſman, catcheth Hold of a Ruſh, and abſolutely concludeth, it is meaned of the Emperor of *Ruſſia*, and that it will utterly mar the Traffick into that Country, if all the Pamphlets be not called in and ſuppreſſed, wherein that libelling Word is mentioned. Another, if but a Head or a Tail of any Beaſt, he boaſts of in his Creſt or his Eſcutcheon, be reckoned up by Chance in a Volume where a Man hath juſt Occaſion to reckon up all Beaſts in Armeury, he ſtraight engageth himſelf, by the Honour of his Houſe, and his never reculed Sword, to thraſh down the hairy Roof of that Brain that ſo ſeditiouſly mutinied againſt him, with the mortiferous Baſtinado; or caſt ſuch an incurable *Italian* Trench in his Face, as not the baſeſt Creeper upon Pattens by the Highway-ſide, but ſhall abhor him worſe than the Carrion of a dead Corpſe, or a Man hanged up in Gibbets.

I will deal more boldly, and yet it ſhall be ſecurely, and in the Way of Honeſty, to a Number of God's Fools, that, for their Wealth, might be deep wiſe Men, and ſo forth (as now-a-Days, in the Opinion of the beſt Lawyers of *England*, there is no Wiſdom without Wealth, alledge what you can to the Contrary of all the beggarly Sages of *Greece*) theſe, I ſay, out of ſome Diſcourſes of mine, which were a Mingle Mangle *cum putre*, and I knew not what to make of myſelf, have fiſhed out ſuch a deep politick State Meaning, as if I had all the Secrets of Court and Commonwealth at my Fingers Ends. Talk I of a Bear; O, it is ſuch a Man that emblazons him in his Arms; or of a Wolf, a Fox, or a Chameleon, any Lording, whom they do not affect, it is meaned by. The great Potentate, ſtirred up with thoſe perverſe Applications, not looking into the Text itſelf, but the ridiculous Comment; or, if he looks into it, follows no other more charitable Comment than that, ſtraight thunders out his Diſpleaſure, and ſhowers down the whole Tempeſt of his Indignation upon me; and, to amend the Matter, and fully abſolve himſelf of this raſh Error of Miſconſtruing, he commits it over to be proſecuted by a worſe Miſconſtruer than himſelf, *videlicet*, his learned Council (God forgive me, if I ſlander them with that Title of Learned, for generally they are not) and they, being compounded of Nothing but Vociferation and Clamour, rage and fly out they care not how againſt a Man's Life, his Perſon, his Parentage, two Hours before they come to the Point, little remembering their own privy Eſcapes with their Laundreſſes, or their Night-walks to *Pancridge*, together with the hobnailed Houſes of their carterly Anceſtry, from whence they are ſprung, that have cooled Plough-jades Buttocks Time out of Mind, with the Breath of their Whiſtling, and, with Retailing their Dung to manure Lands, and

Selling

Selling Straw and Chaff, ſcratched up the Pence to make them Gentlemen. But, Lord, how miſerably do theſe Ethnicks, when they once match to the Purpoſe, ſet Words on the Tenters, never reading to a Period, which you ſhall ſcarce find in thirty Sheets of a Lawyer's Declaration, whereby they might comprehend the intire Senſe of the Writer together, but disjoint and tear every Syllable betwixt their Teeth ſeverally? And if, by no Means, they can make it odious, they will be ſure to bring it into Diſgrace by ill-favoured Mouthing and Miſ-ſounding it. Theſe be they, that uſe Men's Writings like brute Beaſts, to make them draw which Way they liſt, as a principal Agent, in Church Controverſies of this our Time, complaineth. I have read a Tale of a poor Man and an Advocate, which poor Man complained to the King of Wrong that the Advocate had done him, in taking away his Cow. The King made him no Anſwer but this, That he would ſend for the Advocate, and hear what he could ſay. Nay, quoth the poor Man, if you be at that Paſs, that you will pauſe to hear what he will ſay, I have utterly loſt my Cow, for he hath Words enough to make Fools of Ten-thouſand. So he, that ſhall have his Lines bandied by our uſual Plodders in *Fitzherbert*, let him not care whether they be right or wrong; for they will writh and turn them as they liſt, and make the Author believe he meaned that which he did not mean; and, for a Knitting up Concluſion, his Credit is unreprievably loſt, that, on bare Suſpicion in ſuch Caſes, ſhall but have his Name controverted amongſt them; and, if I ſhould fall into their Hands, I would be preſſed to Death for obſtinate Silence, and never ſeek to clear myſelf, for it is in vain, ſince both they will confound a Man's Memory with their tedious Babbling, and, in the firſt three Words of his Apology, with impudent Exclamations, interrupt him; whenas their mercenary Tongues, lye they never ſo loudly, without Check or Controul, muſt have their free Paſſage for five Hours together.

I ſpeak of the worſe Sort, not of the beſt, whom I hold in high Admiration, as well for their ſingular Gifts of Art and Nature, as their untainted Conſciences with Corruption; and, from ſome of them, I avow, I have heard as excellent Things flow, as ever I obſerved in *Tully* or *Demoſthenes*. Thoſe that were preſent at the Arraignment of *Lopus*, to inſiſt upon no other Particular, hereof, I am ſure, will bear me Record. *Latiales* Dolts, ſaturnine heavy-headed Blunderers, my Invective hath Relation to; ſuch as count all Arts Puppet-plays, and pretty Rattles to pleaſe Children, in Compariſon of their confuſed barbarous Law, which, if it were ſet down in any Chriſtian Language, but the *Getan* Tongue, it would never grieve a Man to ſtudy it.

Neither *Ovid*, nor *Arioſto*, could, by any Perſuaſions of their Parents, be induced to ſtudy the Civil Law, for the Harſhneſs of it; How much more, had they been alive at this Day, and born in our Nation, would they have conſented to ſtudy this uncivil *Norman* Hotchpotch? This Sow of Lead, that hath never a Ring at the End to lift it up by, is, without Head, or Foot, the deformedeſt Monſter that may be? I ſtand lawing here, what with theſe Lawyers, and ſelf-conceited Miſinterpreters, ſo long, that my Red-Herring, which was hot broiling on the Coals, is waxed ſtark cold for Want of Blowing. Have with them for a Riddle or two, only to ſet their Wits a Nibbling, and their Jobbernowls a Working, and ſo good Night to their Seignories, but, with this Indentment and Caution, that, tho' there be neither Rhyme nor Reaſon in it, as, by my Good-will there ſhall not, they, according to their accuſtomed gentle Favours, whether I will or no, ſhall ſupply it with either, and run over all the Peers of the Land in peeviſh Moraliſing and Anatomiſing it.

There was a Herring, or there was not, for it was but a Cropſhin, one of the refuſe Sort of Herrings, and this Herring, or this Cropſhin, was ſenſed and thurified in the Smoke, and had got him a Suit of Durance, that would laſt longer than one of *Erra Pater*'s Almanacks, or a Conſtable's brown Bill; only his Head was in his Tail, and that made his Breath ſo ſtrong, that no Man could abide him. Well, he was a *Triton* of his Time, and a ſweet-ſinging Calander to the State, yet, not beloved of the ſhowery *Pleiades*, or the *Coloſſus* of the Sun; however, he thought himſelf another *tumidus Antimachus*, as complete an *Adelantado*, as he that is known by Wearing a Cloke of tuffed Taffety eighteen Years; and to Lady *Turbot* there is no Demur but he would needs go a Wooing, and offered her, for a Dowry, whole Hecatombs, and a two-handed Sword; ſhe ſtared upon him with *Megara*'s Eyes, like *Iris* the Meſſenger of *Juno*, and bad him go eat a Fool's

Head

Head and Garlick, for ſhe would have none of him; thereupon, particularly, ſtrictly, and uſually he replied, That, though Thunder never lights on *Phœbus*'s Tree, and *Amphion*, that worthy Muſician, was Huſband to *Niobe*, and there was no ſuch acceptable Incenſe to the Heavens as the Blood of a Traitor: Revenged he would be, by one Chimera of Imagination or other, and hamper and embark her in thoſe mortal Streights, for her Diſdain, that, in Spite of Divine Symmetry and Miniature, into her buſky Grove ſhe ſhould let him enter, and bid Adieu, ſweet Lord, for the Cramp of Death ſhould wreſt her Heart-ſtrings.

This Speech was no ſpirable Odour to the *Achelous* of her Audience; whereupon, ſhe charged him, by the extreme Lineaments of the *Erimanthian Boar*, and by the privy Fiſtula of the *Pierides*, to commit no ſuch excruciating Syllables to the yielding Air; for ſhe would ſooner make her a *French*-Hood of a Cow-ſhard, and a Gown of Spiders Webs, with the Sleeves drawn out with Cabbages, than be ſo contaminated any more with his abortive loathly Motives. With this, in an *Olympick* Rage, he calls for a clean Shirt, and puts on five Pair of *Buſkins*, and ſeeketh out eloquent *Xenophon*, out of whoſe Mouth the Muſes ſpoke, to declaim, in open Court, againſt her.

The Action is entered, the Complaint of her wintered Brows preſented, of a violent Rape of his Heart ſhe is indicted and convinced. The Circumſtance that follows you may imagine or ſuppoſe; or, without Suppoſing or Imagining, I will tell you, the Nut was cracked, the Strife diſcuſſed, and the Center of her Heart laid open; and, to this Wild of Sorrow and Excruciament ſhe was confined, either to be held a flat Thornback, or ſharp pricking Dog-fiſh to the publick Weal, or ſeal herſelf cloſe to his ſeal-ſkinned rivelled Lips, and ſuffer herſelf, as a Spirit, to be conjured into the helliſh Circle of his Embraces.

It would not be good Cropſhin, Madam *Turbot* could not away with ſuch a dry withered Carcaſs to lie by her; *currat rex*, *vivat lex*, come what would, ſhe would have none of him; wherefore, as a Poiſoner of Mankind with her Beauty, ſhe was adjudged to be boiled to Death in hot ſcalding Water, and to have her Poſterity thoroughly ſauced, and ſouſed, and pickled in Barrels of briniſh Tears, ſo ruthful and dolorous, [illegible] that the Inhabitants on the *Boſphorus* ſhould be laxative [illegible] in deploring it. O for a Legion of mice-eyed Decipherers and Calculators upon Characters, now to augurate what I mean by this; the Devil, if it ſtood upon his Salvation, cannot do it, much leſs petty Devils, and cruel *Rhadamanths* upon Earth (elſewhere in *France* and *Italy ſubintelligitur*, and not in our auſpicious Iſland-Climate) Men that have no Means to purchaſe Credit with their Prince, but by putting him ſtill in Fear, and beating into his Opinion, that they are the only Preſervers of his Life, in Sitting up Night and Day in Sifting out Treaſons, when they are the moſt Traitors themſelves, to his Life, Health, and Quiet, in continual Commacerating him with Dread and Terror; when, but to get a Penſion, or bring him in their Debt next to God, for upholding his vital Breath, it is neither ſo, nor ſo, but ſome Fool, ſome drunken Man, ſome Madman in an intoxicated Humour, hath uttered he knew not what, and they being ſtarved for Intelligence, or Want of Employment, take Hold of it with Tooth and Nail, and, in Spite of all the Waiters, will violently break into the King's Chamber, and awake him at Midnight to reveal it.

Say, that a more piercing lynceous Sight ſhould dive into the Intrails of this inſinuating Paraſite's Knavery; to the Strappado and the ſtretching Torture he will refer it for Trial, and there either tear him Limb from Limb, but he will extract ſome capital Confeſſion from him, that ſhall concern the Prince's Life, and his Crown and Dignity, and bring himſelf in ſuch neceſſary Requeſt about his Prince, that he may hold him for his Right-hand, and the only Staff of his Royalty, and think he were undone, if he were without him; when the poor Fellow, ſo tyrannouſly handled, would rather, in that Extremity of Convulſion, confeſs he crucified *Jeſus Chriſt*, than abide it any longer. I am not againſt it (for, God forbid I ſhould) that it behoves all loyal, true Subjects to be vigilant and jealous for their Prince's Safety; and, certainly, too jealous and vigilant of it they cannot be, if they be good Princes that reign over them, nor uſe too many Means of Diſquiſition by Tortures, or otherwiſe, to diſcover Treaſons pretended againſt them; but, upon the leaſt Wagging of a Straw, to put them in Fear where no Fear is, and make a Hurliburly in the Realm upon had I wiſt, not ſo much for any Zeal or Love to their Princes, or tender Care of their Preſervation, as to pick Thanks and curry a little

little Favour, that thereby they may lay the Foundation to build a Suit on, or croſs ſome great Enemy they have, I will maintain, it is moſt lewd and deteſtable: I accuſe none, but ſuch there have been belonging to Princes in former Ages, if there be not at this Hour.

Stay, let me look about: Where am I? In my Text, or out of it? Not out, for a Groat: Out, for an Angel: Nay, I will lay no Wagers, for, now I perponder more ſadly upon it, I think I am out indeed. Bear with it; it was but a pretty Parentheſis of Princes and their Paraſites, which ſhall do you no Harm, for I will cloy you with Herring, before we part.

Will you have the other Riddle of the Cropſhin, to make up the Pair that I promiſed you? You ſhall, you ſhall (not have it, I mean) but bear with me, for I cannot ſpare it, and, I perſuade myſelf, you will be well contented to ſpare it, except it were better than the former; and yet, I pray you, What Fault can you find with the former? Hath it any more Senſe in it, than it ſhould have? Is it not right of the merry Cobler's Cut, in that witty Play of *The Caſe is altered?*

I will ſpeak a proud Word, though it may be accounted Arrogancy in me to praiſe my own Stuff: If it be not more abſurd than *Phillips*'s *Venus*, *The White Tragedy*, or *The Green Knight*, or I can tell what *Engliſh* to make of it in Part, or in Whole, I wiſh, in the foulеſt Weather that is, to go in cut *Spaniſh* Leather Shoes, or ſilk Stockings, or to ſtand bareheaded to a Nobleman, and not get of him the Price of a Periwig to cover my bare Crown; no, not ſo much as a Pipe of Tobacco to raiſe my Spirits, and warm my Brain.

My Readers, peradventure, may ſee more into it than I can; for, in Compariſon of them, in whatſoever I ſet forth, I am *(Bernardus non vidit omnia)* as blind as blind *Bayard*, and have the Eyes of a Beetle; nothing from them is obſcure, they being quicker-ſighted than the Sun, to eſpy in his Beams the Motes that are not, and able to transform the lighteſt murmuring Gnat to an Elephant. Carp, or deſcant they, as their Spleen moves them, my Spleen moves me not to defile my Hands with them, but to fall a Craſh more to the Red-Herring.

How many are there in the World, that childiſhly deprave Alchymy, and cannot ſpell the firſt Letter of it! In the black Book of which ignorant Band of Scorners, it may be, I am ſcored up with the Higheſt: If I am, I muſt intreat them to wipe me out, for the Red-Herring hath lately been my ghoſtly Father to convert me to their Faith; the *Probatum eſt* of whoſe Tranſfiguration *ex Luna in Solem*, from his duſky tin Hue into a perfect golden Blandiſhment, only by the foggy Smoke of the groſſeſt Kind of Fire that is, illumines my ſpeculative Soul; what much more, not ſophiſticate, or ſuperficial Effects, but abſolute, eſſential Alterations of Metals there may be made by an artificial, repurified Flame, and divers other Helps of Nature added beſides.

Cornelius Agrippa maketh Mention of ſome Philoſophers, that held the Skin of the Sheep, that bore the golden Fleece, to be nothing but a Book of Alchymy written upon it; ſo, if we ſhould examine Matters to the Proof, we ſhould find the Red-Herring's Skin to be little leſs: The Accidence of Alchymy I will ſwear it is, be it but for that Experiment of his Smoaking alone; and, which is a Secret that all Tapſters will curſe me for Blabbing, in his Skin there is plain Witchcraft; for, do but rub a Cann, or Quart-pot round about the Mouth with it, let the cunningeſt Lick-ſpigot ſwelt his Heart out, the Beer ſhall never foam or froth in the Cup, whereby to deceive Men of their Meaſure, but be as ſettled, as if it ſtood all Night.

Next, to draw on Hounds to a Scent, to a Red-Herring's Skin there is nothing comparable; the Round, or Cob of it, dried and beaten to Powder, is *ipſe ille* againſt the Stone; and, of the whole Body of it itſelf, the fineſt Ladies beyond Seas frame their Kickſhaws.

The Rebel *Jack Cade* was the firſt, that deviſed to put Red-Herrings in Cades, and from him they have their Name. Now as we call it, the Swinging of Herrings, when he caded them; ſo in a Halter was he ſwung, and truſſed up as hard and round as any Cade of Herring he truſſed up in his Time, and perhaps of his being ſo ſwung and truſſed up, having firſt found out the Trick to cade Herring, they would ſo much honour him in his Death, as not only to call it Swinging, but Cading of Herring alſo. If the Text will bear this, we will force it to bear more, but it ſhall be but the Weight of a Straw, or the Weight of *Jack Straw* more; who with the ſame *Græca fide* I marted unto you in the former, was the firſt that put the Red-Herring in Straw, Head and Ears

Ears like Beggars, and the Fiſhermen upon that *Jack-ſtrawed* him ever after; and ſome, for he was ſo beggarly a Knave that challenged to be a Gentleman, and had no Wit nor Wealth but what he got by the warm Wrapping up of Herring, raiſed this Proverb of him, *Gentleman Jack Herring that pais his Breeches on his Head, for Want of Wearing.* Other diſgraceful Proverbs of the Herring there are, as, *Never a Barrel better Herring; Neither Fleſh nor Fiſh, nor good Red Herring*; which thoſe, that have bitten with ill Bargains of either Sort, have dribbed forth in Revenge, and yet not have them from *Yarmouth*; many Coaſt Towns, beſides it, enterprizing to cure, ſalt, and pickle up Herrings, but mar them; becauſe they want the right Feat, how to ſalt and ſeaſon them. So I could pluck a Crow with Poet *Martial* for Calling it *putre halec*, the ſcauld rotten Herring; but he meant that of the fat reaſty *Scottiſh* Herrings, which will endure no Salt, and in one Month (beſtow what Coſt on them you will) wax rammiſh, if they be kept; whereas our imbarrelled White-Herrings, flouriſhing with the ſtately Brand of *Yarmouth* upon them, *ſcilicet*, the three half Lions, and the three half Fiſhes, with the Crown over their Head, laſt in long Voyages, better than the Red-Herring, and not only are famous at *Roan*, *Paris*, *Dieppe*, and *Caen* (whereof the firſt, which is *Roan*, ſerveth all the high Countries of *France* with it, and *Dieppe*, which is the laſt ſave one, victuals all *Picardy* with it) but here at Home is made Account of like a Marquiſs, and received at Court right ſolemnly; I care not much if I rehearſe to you the Manner, and that is thus:

Every Year about *Lent-tide*, the Sheriffs of *Norwich* bake certain Herring-Pies (four and twenty as I take it) and ſend them as a Homage to the Lord of *Caſter* hard by there, for Lands that they hold of him; who preſently upon the like Tenure, in Bouncing Hampers covered over with his Cloth of Arms, ſees them conveyed to the Court in the beſt Equipage; at Court when they are arrived, his Man rudely enters not at firſt, but knocketh very civilly, and then Officers come and fetch him in with Torch-light, where, having diſtraughted and unloaded his Luggage, to Supper he ſets him down like a Lord, with his Wax-lights before him, and hath his Meſs of Meat allowed him with the largeſt, and his Horſes (*quatenus Hor[illegible]*) are provendered as epicurely: After this, ſome four Mark Fee towards his Charges is tendered him, and he jogs Home again merrily.

A white pickled Herring? Why, it is Meat for a Prince. *Haunce Vandervecke* of *Rotterdam* (as a *Dutch* Poſt informed me) in bare pickled Herring, laid out twenty thouſand Pounds, the laſt Fiſhing: He had loſt his Drinking belike, and thought to ſtore himſelf of Medicines e[illegible]ow to recover it.

Noble *Cæſarean Charlemain Herring*, *Pliny* and *Geſner* were to blame they ſlubbered thee over ſo negligently. I do not ſee why any Man ſhould envy thee, ſince thou art none of theſe *Lurcones* or *Epulones*, Gluttons, or Fleſhpots of *Egypt* (as one, that writes of the Chriſtians Captivity under the *Turk*, ſtileth us *Engliſhmen*) nor liveſt thou by the Unliving or Eviſcerating of others, as moſt Fiſhes do, or by an extraordinary Filth whatſoever; but, as the Chameleon liveth by the Air, and the Salamander by the Fire, ſo only by the Water art thou nouriſhed, and nought elſe, and muſt ſwim as well dead as alive.

Be of good Chear, my weary Readers, for I have eſpied Land, as *Diogenes* ſaid to his weary Scholars, when he had read to a waſte Leaf. Fiſhermen, I hope, will not find Fault with me for Fiſhing before the Net, or Making all Fiſh that comes to the Net in this Hiſtory, ſince, as the *Athenians* bragged, they were the firſt that invented Wreſtling; and one *Erichthonius* amongſt them, that he was the firſt that joined Horſes in Collar Couples for Drawing; ſo I am the firſt that ever ſet Quill to Paper in Praiſe of any Fiſh or Fiſhermen.

Not one of the Poets aforetime could give you or the Sea a good Word. *Ovid* ſaith,

——*Nimium nè credite ponto*,

The Sea is a ſlippery Companion, take Heed how you truſt him:

And further,

——*Perjurii pœnas repetit ille locus*,

It is a Place like Hell, good for nothing but to puniſh Perjurers:

With innumerable Invectives more againſt it, throughout in every Book.

Plautus, in his *Rudens*, bringeth in Fiſhermen cowthring and quaking, Dung-wet after a Storm, and complaining their miſerable

Caſe in this Form: *Captamus cibum e mari; ſi eventus non venit, neque quicquam captum eſt piſcium, ſalſi lautique domum redimus clanculum, dormimus incœnati:* All the Meat that we eat we catch out of the Sea, and if there we miſs, well waſhed and ſalted, we ſneak Home to Bed ſupperleſs; and upon the Tail of it he brings in a Paraſite that flowteth and bourdeth them thus: *Heus vos famelica gens hominum, ut vivitis, ut peritis?* Hough you Hunger-ſtarved Gubbins, or Offals of Men, how thrive you, how periſh you? And they cringing in their Necks, like Rats, ſmothered in the Hold, poorly replied, *Vivimus fame, ſpeque ſitique*, With Hunger and Hope, and Thirſt, we content ourſelves. If you would not miſconceit, that I ſtudiouſly intended your Defamation, you ſhoud have thick Hail-Shot of theſe.

Not the louſy Riddle wherewith Fiſhermen conſtrained, ſome ſay *Homer*, ſome ſay another Philoſopher, to drown himſelf, becauſe he could not expound it, but ſhould be dreſſed and ſet before you *ſupernagulum*, with eight Score more galliard Croſs-points, and Kickſhiwinſhes, of giddy Ear-wig Brains, were it not I thought you too fretful and cholerick with Feeding altogether on ſalt Meats, to have the Secrets of your Trade in Publick diſplayed. Will this appeaſe you, that you are the Predeceſſors of the Apoſtles, who were poorer Fiſhermen than you? That, for your Seeing Wonders in the Deep, you may be the Sons and Heirs of the Prophet *Jonas*; that you are all Cavaliers and Gentlemen, ſince the King of Fiſhes vouchſafed you for his Subjects; that, for your Selling Smoke, you may be Courtiers, for your Keeping of Faſting-Days Friar Obſervants; and laſtly, that, look in what Town there is the Sign of the three Mariners, the huff-cappeſt Drink in that Houſe you ſhall be ſure of always.

No more can I do for you than I have done, were you my God-children every one: God make you his Children, and keep you from the *Dunkirkers*, and then, I doubt not but, when you are driven into Harbour by foul Weather, the Cans ſhall walk to the Health of *Naſhe*'s Lenten Stuff, and the Praiſe of the Red-Herring; and even thoſe, that attend upon the Pitch-kettle, will be drunk to my good Fortunes and Recommendums. One Boon you muſt not refuſe me in (if you be *boni ſocii* and ſweet *Olivers*) that you let not your ruſty Swords ſleep in their Scabbards, but laſh them out in my Quarrel as hotly, as if you were to cut Cables, or hew the Main-maſt over Board, when you hear me mangled and torn in Men's Mouths about this Playing with a Shittlecock, or Toſſing empty Bladders in the Air.

Alas! poor hunger-ſtarved Muſe, we ſhall have ſome Scrap of a Gooſe-quill, or overworn Pander, quirking and girding, Was it ſo hard driven that it had nothing to feed upon but a Red-Herring? Another Drudge of the Pudding-houſe (all whoſe lawful Means to live by throughout the whole Year will ſcarce purchaſe him a Red-Herring) ſays, might as well have writ of a Dog's Turd, in his Sirreverence. But, let none of theſe Scum of the Suburbs be too Vinegar tart with me; for, if they be, I'll take mine Oath upon a Red-Herring and eat it, to prove that their Fathers, their Grandfathers, and their Great Grandfathers, or any other of their Kin, were Scullions Diſhwaſh, and dirty Draff and Swill ſet againſt a Red-Herring. The puiſſant Red-Herring, the golden *Heſperides* Red-Herring, the *Mæonian* Red-Herring, the Red-Herring of *Red-Herrings Hall*, every pregnant Peculiar of whoſe reſplendent Laud and Honour, to delineate and adumbrate to the ample Life, were a Work that would drink dry fourſcore and eighteen *Caſtalian* Fountains of Eloquence, conſume another *Athens* of Facundity, and abate the haughtieſt Poetical Fury betwixt this and the burning Zone and the Tropick of *Cancer*. My Conceit is caſt into a Sweating Sickneſs, with Aſcending thoſe few Steps of his Renown; Into what a hot broiling Saint *Laurence*'s Fever would it relapſe then, ſhould I ſpend the whole Bag of my Wind in Climbing up to the lofty Mountain Creſt of his Trophies? But no more Wind will I ſpend on it but this: Saint *Denis* for *France*, Saint *James* for *Spain*, Saint *Patrick* for *Ireland*, Saint *George* for *England*, and the Red-Herring for *Yarmouth*.

Peter's Pattern! Or, The perfect Path to Worldly Happineſs; as it was delivered in a Funeral Sermon, preached at the Interment of Mr. *Hugh Peters*, lately deceaſed. By *I. C.* Tranſlator of *Pineda* upon *Job*, and one of the Triers.

GUSMAN. Lib. I. Cap. ii. Verſ. 4.
Amicus Plato, ſed magis amica veritas.

London, printed in the Year 1659. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

After they had ſung the two firſt Staves of the Tenth Hymn of *Larner*'s Twelve Songs of *Sion*, to the Tune of, *The Knave of Clubs*, the Parſon proceeded in his Text as followeth:

GUSMAN, *Lib.* II. *Chap.* ii. *Verſe* 26. The latter Part of the Words.

Let us, while we live, make Uſe of our Time, for a Man's Life is ended in a Day.

BELOVED,

THE Scope of this Reverend Divine is, in theſe Words, to hold forth unto us the Excellency of human Wit and Policy, in this ſelf-ſeeking and deceitful World. And indeed I hope I have not made a wrong Choice of my Text, not knowing any one whereon I could better ground the Praiſes of our departed Brother here before us; you all knowing how great a Diſciple of our Author he was, being indeed the very Pattern and Exemplar of his godly and religious Life. But now, to explain the Words aright, we ſhall deal with them as Joiners do with Court Cupboards, and round Tables, firſt pull them aſunder, and then put them together again: I uſe this Compariſon, that you may know me to be a Man of Trade, that is to ſay, one that trades in the *Word*, or, if you will have it otherwiſe, a Holder-forth, according to the laſt and moſt ſanctified Inſtitution. Firſt, then, you have an Exhortation in theſe Words, *Let us*; Secondly, the Time given us to make Uſe thereof, *while we live*; Thirdly, the Thing to which we are exhorted, that is, *to make Uſe of our Time*; and laſtly, the ſupreme Reaſon of this Exhortation, *for a Man's Life is ended in a Day. Let us, while we live, make Uſe of our Time, for a Man's Life is ended in a Day.* Firſt, then, of the firſt, that is to ſay, of the Words, *Let us:* But here you muſt give me Leave to excuſe the great Abuſes that have been put upon theſe two poor innocent Monoſyllables. I confeſs they have been crummed thicker than *Habakkuk*'s brown Loaf into the Porridge of the Cavaliers, commonly called the Common-Prayer Book, when they cry, *Let us pray, Let us kneel*; but believe it, my Beloved, I have now rebaptized them, and waſhed them cleaner from that Profanation, than ever Tripes were ſcowred from their Filth by the niceſt Huſwife in *Field Lane*. Now, being thus purified, you will find *Let us* to ſignify ſometimes as much as, Hinder us not, *Quiet* the 12th *Verſe* 8. *Hinder me not, fair* Lulcina,

from the Enjoyment of your ſweet Company; ſometimes as much as to ſay, *Suffer us*; ſaith the Reverend *Buſcon*, *Chap.* vii. *Verſe* 5, to his Maſter in great Affliction, *Suffer us not to be ſtarved to Death*, that is, *Let us not be ſtarved*, &c. Yet it is not meant here as in thoſe Places, by Way of Petition, but is a Kind of rouſing up of the Spirits to a certain Action. as when the Carmen would heave a great Load into their Carts, they exhort one another, by crying *Hey Boys!* or as, when the Coachman would have his Horſes to go faſter than ordinary, he encourages them by ſaying, *Stir up*, in which Senſe our learned *Guſman* uſes this Expreſſion, *Let us*, in this Place, as it were a Word of Incitement, or *ſtirring us up* to any Undertaking: Some, when they uſe theſe Words in this Signification, do clap one another on the Back, which adds a greater Emphaſis to them. But he goes on, *Let us*, ſaith he, *while we live*. And here you are to underſtand two Things, what is meant by *we*, and, ſecondly, what is meant by the Words in general, *while we live*. Note then, that *we* is a Particle of Diſtinction, which ſhews you that there is another Sort of Men to whom our dear *Guſman* doth deny the precious Comforts held forth in this Verſe; for, my Beloved, I would not have you think, that, when he ſpoke this, he had Pigs in his Belly, as *Calvin*, in his Comment upon this Place, doth erroneouſly conjecture. By *we* then is meant the Godly, ſuch as I and you are, whom the Lord hath choſen to the Enjoyments of this World. The other Sort of Men here implied are all thoſe who profeſs to be our Enemies, Men that would cut off our Ears with the Paring-ſhovels of their Malice, and whip our Backs with the Scourges of their Fury; for, did not the Word intimate this Diſtinction, our deceaſed Brother had not uſed ſo many pious and painful Endeavours to advance ſome Men, and deſtroy others, that is, to advance his own godly Party, and deſtroy his wicked Foes. *Let us*, ſaith he, *while we live*, that is, while we are in Power, while we live in Authority, or be in Favour with thoſe that govern, whether it be a ſingle Perſon or a Commonwealth; or, if you will have it otherwiſe, while we are in a thriving Condition, while Men think us godly and faithful, and conſequently truſt us with Preferments or Profit; I ſay, when the Lord ſhall put ſuch Opportunities and Abilities into our Hands, then, my Brethren, *Let us make Uſe of our Time*; let us take Hold of them with both Hands, and hold them as faſt as a Maſtiff holds a Sow by the Ear; *Let us make Uſe of our Time*, that is, Let us uſe all Endeavours, Ways, Plots, Means, Manners, Tricks, and Policies, whether lawful or unlawful, to raiſe and advance our own Ends, whether they be only honourable, or profitable, or both. And when we have attained that which we ſeek, let us uſe the ſame Inventions, that the ungodly Men may not gain them from us, and thence take Occaſion to triumph over us. The Fathers of the Order of Induſtry, at the Council held at *Biſcar* in the Year 1590, made a Decree, that every one ſhould keep his own, and get what he could from another. I ſpeak this, that I may not leave you altogether without Authority in the Explanation of my Text, but of this more anon. We ſhall now proceed to the Reaſon of the Words, *for a Man's Life is ended in a Day*; as much as to ſay, the Life of Man is very ſhort; for, whereas it was formerly above an Ell and a Nail long, it is now no longer than a Span. How faſt a While did *Methuſelah* live to enjoy the Pains and Labours of his Youth? But no ſooner had our dear Brother Mr. *Peters* got an Eſtate, a little Chariot, and an *Oneſimus* or two to wait on him, thinking to comfort himſelf with the Bleſſings of the Creature, but he was ſnatched away from us, even as a Boy ſnatches a Pippin out of an Apple-woman's Baſket. Some, in Regard of the Shortneſs thereof, have compared the Life of Man unto a Lilly; but I am clearly of Opinion, that it was a Miſtake; ſeeing that of that Flower is made a precious Oil that prolongeth the Days of Man by curing feſtered Wounds, and broken Pates. Others have likened it unto a Roſe, but with as little Reaſon; for we know that of the Roſe is made that excellent Conſerve which is good againſt the Cough of the Lungs, one of the greateſt Enemies to Life; I therefore, rather agreeing herein with that great Light of the *Spaniſh* Church *Lazarillo de Tornes*, ſhall compare our beloved Brother unto Marigold, and his Ending in a Day unto the Fading thereof. For as the Flowers of a Marigold ſwimming on the Top of a Meſs of Porridge, which is the Food of the Body, is a great Ornament thereunto, ſo, my Beloved, was he a great Ornament to our Religion, which is the Food of the Soul; and

that closes up at the Setting of the Sun, so did he end in a Day, even in that Day that the Sun of our Region was forced to withdraw himself from *Whitehall*. Thus much for the Exposition. I shall now proceed to the Doctrine that creeps out of my Text, as a Fox creeps out of his Hole: That it is the Duty of every Professor, seeing that he hath but a short While to stay in this World, to make the best Use of his Time; the Particulars of which Doctrine I shall labour to make good unto you by Reason and Example. *First*, then, that there is a Duty that lies upon every Professor, we find evident by this, that there is in all Men not only a Labouring and a Panting, but also a Tye upon them to look after Self-preservation, for, if a Child of God be in Want, and woeful Necessity, as many Times they are, the Law of Nature doth oblige them to seek after Maintenance, and not to destroy themselves and their Family. Saith *Gusman* in his second Book, c. 3. v. 15, Poverty is daily Death; so that he, who avoids not Poverty, seeks a daily Death, and is consequently a daily Murtherer of himself; at least *he intends it*: Now, an Intention to Sin, *without* Repentance, is a Sin as great as the Act itself. This it was that urged the holy *Gusman* to undertake those many Atchievements which he performed; for saith he in another Place, Book the first, c. 8. v. 12, I thought it not my Duty to live in Idleness: Therefore, when Necessity, the best School-mistress of the Godly, that maketh Magpies to speak, and Spaniels to fetch and carry, had made him consider his Duty, he was not slack in the Exercise thereof; so that, betaking himself to the religious Calling of a Thief, he stole the Cook's Silver Goblet, the Grocer's Royals, and cousened the Cardinal of his Barrel of Conserves. Moreover, my Beloved, this Duty of Self-preservation caused our dear Sister *Agatha*, as you may read in the first Book of pious *Francion*, not only to bethink herself, but to bestir her Stumps also: Finding herself therefore to be of a well-shaped Body, and of comely Features, and lovely in the Eyes of Men, she became an Harlot, and was unto the Brethren a great Comfort in the frail Distresses of Human Nature; whereby she was stored with Wealth, and increased in worldly Enjoyments. This Duty it is that obligeth Butchers to [illegible] Coblers to pray; that teaches them to make Profession of Religion, and then causeth them to take on them the gainful Function of the Ministry; whereby they may be the better enabled, after the sweet Consolations of boiled Beef and Bag-pudding, to sing Psalms, and rejoice in their Families. All these Things our deceased Brother knew full well, which made him persist in the Performance of this Duty until the End. He soon found the sweet Gain of Preaching, and made such a dextrous Use of it, that he was beloved of his Rulers, and died with the Blessing of *Job*; for I may say of our dear Brother, as the Text saith of him, That the Lord blessed his latter End more than his Beginning. The Lord reward that blessed Man who first invented this profitable and advantageous Science. Thus much for the first Part of our Doctrine, That there is a Duty lying upon every Professor. Now, my Beloved, I shall come to tell you what that Duty is: 'Tis true the Words of my Text are so plain, that you may in a Manner pick it out of the Words, with as much Ease as you can pick out the Marrow of a Leg of Mutton Bone with a Skewer, or the wrong End of a Spoon; for, say they, *Let us, while we live, make Use of our Time, seeing the Life of Man is ended in a Day.* So that here you see what Duty that is, That you ought to make Use of your Time; but, perhaps, you do not know what it is to make Use of your Time, which is the next Thing I shall inform you. Know ye then, my Brethren, there are Swarms of such Men as make Profession of Religion, who are not all of one Trade or Occupation; but some follow one Thing, some another, according to their several Gifts. For some are Stitchers of Cloth, some are Boddice-makers, some are Translators, some are Soldiers, and fight the Battles of the Lord; some are Brokers; some are Hewers of Wood, that is to say, Carpenters; some are Drawers of Water, that is, Victuallers and Innkeepers; some are those that gape for State Employments; and some, though I deny not that any of these may take the Ministry upon them in Time, are Preachers of the Word, as soon as ever they have done Playing at Trap. Now, that every one of these Professions may profit in their several Vocations, there are required these nine Gifts:

The Gift of convenient Boldness,
The Gift of Nonsense,

The

The Gift of Leaſing,
The Gift of Accuſing and Informing,
The Gift of Ignorance,
The Gift of Couſening,
The Gift of Thieving,
The Gift of Covetouſneſs,
And the Gift of Hypocriſy.

I have placed the Gift of convenient Boldneſs in the Van, and the Gift of Hypocriſy in the Rear, knowing, that a Profeſſor cannot well go on upon any Enterpriſe without the One, nor well come off without the Other. Now though a Profeſſor ought always to have an inward Working of theſe Gifts, yet the Perfection of them is required in ſome Sorts of Profeſſors more than in others: For Example, The Gifts of Impudence, Lying, and Couſening, do more properly belong unto thoſe who have Trades and Occupations of Selling and Buying. The Gifts of Ignorance, Lying, Impudence, Informing, Couſening, and Hypocriſy belong unto ſuch as ſeek Preferment, whether Civil or Military; but all of them together are required to make up a Miniſter of the Word. I ſhall not here ſtand to tell you in particular how every one of theſe Callings ought, according to their ſeveral Gifts, to make Uſe of their Time; but in general, as a Foot-boy ſkippeth over Kennels, ſkip over thoſe Inſtructions which concern the Profeſſors that are of my own Livery. Firſt, therefore, that a preaching Profeſſor may make Uſe of his Time, it is required, that he ſhould be ſtored with Impudence, even as a Woodmonger's Wharf is ſtored with Faggots and Sea-coal. The Uſes of it are theſe two, firſt, to encourage you to the moſt deſperate Enterpriſes; and ſecondly, to make you ſcorn the Reproaches of thoſe that reprove you: As for Example, my Beloved, if you ſee one of your Enemies ſeated in a warm Living, and that your Heart pant and thirſt after the ſame, you ought then to put on your Night-cap of Devotion, and your Garment of Hypocriſy, and go unto your Superiors and ſay, Yonder is a Man who is not of the Congregation of Profeſſors, who is planted in a rich Living; he is a ſcandalous and diſaffected Perſon, and I am more worthy than he, pray put me into his Place: If Men therefore rebuke you, and call you Accuſer and Devil, then ought you to make Uſe of your Gift of Impudence, and laugh at them all. Thus did holy *Nye* throw out unrighteous *Juxon* out of his Parſonage of *Fulham*: Thus our Brother *Marſhall* became poſſeſſed of his fat Living in the Land of *Eſſex*. This imboldened our departed Brother to hold forth in the Pulpit of *Whitehall*, where ſo many Learned, as the Heathen call them, had been before him. What cared they for the Reproaches of Men, for their Hearts were ſeared with the Hot Iron of Impudence, finding themſelves at Eaſe, and filled with Joy? This likewiſe imboldened the poor *Spaniard*, as we find in the Book of our dear *Guſman*, Book I. Chap. firſt to beg Money, and then, without Bidding, ſit down Cheek-by-Jowl, with the Ambaſſador; for, ſaith he, in the laſt Verſe, He was carried away with Bravadoes, and an impudent Behaviour.

The next Virtue, we are to make Uſe of, is the Gift of Nonſenſe: For, perhaps, thou mayeſt not be a Scholar, nor one of the Number of the Learned, and it may concern thee to talk two Hours together; thou oughteſt therefore to be well furniſhed with Nonſenſe, that thou mayeſt be inabled to go through with thy Work; to which Purpoſe often Repetitions, and Telling of Tales, do very much conduce; as when our departed Brother told the Story of his being in Heaven and Hell, and the Tale of Puſs in her Majeſty.

The next Gift is that of Lying, which may be very profitable to thee, and whereof thou mayeſt make a very great Advantage; for, if thou art bid to preach for the Benefit of thy Rulers, if then thou art furniſhed with Soul-couſening Doctrine; if then thou haſt the right Art of Lying and Wheedling the People, by telling them, that the Cauſe thou ſpeakeſt of is the only true Cauſe, and that God will certainly own them in their Obedience to it, then there will ariſe unto thee a very great Emolument. With theſe Arts our deceaſed Brother furniſhed the Parliament with Baſons, Rings, and Bodkins. Thus he, by telling them that *Ireland* was a Place that flowed with Milk and Honey, and where Broad-cloath of twelve Shillings a Yard grew upon the Trees, inticed the Soldiers over againſt the publick Enemy. Thus we read in the fore-mentioned Chapter of *Guſman*, how the ſame *Spaniard*, by relating the Nobleneſs of his Family, though he were but a Cobler's Son in *Cordova*, and by boaſting of ſeveral great Actions, which he never did, got of the ſaid Lord

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baſſador both Money and his Dinner. We find alſo Mr. *Sterry* practiſing this Gift, when to ingratiate himſelf with his new Maſter, our late Protector, he aſſured him, that his Father was ſitting at the Right Hand of God, when moſt Divines do affirm the Contrary.

The next Thing, requiſite for a Man that will make you but Uſe of his Time, is the Gift of Accuſing and Slandering: Knoweſt thou not, O Man, that Slanders are like the Defilement of *Printers* Ink, eaſily laid on, but hard to rub off? If then thou ſeekeſt to work any one into Diſfavour with his Superiors, that thou mayeſt obtain thy deſired End, make thy firſt Shot at him with the Pot-guns of Slander; for the Diſgrace, thou throweſt upon him, throws him out, and toſſes thee into the Haven of thy Wiſhes. Thus our deceaſed Brother never left Accuſing unſanctified *Laud*, till his Head had ſatisfied his Wrath; and the Benevolences, which the Profeſſors beſtowed on him out of his worldly Profits, had appeaſed the Hunger of his almoſt famiſhed Purſe: Thus the Brethren likewiſe accuſed the Lord *Craven*, being of the Race of *Iſhmael*, and got his Eſtate.

Thy next Gift is *Ignorance*; for thou muſt know that there are few wiſe Men in Authority. Thinkeſt thou then, O fooliſh *Galatian*, that any Man will advance ſuch a one as is more cunning than himſelf? No, thou muſt at leaſt pretend Ignorance; and if, after ſuch Advancement, thou doſt grow wiſer than thy Brethren, then, I ſay, make Uſe of thy Time, ſaith bleſſed *Machiavel* in his Book of the Right Path to Preferment, Let every Man counterfeit that Humour which he finds moſt advantageous to his Deſigns. Therefore neither our deceaſed Brother, nor any of his faithful Brethren the Triers, would advance thoſe whom the Heathen called the Grave, Learned, and Wiſe, but the Meaneſt of the People, that were of the ſimpleſt and weakeſt Capacities. There came a learned Man, and one of the weak Brethren, and contended for a Place, ſaith our deceaſed Brother to him that was learned, What is Faith? Who anſwered him diſcreetly, according to the Learning of the Schools. Then he demanded the ſame Queſtion of the other, who replied, That Faith was a ſweet Lullaby in the Lap of *Jeſus Chriſt*: At which Words our deceaſed Brother, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, cried, Bleſſed be the Lord, who hath revealed theſe Things unto the Simple; Friend, thou, according to thy Deſerts, ſhalt have the Living.

The next Thing important is the Gift of Couſening: For you know, my Beloved, the common People are a ſimple Sort of Creatures, who muſt be deluded into their own Good: Now their Good is the Good and Safety of their Governors: Do we not deceive Children whom we would give Phyſick unto, by anointing the Brim of the Cup with Honey? So do we ſweeten the bitter Purges, which are the People's Taxes and Impoſitions, with the delicate Allurements of Liberty and Religion. So our late Reverend Lord *Oliver*, of bleſſed Memory, for whom our dear Brother, the Lord reward his Soul, hath pimped full often, as you may read in our dear Siſter *Briſco*'s Book of Divine Truth; ſo I ſay he, by Couſening every body that he dealt with, by the right Management, or the ſeaſonable Taking and Breaking of his Oaths and Proteſtations, became a Monarch. Thus did the devout *Lazarillo* couſen the Prieſt his Maſter of his Bread: I ſhall give you his own Words, *L. I. c. 3. v. 11.* I pray, my Beloved, turn to the Place and mark it, for it is a very precious Text: Saith he, as I was muſing how to get Victuals, and feeding upon the Sight of the Cheſt wherein my Maſter's Bread was locked, there came a Tinker to the Door with a Bunch of Keys, who ſeemed to me to be an Angel in Diſguiſe; ſaid I to him, Have you a Key that will open this Cheſt? He aſſayed, and opened it, by which Means I made many a fair Loaf inviſible, that my Maſter never knew of.

Another Thing, mainly conducing to him that would make Uſe of his Time, is the Gift of Covetouſneſs. Therefore, ſaith the Text, of that blind Hermit who was *Lazarillo* Maſter, That, for all his Gains, there was never a Man ſo wretched a Niggard. The Reaſon thereof is, that there may come Changes, and that the Profeſſors may be forced to fly; it behoves them therefore, while they may, to make Uſe of their Time, that is, to hoard up and ſave againſt the Day of Adverſity. You have the Examples of moſt Profeſſors for it, whoſe Doors we find continually ſhut, and never opening to the leaſt Expence of a Cruſt, though a poor Man ſhould beg his Heart out. This makes us not be content with our Livings, but to Lectures and private Congregations,

Congregations, which bringeth in unſpeakable Profit: Not content with this, ſome of our Brethren ſitting in the Triers Chair, which is the Seat of Authority, have privately taken to themſelves the Rewards of Well-doing, loth to ſpoil the Charity of Men, by receiving Tankards of Silver, Rundlets of Sack, and ſometimes ready Money; the Lord of his Mercy make them thankful. Our deceaſed Brother was a mighty Admirer of Canes with Silver Heads; and, making his Admiration known, he profited exceedingly.

The laſt important Gift is the Gift of Hypocriſy. The Reaſon hereof is, That he, who will compaſs a Deſign, muſt go the beſt Way he can to do it. Now he, that cannot get his Ends by Force, muſt ſeek to attain them by Cunning; but it is found, that, in theſe Days, there is no Cunning like that of ſeeming godly, as Mr. *Sedgewick* hath well obſerved, in his Book of *Spiritual Experiences*; therefore is this Gift very neceſſary: For which Cauſe ſaith *Tiberius*, the beſt of Chriſtian Emperors, That he, who knows not to diſſemble, knows not to rule; and with him accords our Brother *Spurſtow*, in his Book of *The Privileges of the Saints*. All the World knows how conducing it was, both to our deceaſed Brother, and his dear Maſter, and what Advantages they got thereby; I ſhall not therefore, inſiſt any more upon further Examples.

Having thus made out, by Reaſon and Example, That it is the Duty of every Profeſſor, while he lives in this World, to make Uſe of his Time, and the Means and Ways how to do it, I ſhall now proceed to the Application. Is it ſo then, That every Profeſſor ought to make Uſe of his Time? Then let this ſerve for an Uſe of Exhortation, to exhort every one of you to make the beſt Uſe of your Time; that is to ſay, Get Money, get Eſtates, get Friends at Court, and labour to enjoy the Promiſes; the Fat of the Land, my Beloved, is your Fee-ſimple, therefore let not *Canaan* be taken from you. If your Rulers would have you worſhip them, and adore them, do ſo, Beloved, for they are Gods, and ye ought to do ſo: If they would have you preach falſe Doctrine, and deceive the People, do ſo; it [illegible] their Intereſt, and, if their's, your's alſo: [illegible] not they feed you, and clothe you, and [illegible] into fat Livings? Be therefore obedient [illegible] in all Things. If they would have you *procure*, procure for them, as your deceaſed Brother did before you, and went down unto his Grave in Peace. Aye but ſome will ſay, These Things are unlawful. But hear what ſaith our dear Brother [illegible] of ſacred Memory: *In vetitum nefas ruimus*: We ought [illegible] to run into that, from which we are forbidden. To confirm this, I ſhall only give you two or three Motives, and ſo conclude: *Firſt*, from the Inconveniencies following the Neglect of your Duty; and, *ſecondly*, from the Conveniencies that hang upon it, [illegible] as Pears hang upon a Tree at the latter End of the Summer. The Inconveniencies, ariſing from the Neglect of our Duty, are Poverty and Neceſſity; therefore *Guſman*, being in great Want, and finding that Brickbats were too hard to feed on, and that the Rafters of a Houſe were not to be roaſted, thought there was no better Way to thrive, than by becoming a Churchman; for, ſaith he, then ſhall I have ſomething to eat, knowing well, that a *Dominus vobiſcum* never taſted of Hunger. Again, If thou wert married, and thy Wife ſhould ſee her Neighbours go finer than ſhe, and ſhould complain, and thou not be able to ſupply her, Would it not be a great Trouble and Vexation of Spirit to thee to hear the Clamours of thy dear Conſort? The next Motive is the Folly and Indiſcretion, that Men would juſtly accuſe you of, That, when it is in your Power to make Uſe of your Time, you ſhould be ſuch Wood-cocks-combs as to refuſe it. The Conveniencies ariſing are, *Firſt*, The Reſpect of Men. *Secondly*, The Reſpect of Women; and, *Thirdly*, The certain Gain and Profit, which have always belonged unto us: For, if you make Uſe of your Time, Men will reſpect you, worſhip you, and place you uppermoſt at their Meetings, while you ſit a-ſtraddle upon their Conſciences, as *Balaam* rid upon his Aſs, without the leaſt Wincing, or Contradiction at all. The Women will feaſt you, and cram not only your Bellies, but your Purſes; nor ſhall there be a good Bit eaten at the Table of their Huſbands, of which you ſhall not partake, to the great Envy of the Wicked. When you come down ſweating from your Pulpits, they will put you into warm Beds, and rub over your weary Limbs with their ſoft and tender Hands; and, my Beloved, theſe are precious, I ſay, [illegible] Enjoyments. Therefore I ſhall [illegible] made, in the

the Words of my Text, *Let us, while we live, make Uſe of our Time*, taking for our Pattern the Life and Manner of our deceaſed Brother here before us; of whom, that I may make him a ſhort Encomium, I ſhall ſay thus much: That, from his Youth, he followed the Calling of the Miniſtry; and, becauſe then the Wicked prevailed, and he was a Sufferer, he went about, giving Conſolation to thoſe that ſuffered for Theft, and ſuch-like criminal Offences. Afterwards he travelled, and, as he found Occaſion, ſowed his Seed, ſometimes in fruitful, ſometimes in barren Soils; and I may ſay this of him, That, while he lived, ſuch was his Zeal, he laid many a Whore of *Babylon* on her Back. When the Faithful began to exalt their Horns in this Nation, he was a great Fomenter of the Quarrel, and gave Occaſion to the reſt of his Brethren to fiſh in troubled Waters. To his Prince he was a great Aſſiſtance in all his Deſigns, laying aſide that notional Impediment of a Stateſman, called *Conſcience*, that he might be the more ſerviceable to his Country: His Charity was not unknown, he giving two notable Examples thereof, in his relieving our two dear Siſters, the Butcher's Wife and Mrs. *Littleton*, in both their Afflictions. He died not without Aſſociates to accompany him to his laſt Reſt; for, as I am informed, on that Night, that he departed, departed alſo a dear Brother and Siſter of our's, the Hangman and *Moll Cutpurſe*. He was at firſt unwilling to die, knowing what Comforts he left behind him; but, ſeeing there was no Remedy, he leaned his Head on the Pillow, and peaceably yielded up the Ghoſt. When *Tyribazus*, a noble *Perſian*, was arreſted, at the firſt he drew his Sword and defended himſelf; but, when they charged him in the King's Name, then he yielded himſelf willingly: So, when Death arreſted our dear Brother, at firſt he ſtarted and ſtruggled, as a Man ſhrinks at his firſt Putting his Feet into the cold Water; but, when he recollected his Thoughts, and conſidered, that Death was ſent to him as a Meſſenger to bring him to Eternity, he embraced it; and he went to his long Home as willingly, as a young Bride goeth from her Friends into the Country with her new-married Spouſe. And thus, having tired your Patience, before which Time we never uſe to make an End, I ſhall conclude, ſtill deſiring you not to forget the Example of our departed Brother, and the Words of my Text: *Let us, while we live, make Uſe of our Time; for the Life of Man is ended in a Day.*

The laſt Speech * of Mr. *Oliver Plunket*, Titular Primate of *Ireland*, who was executed at *Tyburn* on *Friday* the Firſt of this Inſtant *July*, 1681. Written by his own Hand. *London*, Printed by *N. Thompſon*, 1681. *Folio*, containing four Pages.

I Have, ſome few Days paſt, abided my Trial at the *King*'s-*Bench*, and now very ſoon I muſt hold up my Hand at the King of Kings Bench, and appear before a Judge, who cannot be deceived by falſe Witneſſes, or corrupted Allegations: *For he knoweth the Secrets of Hearts:* Neither can he deceive any, or give an unjuſt Sentence, or be miſled by Reſpect of Perſons; he being all Goodneſs, and a moſt juſt Judge, will infallibly decree an eternal Reward for all good Works, and condign Puniſhment for the ſmalleſt Tranſgreſſion againſt his Commandments. Which, being a moſt certain and undoubted Truth, it would be a wicked Act, and contrary to my perpetual Welfare, that I ſhould now by Declaring any Thing contrary to Truth, commit a deteſtable Sin, for which, within a very ſhort Time, I muſt receive Sentence of everlaſting Damnation; after which, there is no Reprieve, or Hope of Pardon. I will therefore confeſs the Truth, without any Equivocation, and make Uſe of the Words according to their accuſtomed Signification; aſſuring you, moreover,

* This is the 43(d) Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

over, that I am of that certain Perſuaſion, that no Power, not only upon Earth, but alſo in Heaven, can diſpenſe with me, or give me Leave to make a falſe Proteſtation: And I proteſt, upon the Word of a dying Man, and as I hope for Salvation, at the Hands of the Supreme Judge, that I will declare the naked Truth, with all Candour and Sincerity; and, that my Affairs may be the better known to all the World.

It is to be obſerved, that I have been accuſed in *Ireland* of Treaſon and *Præmunire*, and that there I was arraigned and brought to my Trial; but the Proſecutors, Men of flagitious and infamous Lives, perceiving that I had Records and Witneſſes, who would evidently convince them, and clearly ſhew my Innocency, and their Wickedneſs: They voluntarily abſented themſelves, and came to this City, to procure that I ſhould be brought hither to my Trial (where the Crimes objected were not committed) where the Jury did not know me, or the Qualities of my Accuſers, and were not informed of ſeveral other Circumſtances conducing to a fair Trial. Here, after ſix Months cloſe Impriſonment, or thereabouts, I was brought to the Bar, the Third of *May*, and arraigned for a Crime, for which I was before arraigned in *Ireland:* A ſtrange Reſolution! a rare Fact, of which, you will hardly find a Precedent theſe five-hundred Years paſt: But, whereas my Witneſſes and Records were in *Ireland*, the Lord Chief Juſtice gave me five Weeks Time, to get them brought hither: But by Reaſon of the Uncertainty of the Seas, of Wind and Weather, and of the Difficulty of getting Copies of Records, and bringing many Witneſſes from ſeveral Counties in *Ireland*, and for many other Impediments (of which *Affidavit* was made) I could not at the End of the five Weeks, get the Records and Witneſſes brought hither; I therefore begged for twelve Days more, that I might be in a Readineſs for my Trial, which the Lord Chief Juſtice denied; and ſo I was brought to my Trial, and expoſed, as it were, with my Hands tied, to thoſe mercileſs Perjurors, who did aim at my Life, by Accuſing me of theſe following Points:

Firſt, That I have ſent Letters by one *Nial O Neale*, who was my Page, to Monſieur *Baldeſchi*, the Pope's Secretary; to the Biſhop of *Aix*, and to *Principe Colonna*, that they might ſollicit Foreign Powers to invade *Ireland*; and alſo to have ſent Letters to Cardinal *Bullion* to the ſame Effect.

Secondly, To have employed Captain *Con O Neale*, to the *French* King, for Succour.

Thirdly, To have levied and exacted Monies from the Clergy of *Ireland*, to bring in the *French*, and to maintain ſeventy-thouſand Men.

Fourthly, To have had in a Readineſs ſeventy-thouſand Men, and Liſts made of them, and to have given Directions to one Friar *Duffy* to make a Liſt of two-hundred and fifty Men, in the Pariſh of *Foghart*, in the County of *Louth*.

Fifthly, To have ſurrounded all the Forts and Harbours of *Ireland*, and to have fixed upon *Carlingford*, as a fit Harbour, for the *French*'s Landing.

Sixthly, To have had ſeveral Councils and Meetings, where there was Money allotted for Introducing the *French*.

Finally, That a Meeting, in the County of *Monaghan*, ſome ten or twelve Years paſt, there were three-hundred Gentlemen of three ſeveral Counties, to wit, *Monaghan*, *Cavan*, and *Armagh*; whom I did exhort to take Arms, to recover their Eſtates.

To the Firſt, I anſwer, that *Nial O Neale* was never my Servant or Page, and that I never ſent Letter or Letters by him to Monſieur *Baldeſchi*, or the Biſhop of *Aix*, or to *Principe Colonna*. And I ſay, that the *Engliſh* Tranſlation of that pretended Letter, produced by the Friar *Macmoyer*, is a mere Invention of his, and never penned by me, or its Original, either in *Engliſh*, *Latin*, *Italian*, or any other Language. I affirm moreover, that I never wrote Letter or Letters to Cardinal *Bullion*, or any of the *French* King's Miniſters; neither did any, who was in that Court either ſpeak to me, or write to me, directly or indirectly, of any Plot or Conſpiracy againſt my King or Country. Farther, I vow that I never ſent Agent or Agents to *Rome*, or to any other Court, about any Civil or Temporal Affairs: And it is well known, for it is a Precept publickly printed, that Clergymen, living in Countries, where the Government is not of *Roman* Catholicks, are commanded by *Rome*, not to write to *Rome*, concerning any Civil or Temporal Affairs. And I do aver, that I never received Letter or Letters from the Pope or from any other of his Miniſters ma[illegible]

leaſt Mention of any ſuch Matters: So that the Friars *Macmoyer* and *Duffy* ſwore moſt falſly, as to ſuch Letter or Letters, Agent or Agents.

To the Second, I ſay that I never employed Captain *Con O Neal* to the *French* or to any of his Miniſters; and that I never wrote to him, or received Letters from him; and that I never ſaw him but once, nor ever ſpoke to him, to the beſt of my Remembrance, ten Words; and as for his being in *Charlemount*, or *Dungannon*, I never ſaw him in them Towns, or knew of his being in thoſe Places: So that, as to *Con O Neal*, Friar *Mac-Moyer*'s Depoſitions are moſt falſe.

To the Third, I ſay, that I never levied any Money, for a Plot or Conſpiracy, for Bringing in *Spaniards* or *French*, neither did I ever receive any upon that Account, from Prieſts or Friars, as Prieſt *Mac-Clave* and Friar *Duffy* moſt untruly aſſerted. I aſſure you, that I never received from any Clergyman in *Ireland*, but what was due to me, by ancient Cuſtom for my Maintenance, and what my Predeceſſors, theſe hundred Years paſt, were uſed to receive; nay, I received leſs than many of them. And if all that the Catholick Clergy of *Ireland* get in the Year, were put in one Purſe, it would ſignify little or nothing to introduce the *French*, or to raiſe an Army of ſeventy-thouſand Men, which I had inliſted and ready, as Friar *Mac-Moyer* moſt falſly depoſed: Neither is it leſs untrue, what Friar *Duffy* atteſted, *viz.* That I directed him to make a Liſt of two-hundred and fifty Men, in the Pariſh of *Foghart*, in the County of *Lowth*.

To the Fifth, I anſwer, that I never ſurrounded all the Forts and Harbours of *Ireland*, and that I was never at *Cork*, *Kinſale*, *Bantry*, *Youghal*, *Dungarvan*, or *Knockfergus*; and, theſe thirty-ſix Years paſt, I was not at *Limerick*, *Dungannon*, or *Wexford*. As for *Carlingford*, I was never in it but once, and ſtayed not in it, above Half an Hour: Neither did I conſider the Fort or Haven; neither had I it in my Thoughts or Imagination to fix upon it, or upon any other Fort or Haven, for Landing of *French* or *Spaniards*; and whilſt I was at *Carlingford* (by mere Chance, paſſing that Way) Friar *Duffy* was not in my Company, as he moſt falſly ſwore.

To the Sixth, I ſay, that I was never at any Meeting or Council, where there was Mention of Collecting or Collecting of Monies, for a Plot or Conſpiracy; and it is well known that the Catholick Clergy of *Ireland*, who have neither Lands nor Revenues, and hardly are able to keep decent Cloaths upon their Backs, and Life and Soul together, can raiſe no conſiderable Sum; nay cannot ſpare as much as would maintain Half a Regiment.

To the Seventh, I anſwer, that I was never at any Meeting of three-hundred Gentlemen in the County of *Monaghan*, or of any Gentlemen of the three Counties of *Monaghan*, *Armagh*, and *Cavan*, nor of one County, nor of one Barony; and that I never exhorted Gentleman or Gentlemen either there, or in any other Part of *Ireland*, to take Arms for the Recovering their Eſtates: And it is well known that there are not, even in all the Province of *Ulſter*, three-hundred *Iriſh Roman* Catholicks, who had Eſtates, or loſt Eſtates by the late Rebellion: And as it is well known, all my Thoughts and Endeavours were for the Quiet of my Country, and eſpecially of that Province.

Now to be brief, As I hope for Salvation, I never ſent Letter or Letters, Agent, or Agents, to Pope, King, Prince, or Prelate, concerning any Plot or Conſpiracy againſt my King or Country: I never raiſed Sum or Sums of Money, great or ſmall, to maintain Soldier or Soldiers, all the Days of my Life: I never knew or heard, neither did it come to my Thoughts or Imagination, that the *French* were to land at *Carlingford*; and I believe, there is none who ſaw *Ireland* even in a Map, but will think it a mere Romance; I never knew of any Plotters or Conſpirators in *Ireland* but ſuch as were notorious and proclaimed, commonly called *Tories*, whom I did endeavour to ſuppreſs. And as I hope for Salvation, I always have been, and am intirely innocent of the Treaſons laid to my Charge, and of any other whatſoever.

And though I be not guilty of the Crimes, of which I am accuſed, yet I believe none came ever to this Place, who is in ſuch a Condition as I am; for if I ſhould even acknowledge, which in Conſcience I cannot do, becauſe I ſhould bely myſelf, the chief Crimes laid to my Charge, no Wiſeman, that knows *Ireland*, would believe me. If I ſhould confeſs that I was able to raiſe ſeventy-thouſand Men, in the Diſtricts of which I had Care, to wit, in *Ulſter*; nay, even in all *Ireland*, and to have levied and exacted Monies from the *Ro-*

man Clergy for their Maintenance, and to have prepared *Carlingford*, for the *French*'s Landing, all would but laugh at me; it being well known, that all the Revenues of *Ireland*, both Spiritual and Temporal, poſſeſſed by his Majeſty's Subjects, are ſcarce able to raiſe and maintain an Army of ſeventy-thouſand Men. If I will deny all thoſe Crimes, as I did, and do, yet it may be, that ſome, who are not acquainted with the Affairs of *Ireland*, will not believe, that my Denial is grounded upon Truth, though I aſſert it, with my laſt Breath. I dare venture farther, and affirm, That if theſe Points of ſeventy-thouſand Men, *&c.* had been ſworn before any Proteſtant Jury in *Ireland*, and had been even acknowledged by me, at the Bar, they would not believe me, no more than if it had been depoſed, and confeſſed by me, That I had flown in the Air from *Dublin*, to *Holy-head*.

You ſee therefore, what a Condition I am in, and you have heard what Proteſtations I have made of Innocency, and I hope you will believe the Words of a dying Man; and, that you may be the more induced to give me Credit, I aſſure you, That a great Peer ſent me Notice, That he would ſave my Life, if I would accuſe others. But I anſwered, That I never knew of any Conſpirators in *Ireland*; but ſuch, as I ſaid before, as were publickly known Outlaws: And that, to ſave my Life, I would not falſly accuſe any, nor prejudice my own Soul. *Quid prodeſt homini*, &c. To take away any Man's Life, or Goods wrongfully, ill becometh any Chriſtian, eſpecially a Man of my Calling, being a Clergyman of the Catholick Church, and alſo an unworthy Prelate, which I do openly confeſs. Neither will I deny to have exerciſed, in *Ireland*, the Functions of a Catholick Prelate, as long as there was any Connivance or Toleration; and by Preaching, Teaching, and Statutes, to have endeavoured to bring the Clergy, of which I had a Care, to a due Comportment, according to their Calling; and, though thereby I did but my Duty, yet ſome, who would not amend, had a Prejudice for me, and eſpecially my Accuſers, to whom I did endeavour to do Good; I mean the Clergymen; as for the four Laymen, who appeared againſt me, *viz. Florence Mac-Moyer*, the two *Neals*, and *Hanlon*, I was never acquainted with them; but you ſee how I am requited, and how by falſe Oaths they brought me to this untimely Death; which wicked Act, being a Defect of Perſons, [illegible] to reflect upon the Order of St. *Francis*, or upon the *Roman* Catholick Clergy. It being well known, that there was a *Judas* among the twelve Apoſtles, and a wicked Man called *Nicholas* amongſt the ſeven Deacons. And even, as one of the ſaid Deacons, to wit, holy *Stephen*, did pray for thoſe who ſtoned him to Death, ſo do I, for thoſe who, with Perjuries, ſpill my innocent Blood, ſaying, as St. *Stephen* did, *O Lord, lay not this Sin to them.* I do heartily forgive them, and alſo the Judges, who, by Denying me ſufficient Time, to bring my Records and Witneſſes from *Ireland*, did expoſe my Life to evident Danger. I do alſo forgive all thoſe, who had a Hand, in Bringing me from *Ireland*, to be tried here, where it was morally impoſſible for me to have a fair Trial. I do finally forgive all who did concur, directly or indirectly, to take away my Life, and I aſk Forgiveneſs of all thoſe whom I ever offended by Thought, Word, or Deed.

I beſeech the All-powerful, That his Divine Majeſty grant our King, Queen, and the Duke of *York*, and all the Royal Family, Health, long Life, and all Proſperity in this World, and in the Next, everlaſting Felicity.

Now, that I have ſhewed ſufficiently, as I think, how innocent I am of any Plot or Conſpiracy: I would I were able, with the like Truth, to clear myſelf of high Crimes committed againſt the Divine Majeſty's Commandments, often tranſgreſſed by me, for which, I am ſorry with all my Heart; and if I ſhould, or could live a thouſand Years, I have a firm Reſolution, and a ſtrong Purpoſe, by your Grace, O my God, never to offend you; and I beſeech your Divine Majeſty, by the Merits of Chriſt, and by the Interceſſion of his bleſſed Mother, and all the holy Angels and Saints, to forgive me my Sins, and to grant my Soul eternal Reſt. *Miſerere mei Deus*, &c. *Parce animæ*, &c. *In manus tuas*, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

TO the final Satisfaction of all Perſons, that have the Charity to believe the Words of a dying Man: I again declare before God, as I hope for Salvation, what is contained in this Paper, is the plain and naked Truth, without any Equivocation, Mental Reſervation, or ſecret Evaſion whatſoever; taking the Words in their uſual Senſe and Meaning, as Proteſtants do, when they diſcourſe with all Candour and Sincerity. To all which, I have here ſubſcribed my Hand,

Oliver Plunket.

Democritus turned Statelman: Or, Twenty Queries between Jeſt and Earneſt, propoſed to all true-hearted *Engliſhmen.*

Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam
Vexatas toties?
Si natura negat, facit indignatio------
Omne tulit punctum qui miſcuit utile dulci.

London: Printed in the Year 1659. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

I.

WHether it be not convenient that the Doctrine of *Copernicus*, who held that the World turns round, ſhould be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, which our late Changes, Alterations, and Revolutions, in Part have verified; and that *Tycho Brache*, with the Gang of the contrary Opinion, be adjuged Heterodoxal; and that from henceforth it be enacted, That what Perſons ſoever do profeſs, publiſh, or hold-forth any other Tenent contrary thereunto, be adjudged *Anathema*, *Maranatha*, and that publick Thanks be given to *Vincent Wing*, for the great Pains he took in the Compoſure of that excellent Piece called *Harmonicon Cœleſte?*

II. Whereas it is humbly conceived fit by *Machiavel* and his Pupils, that all the gangrened Members of the Body Politick be cut off, leſt Putrefaction of the Whole ſhould enſue: It is therefore worthy the Conſideration, whether it be not expedient to employ an Ambaſſador to the Man in the Moon, to procure Habitations for our new Courtiers (greater Antipodes to the preſent Government, than the old conſtant Cavaliers?) And, for the better Effecting thereof, it is deemed neceſſary, that the great Clerk, Doctor *Wilkins*, Warden of *Wadham* College in *Oxon*, in regard he hath the greateſt Knowledge in that new Plantation, be deſired, with all Speed, to provide his winged Chariot for their convenient Carriage, and that he undertake the Employment of a Coachman to conduct them thither.

III. But if that Deſign fail, Whether it be not expedient to ſhip them all for *Oceana*, and that Mr. *Harrington*, our famous Modern *Columbus*, Diſcoverer of that floating *Terra incognita*, be deſired to be the Pilot to conduct them thither; who for his Pains deſerves to be made Knight of the *Sun*, and that, in a grateful Remembrance of his good Service, it ſhould always be called after his Name, *viz. Harringtonia?*

IV. Whether it be not convenient, or rather neceſſary, to call all Perſons to an Account, that have any Way contributed their Aſſiſtance for the Eſtabliſhing of the late deceaſed

ceaſed Tyrant, as chief Magiſtrate of this Commonwealth? And whether any Perſon, or Perſons, who have any Way abetted him, and endeavoured to confirm him in his Tyranny, or acted under him in any Places of Truſt, or Power, or ſat in any Parliament, or Convention, ſummoned by his Writ, be fit to be intruſted with any Office in the Commonwealth, as it is now ſettled?

V. Whether it be not a great Contempt of the Law enacted by this Parliament, that made it Treaſon for any one Perſon to aim at the ſole Government of this Commonwealth, to ſuffer ſuch Perſon to go unpuniſhed, in Deſpight of the ſaid Law? And, Whether it be not Prudence to have ſuch Perſon brought to condign Puniſhment, that hath tranſgreſſed that Law, to terrify others for the Future, from making the like Attempt?

VI. Whether thoſe apoſtate Officers of the Army, that were active, and grand Inſtruments in ſuſpending and diſturbing this Seſſion of Parliament, as well as ſecluding, impriſoning, and unjuſtly detracting ſeveral Members of the ſame Parliament before, that were eminent Aſſertors of the People's Liberties, againſt Tyranny and Oppreſſion, conſcientious Propagators of the Goſpel, and Eſtabliſhers of the fundamental, municipal Law of the Land, and valiant Champions of the true Old Cauſe: And, by their Declaration of *Auguſt* 22, *Anno Dom.* 1653; as alſo by a Paſquil called, The true State of the Commonwealth, *An.* 1654, declared this Seſſion of Parliament to be actually and finally diſſolved from being any more a Parliament, by an extraordinary Providence, but alſo branded the Members thereof ignominiouſly for a corrupt Party, carrying on their own Ends, to perpetuate themſelves as Supreme Authority, never anſwering the Ends which God and his People expected from them, exerciſing Arbitrary Power, and ſwallowing up the ancient Liberties, and Properties of the People, and to perpetuate their Miſeries, Vexations, and Oppreſſions, through the Multitude of unneceſſary Laws, and Ordinances, concerning their own particular Intereſt, as they there at large remonſtrated, be fit Perſons to have any Employment, either Military or Civil, within this Commonwealth?

VII. Whether a Weather-cock, a Kingfiſher, a pliant Willow, a Piece of Wax capable of all Impreſſions, a Time-ſerver, a *Perſian* ſtill ſacrificing to the riſing Sun, a Lord Preſident, under the late Tyrant, of his High Court of Injuſtice; a Man, that hath made Juſtice quick-ſighted, and redeemed it from Blindneſs, be a fit Keeper of the Commonwealth's Conſcience?

VIII. Whether a hot-brain'd Parrot, that multiplies Words without Matter; a new Courtier, an Apoſtate from his firſt Principles and the good Old Cauſe, as appears by a Speech, he made in the laſt Parliament in the Behalf of *R. C.* be fit to be reſtored to his Place of Attorney-General for *South-Wales*.

IX. Whether *Pride* and Arrogancy, one who is of Yeſterday, and knows nothing; a Clerk, or Barriſter of nine Years Standing; in his Heart a Quaker, Yeſterday a Protectorian, this Day a Republican, To-morrow what you pleaſe; a Favourer of Levelliſm, and one that is not conſtant in any Thing but Inconſtancy (ſave only in the Opinion, That there are no Witches, nor can deſerve Death, though an Act of Parliament be made to that End) be fit to be a Judge in *Wales*?

X. Whether a Debaucher of both the Protectors, an Oppreſſor of his Country, a Perſecutor of the Godly; one, that ſacrilegiouſly robbed God's Houſe, to build himſelf ſumptuous Palaces, and hath purchaſed five-thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; who never fought, nor drew a Sword in Anger, be fit to ſit in that venerable Aſſembly of the Commonwealth's Repreſentatives? Or whether it be not fitter for him to be rejected, and his Eſtate ſold to pay juſt publick Debts?

XI. Whether it be lawful for an ignorant Scribbler to vent his pettiſh Humour, Malice, and Reproaches againſt thoſe Perſons, who, in the Seat of Judicature, have behaved themſelves upright, juſt, and honeſt, and done the Commonwealth ſingular good Service, during both the late Protectors Governments?

XII. Whether Levellers, Dippers, Independants, Preſbyterians, Jeſuits, Donatiſts, Manichees, Pelagians, Enthuſiaſts, Schiſmaticks, Hereticks, Hypocrites, Devils incarnate; yea, whatever the preſent Power will have them to be, of any Religion, of all Religions, of none at all; the true orthodox and learned Divines Ordeals; Knaves, Fools, yea Favourers of their Brethren learned in the ſame Faculties, and *Telenus*'s Houſe of Correction in a Mercurial new-found Land, be fit Perſons to be intruſted with the Power over the Conſciences of honeſt and religious Men?

And

And whether ſome of them, that are ſo well acquainted with the myſterious Art of Bribery and Simony, and ſuch *Simon Magus*, as,. by the Knack of Regiſtry, hath increaſed his Eſtate, from a Parſonage of One-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, to Twelve-hundred Pounds *per Annum* Land of Inheritance, ought not, in Juſtice and Prudence, to be called to an Account; and their Eſtates, acquired by the Ruins of the Church and ſeveral poor Miniſters, to be ſold, towards the Payment of Arrears due to the poor bankrupted common Soldiers, that ſuffer Hunger and Want, while ſuch enjoy the Streams of *Tagus* in their Coffers?

XIII. Whether it be not a Matter of dangerous Conſequence to permit a crop-eared Pettifogger, a Reviler of the Saints, a conſtant Oppoſer of Powers, an unwearied Scribbler, a Demoniack poſſeſſed with a Legion of helliſh Fiends, the Spirit of Contradiction to publiſh a ſcandalous Libel againſt the good Old Cauſe and the Defenders thereof, in ſuch a Juncture of Time, wherein moſt Spirits are factious, and apt to take Fire, like Tinder, at the leaſt Spark of Encouragement dropping from a fiery Pen?

XIV. Whether a *Plagiarius*, a *Demetrius*, a Jailer of our Liberties, and one who, in the laſt Aſſembly, was in a Probability to ſuffer for his unparalleled Crimes, be fit to be truſted with the Command of the moſt important Place of the Nation? And whether it be not neceſſary to expoſe him to the Sword of Juſtice, who hath ſo much abuſed the Sword of the Commonwealth?

XV. Whether it will not be Wiſdom to look back to the Occaſion of the late bloody and unhappy War, and gradually to the Proſecutions thereof, and the End that was propoſed at the Beginning; and when the Continuance of the *Medium* conducing to that End was everted; and then to return to the Place where Paſſion captivated Reaſon, and there to build a happy Government upon the Baſis of the True Old Cauſe, according to the firſt Principles that were owned by all good People?

XVI. Whether it be not the pureſt and ſafeſt Kind of free State, to have a free Parliament elected annually, or twice a Year, as it was before the Conqueſt, and after many Years, without Reſtraint on the Wills of the free People of the Nation; which Parliament may conſtitute and elect a Senate, that ſhall act according, and ſubject to the Law of the Land, in the Interval of Parliament, and ſo to be elected from Year to Year by each Parliament; which Parliaments, being the free People of *England*'s Repreſentatives, ought not to be reſtrained, or curbed, by any Sort of Court Convention, or Council enjoying coordinate Power, for that will be to aboliſh the grand Inconvenience of one negative Voice ſo much brayed againſt, and to ſet up a monſtrous Hydra of Negatives (for great Care ought to be taken to preſerve Unity in a Republick, which lieth moſt obnoxious to popular Commotions, and Factions) [the Epidemical Diſeaſe of this Schiſmatical Age:] And further, that ſuch Men may be elected for Repreſentatives in Parliament Councils, and Senates, as be wiſe, honeſt, prudent, and religious; and not factious Sectaries, or ſuch as wear both Law, Equity, Reaſon, and Religion in their Scabbards, and father all their prodigious wilful and exorbitant Actions on Providence?

XVII. Whether the Army's Declaration, and Secluſion of the Parliament in 1653, were an abſolute Diſſolution of that Seſſion; and, whether the People making new Elections by Virtue of *O. P.* his Writ, and alſo moſt of the Members of the ſaid Parliament owning the ſaid Elections to be legal by their Endeavours to be elected, and ſitting by Vertue of ſuch Election, was a Confirmation thereof; and moreover, whether they can be remitted to their ancient Right, by getting Poſſeſſion without the Concurrence of an ancient remediable Right, which is abſolutely neceſſary to work a Remitter?

XVIII. Whether it conſiſts with Policy and national Prudence to keep ſuch a lawleſs Army on Foot, who are carried away with a Whirlwind or Tempeſt of Ambition, and walk Antipodes to all ſettled and peaceable Government, and are ready Inſtruments for any inſolent Apoſtate, or tyrannical Dictator, that will equal them in Pretences of Religion (yet denying the Power thereof) and, like *Pompey*, will make it his Deſign, by ſecret Engines, to caſt the State into an abſolute Anarchy and Confuſion, that the State might caſt itſelf into his Arms, in Neceſſity, for a Protection, and ſo the ſovereign Power be caſt on him; who, probably, hath neither Reaſon, nor Law on his Side, ſave only to make good the Saying

ing of *Solon*, who, when *Crœſus* ſhewed him his Treaſury of Gold, ſaid to him: That, if another came, that had better Iron, he would be quickly Maſter of his Gold?

XIX. Whether it be not ſafer, and more agreeable to the preſent Government of this Commonwealth, and all other free States, where due Courſe of Law is admitted for Recovery of Rights, or Deciding of *Meum* and *Tuum*, and Liberty of Subjects favoured (which we have, with great Expence of Blood, ſo long fought for) to raiſe the Militia in each County, under the Command of prudent and religious Men, that have Intereſt in their Country, and are concerned in the Welfare of the Commonwealth; and not mere Hirelings, that will be apt to take any Impreſſion, to the Diſturbance of the publick Peace, for their own private Ends, and will make their Swords patroniſe intolerable Rapine?

XX. Since the Apoſtles call Religion, our reaſonable Service to God, inſomuch as the very Ceremonies and Figures of the old Law were full of Reaſon and Signification, but more eſpecially the Chriſtian Faith under the Goſpel, as in all Things, ſo in this, deſerveth to be highly magnified; holding forth the golden Mediocrity in this Point, between the Law of the Heathen and the Law of *Mahomet*, which have embraced the two Extreams (for the firſt had no conſtant Belief or Confeſſion, but left altogether to the Liberty of Profeſſors; and the laſt, on the other Side, interdicteth all Arguments about the Matter, and enjoineth Unity in the Manner of the Profeſſion of Religion, the one having the very Face of Error, the other of Impoſture; whereas the Faith doth both admit, and reject Diſputations and Profeſſions with Difference) whether then it be not requiſite to ſettle ſuch a Religion in this Nation, as may conſiſt with the Apoſtle's Words, and ſuch a Mediocrity, that we be neither tied on the one Hand to a *Mahometan* Unity of accidental Diſcipline and Manner of Worſhip, nor, on the other Hand, be left to a Heatheniſh Liberty both in the Articles and Principles of Religion, and alſo in the ſubſtantial Matter of Belief, and decent Manner of Diſcipline and Confeſſion, ſince ſuch boundleſs Liberty is the Mother of all Sects, Hereſies, and Atheiſm (which this Age abounds with, though veiled under the ſpecious Garment of Tender Conſcience, who are Enemies to all ſettled Government, whether Monarchy or Oligarchy) except their Heretical Opinions be favoured, and themſelves mounted to the Zenith of Preferment, and Stern of Government, which is hoped will never be, though highly at preſent endeavoured?

The Petition of the Gentlemen and Students of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. Offered to both Houſes, upon *Wedneſday*, being the fifth Day of *January*, 1642; upon the Arrival of that News to them, of the Biſhops late Impriſonment. With their Appeal to his moſt Excellent Majeſty. Printed at *London*, for *John Greenſmith*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Humbly and plainly ſheweth,

THAT, if the very Front of our Requeſts be aſſaulted with a Refuſal, before we further declare, we, in all Humility and Obſervancy, deſire not to be admitted; ſo may we happily eaſe ourſelves of a Danger to be bold where we ought, although not where we may;

Yet, if we may be heard to thoſe (we mean yourſelves) whoſe Ears cannot and (we dare ſay) muſt not, to any whatſoever juſt Requeſts, we again, as in our former Proſtration, thus deſire you, and, if the Expreſſion be more humble, beg of you:

Firſt, not to believe this in itſelf fictitious, humourſome, affronting, and, if not preſumptuous,

ſumptuous, *uno cætera diximus*, thoſe Epithets which we know, but, if not know, with, from yourſelves, are not undeſervedly, nor unjuſtly, nor illegally ſent forth againſt thoſe, who, according to your Laws, your too much abuſed Patience (Heaven grant a ſpeedier Execution to your Commands) daily, hourly, abuſe,

Et Regem & Regnum.

Secondly, although we are not *Vox ipſa Academiæ*, nor all Regent-maſters in the Cauſe, yet we hope the liberal Sciences may be as prevalent as the mechanical, intruding, not with Swords, but Knees, which had not yet been bended, but in this alone our Impetration.

Now, our, moſt honoured Senates, may we now, with what a too tedious Preamble lulled you, now again awake you.

We, the Gentlemen and Students of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, do utterly, from our Hearts, ſhoot back thoſe Arrows of Aſperſion newly caſt upon us to be Seducers.

To be Seducers is an eaſy Matter, you'll ſay, if Sophiſtry, with her Fallacies, may intitle us.

But we have ſucked better Milk from the Tears of our Mother; our Mother, who never yet was more dejected, yet, from the Duſt, may ride upon the Clouds, and in her due Time ſhine, nay outſhine the Female Conqueſt in the *Revelation*. The Pillars of the Mother is the Church, you know it all, who Chriſtians are, are thoſe *Incarcerati*, thoſe who, like *Joſeph* in the Pit, or St. *Peter* with the Jailor; thoſe who, with St. *Paul*, may pray to be let down by a Baſket (pardon our Interruption) may the whole and holy Aſſembly be pleaſed too, our Meaning was good, although the Fault of that Omiſſion was pardoned before the Reiteration.

Again, your Supplicants, who, if without Guns or Feathers, or thoſe, whoſe Reaſons are far lighter than their Feathers.

(Give us Leave, yet without Muquet-ſhot, we beſeech you, to jog you by the Elbow, a Term-Phraſe or Adagy, meanly given, if you are given to cavil.)

Meanly, that is indifferently; but what need we fear a verbal Anſwer, where too many real are ſo near at Hand?

Pro aris & focis was the *Romans* Empreſs, *pro focis* for a King, *pro aris* for a Temple, ſo on their very Hearths they did adore a Majeſty; ſo knew a King which Way to go to *St. Paul*'s Cathedral, which Way to the *Exchange*.

Again, we are ready with our Lives and Bloods to preſent all Collegiate Chapels, if that they lay in our Power, as well *in interioribus quam exterioribus*, not acknowledging more or leſs Divine Service, than with what, as in former Times our more primitive Chriſtians did, with erected Bodies, and drawn Weapons, ſtand to the Doxology Creed, and Reſponſals to the Church.

All this we proteſt, and have hitherto really profeſſed in theſe too much to be lamented Times, although our Warrant, ſo far as we can read, was allowed of by *Edward the Sixth*, *Separata Maria continuatum uſque ad annum & tempus viceſimum ſeptimum Caroli Regis*. To whoſe Majeſty, whoſe Perſon, whoſe Religion we appeal to. To his Majeſty as God's Vicegerent, to his Perſon as God's repreſentative Image, to his Religion as God himſelf alone.

By this only Conſequence,

Ubi Religio
Ibi Templum,
Ubi Templum,
Ibi Deus.

Templum Deme,
Demus Deum;
Deme Templum,
Demas Deum.

A Relation of the late wicked Contrivance of *Stephen Blackhead* and *Robert Young*, againſt the Lives of ſeveral Perſons, by Forging an Aſſociation under their Hands. Written by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. In Two Parts. The Firſt Part being a Relation of what paſſed at the Three Examinations of the ſaid Biſhop by a Committee of Lords of the Privy-Council. The Second being an Account of the Two above-mentioned Authors of the Forgery. *In the Savoy:* Printed by *Edward Jones*, 1692. *Quarto*, containing ſeventy-ſix Pages.

I Think it becomes me, as a Duty which I owe to my Country, and to the Character I have the undeſerved Honour to bear in the Church, to give the World ſome Account, how my Innocency was cleared from the late wicked Contrivance againſt me; in Hopes that this Example of a falſe Plot, ſo manifeſtly detected, may be, in ſome Sort, beneficial to the whole Nation on the like Occaſions for the Future: However, that the Enemies of the Church may have no Reaſon to caſt any Blemiſh upon it, from the leaſt Suſpicion of my Guilt: And that this faithful Memorial may remain as a poor Monument of my own Gratitude to Almighty GOD, to whoſe immediate Protection I cannot but attribute this extraordinary Preſervation.

Perhaps, my Reader, at firſt View, will look on this Relation, as too much loaded with ſmall Particulars; ſuch as he may judge ſcarce worth my Remembering, or his Knowing: But he will pardon me, if I preſume that nothing in this whole Affair ought to appear little, or inconſiderable, to me at leaſt, who was ſo nearly concerned in the Event of it.

I have therefore made no Scruple to diſcharge my weak Memory of all it could retain of this Matter; nor have I willingly omitted any Thing, though never ſo minute, which, I thought, might ſerve to fix this wonderful Mercy of God the more on my own Mind; or did any way conduce to the Saving of divers other innocent Perſons Lives, as well as mine.

I cannot indeed promiſe, that I ſhall accurately repeat every Word or Expreſſion, that fell from all the Parties here mentioned: Or that I ſhall put all down in the very ſame Order, as it was ſpoken, having not had the Opportunity to take Notes of every Thing as it paſſed. But this I will ſay; if I ſhall not be able to relate all the Truth, yet I well omit nothing that is material: I will, as carefully as if I were upon my Oath, give in all the Truth I can remember, and nothing but the Truth.

What I write I intend ſhall conſiſt of Two Parts: The Firſt, to be a Narrative of the plain Matter of Fact from my firſt being taken into Cuſtody, *May* the 7th, to the Time of my laſt Diſmiſſion *June* the 13th. The Second, to contain ſome Account of the two perjured Wretches that were pleaſed, for what Reaſons they know beſt, to bring me into this Danger.

For the Truth of the Subſtance of what I ſhall recollect on the firſt Head, I am bold to appeal to the Memories of thoſe Honourable Lords of the Council, by whom I was thrice examined. And, touching the Second, I have by me ſo many Original Papers, or Copies of unqueſtionable Authority (which I am ready to ſhew any worthy Perſons, who ſhall deſire the Satisfaction) as are abundantly ſufficient to juſtify all that I ſhall think fit for me

to

to ſay againſt *Blackhead* and *Young*; eſpecially againſt *Young*.

It was on *Saturd*[illegible] Seventh of *M*[illegible] of this preſent Year 16[illegible] the Evening, as I was walking in the [illegible]d at *Bromley*, meditating on ſomething [illegible]eſigned to preach the next Day; that I ſaw a Coach and four Horſes ſtop at the outer Gate, out of which two Perſons alighted. Immediately I went towards them, believing they were ſome of my Friends, coming to give me a Viſit. By that Time I was got to the Gate, they were entered into the Hall: But, ſeeing me haſtening to them, they turned, and met me about the Middle of the Court. The Chief of them, perceiving me to look wiſtly on them, as being altogether Strangers to me, ſaid, My Lord, perhaps, you do not know me. My Name is *Dyve*, I am Clerk of the Council, and here is one of the King's Meſſengers. I am ſorry I am ſent on this Errand. But I am come to arreſt you upon Suſpicion of High Treaſon.

Sir, ſaid I, I ſuppoſe you have a Warrant for ſo doing; I pray let me ſee it. He ſhewed it me. I read it; and the firſt Name I lighted on being the Earl of *Nottingham's*; I ſaid, *Sir, I believe this is my Lord Nottingham's* own Hand, and I ſubmit. What are your Orders how to diſpoſe of me? My Lord, ſaid he, I muſt firſt ſearch your Perſon, and demand the Keys you have about you. My Keys I preſently gave him. He ſearched my Pockets, and found no Papers, but ſome poor Notes of a Sermon, and a Letter from Mr. *B. Fairfax* about ordinary Buſineſs.

Now, ſays he, My Lord, I muſt require to ſee the Rooms, to which theſe Keys belong, and all the Places in the Houſe, where you have any Papers or Books. I ſtraight conducted him up Stairs into my Study. This, Sir, ſaid I, is the only Chamber, where I keep all the Books and Papers, I have in the Houſe. They began to ſearch, and with great Readineſs turned over every Thing in the Room, Cloſets, and Preſſes, ſhaking every Book by the Cover, and opening every Part of a Cheſt of Drawers, where were many Papers, particularly, ſome Bundles of Sermons; which, I told them were my proper Tools: And that all, that knew me, could vouch for me, it was not my Cuſtom, to have any Treaſon in them. They read ſeveral of the Texts, and left them where they found them. But, in one Corner of a Preſs, which was half open, they met with a great Number of Letters filed up. I aſſured them, they were only Matters of uſual friendly Correſpondence, and moſt of them were of laſt Year's Date. Mr. *Dyve*, looking on ſome of them, found them to be ſo; and ſaid, If he had Time to view them all, he might, perhaps, ſee Reaſon to leave them behind: But, being expreſly commanded to bring all Letters, he muſt carry them with him. I left him to do as he pleaſed; ſo they ſealed them up.

Then they went into my Bed-chamber, and the Cloſets adjoining, doing as they had done in my Study, feeling about the Bed and Hangings, and knocking the Wainſcot in ſeveral Places, to ſee if there were any private Hole or ſecret Conveyance.

After that they came down Stairs, and ſearched the Parlour and Drawing Room on that Side of the Houſe, with the like Exactneſs. In all theſe Rooms, I obſerved they very carefully pried into every Part of the Chimnies; the Meſſenger putting his Hand into every Flower-Pot: Which I then ſomewhat ſmiled at: But ſince I found he had but too much Reaſon ſo to do.

When they had done ſearching in all thoſe Rooms, and in the Hall, as they were going out, and had taken with them what Papers they thought fit; they carried me away in the Coach, that brought them. By the Way, we met my Servant Mr. *Moor* coming from *London*. I called out to him, Have you any Letters for me? He gave me three or four, which I delivered to Mr. *Dyve* to open, who found Nothing in them, but Matters of private Concernment, or ordinary News. And ſo, between Ten and Eleven at Night, we arrived at *Whitehall*, and I was brought to my Lord *Nottingham*, whom I found alone in his Office.

My Lord, ſaid I, I am come upon your Warrant; but certainly there muſt be ſome great Miſtake, or black Villainy in this Buſineſs. For I declare, as in the Preſence of God, I am abſolutely free from any juſt Accuſation relating to the Government. His Lordſhip told me, He himſelf was much ſurpriſed, when he heard my Name mentioned. I intreated him, I might be examined that Night, if any Witneſſes could be produced againſt me. He ſaid, That could not poſſibly be, becauſe the Lords, who had the Management of ſuch Affairs,

fairs, were ſeparated, and gone Home: But, that I was to appear before them, the next Day: And in the mean Time, all the Civility ſhould be ſhewn me, that could be expected by a Man, in my Condition.

My Lord, ſaid I, I hope, it being ſo very late, you will ſuffer me to lie at my own Houſe at *Weſtminſter*. He replied, You ſhall do ſo; but you muſt have a Guard of Soldiers, and a Meſſenger with you. A Guard of Soldiers, ſaid I, my Lord, methinks it is not ſo neceſſary to ſecure one of my Profeſſion; I ſhould rather offer, that I may have two or more Meſſengers to keep me, though that may put me to greater Charges. My Lord, ſaid he, I, for my own Part, would be glad, if I might take your Parole: But I muſt do what I may anſwer to others; and therefore I pray be content.

At this I acquieſced; only adding, my Lord, here are divers Papers, brought up with me, which, upon my Credit, are but of common Importance; yet, becauſe they are moſt of them private Talk among Friends, there may be ſome Expreſſions, which no Man, if it were his own Cauſe, would be willing to have divulged; and therefore I deſire your Lordſhip will take Care, they may not be ſhewn to the Prejudice of any. He anſwered, You have to do with Men of Honour: And you ſhall have no Occaſion to complain upon that Account.

And ſo I was conveyed Home to *Weſtminſter* by Mr. *Dyve*, and Mr. *Knight* the Meſſenger, in the Coach with me, and a Guard attending on each Side. After we came to the Deanery, Mr. *Dyve* having diligently ſurveyed my Lodgings, and the Avenues to them, left me about Midnight, with a ſtrict Charge to the Meſſenger and Soldiers, not to give me any unneceſſary Diſturbance; but to watch carefully at my Bed-chamber Door, till further Orders, which they did.

The next Day, being *Sunday*, *May* the Eighth, Mr. *Dyve* came again to me, about Noon, to acquaint me, That I was to attend the Committee of the Council that Evening, by Six of the Clock. And, ſays he, My Lord, I ſuppoſe you have here, alſo at *Weſtminſter*, a Room, where you keep the reſt of your Books and Papers. I told him, I had. Then, ſaid he, I have Commiſſion to ſearch there likewiſe, particularly in your Cabinet. I ſhewed him my Library, and gave him the Keys: He opened all the Preſſes of Books, and viewed particularly every Shelf and examined every Drawer in the Cabinet. But finding Nothing there of late Date that might afford any the leaſt Shadow of dangerous Correſpondence he went away without Removing any one Paper thence.

At the Time appointed, I was brought by the Meſſenger and Guard to *Whitehall*, where a ſelect Number of the Lords of the Council were aſſembled, at my Lord *Nottingham*'s Lodgings. There were preſent, as I remember, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, Lord Steward; the Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of *Nottingham*, Secretary of State; the Earl of *Rocheſter*; the Earl of *Portland*; the Lord *Sidney*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and Sir *Edward Seymor*.

When I was entered the Room, and come to the End of the Table, my Lord *Nottingham* began. But now, for the greater Perſpicuity of the whole Proceedings, and to avoid the too frequent Repetition of, ſaid I, or ſaid ſuch an one, or ſaid they, I will henceforth give all the Queſtions and Anſwers, and the reſt of the Diſcourſes, in the Name of every Perſon, as they ſpoke, and by Way of Dialogue.

Earl of *Not.* My Lord, you cannot but think it muſt be ſome extraordinary Occaſion which has forced us to ſend for you hither, in this Manner.

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lord, I ſubmit to the Neceſſities of State, in ſuch a Time of Jealouſy and Danger, as this is.

Earl of *Not.* My Lord, I am to aſk you ſome Queſtions, to which we deſire your plain and true Anſwers.

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lords, I aſſure you mine ſhall be ſuch; as, I hope, I have been always taken for a Man of Simplicity and Sincerity.

Earl of *Not.* Have you compoſed a Declaration for the preſent intended Deſcent of the late King *James* into *England*.

Biſhop of *Roch.* I call God to Witneſs, I have not.

Earl of *Not.* Did you ever draw up any Heads, or Materials for ſuch a Declaration?

Biſhop of *Roch.* Upon the ſame ſolemn Aſſeveration, I never did.

Earl of *Not.* Were you ever ſollicited, or applied to, by any Perſon, for the Undertaking ſuch a Work?

Biſhop

Biſhop of *Roch.* I never was.

Earl of *Not.* Do you hold any Correſpondencies Abroad in *France?*

Biſhop of *Roch.* I do not hold any.

Earl of *Not.* Have you ever ſigned any Aſſociation for Reſtoring the late King *James?*

Biſhop of *Roch.* I never ſigned any.

Earl of *Not.* Do you know of any ſuch Aſſociation? Or any Perſons that have ſubſcribed one?

Biſhop of *Roch.* Upon the Word of a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop, I know of no ſuch Thing; nor of any Perſon, who has ſubſcribed any Paper of that Nature.

Sir *Edw. Seymour.* My Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, we have examined the Papers that were ſeized in your Cloſet at *Bromley*. We find Nothing in them, but Matters of ordinary and innocent Converſation among Friends; only we have one Scruple, That there are few or no Letters among them written ſince *Lady-day* laſt.

Biſhop of *Roch.* Sir, I ſuppoſe there may be ſome of a Date ſince that Time in the Bundles. If I had preſerved more, they would have been of the ſame Nature with the reſt that you have, that is, concerning common Intelligence, and the Talk of the Town; not any Secrets of State, or againſt the Government. My Lords, I hold no Correſpondencies of that Kind. When I am in the Country, I deſire ſome Friend or other here to let me know how the World goes, that I may inform myſelf, and the neighbouring Gentlemen of the Truth of Things, and prevent the Spreading of falſe News: And afterwards, I file up ſuch Letters according to their Dates, as you may perceive I did theſe, that at any Time I may have a preſent Recourſe to them, to refreſh my Memory in any paſt Tranſaction.

My Lord, thoſe are all I thought worth keeping of this Kind theſe two laſt Years. And, I hope the Clerk of the Council has done me the Juſtice to acquaint your Lordſhips, how I was apprehended out of my Houſe; and how narrowly I myſelf, and my Study, and Lodging-Chamber, and other Rooms, were ſearched: So that it was impoſſible for me to have ſuppreſſed or ſmothered any one Writing from you. And really, I believe there was not a Note, or leaſt Scrip of Paper of any Conſequence in my Poſſeſſion, but they had a View of it.

Earl of *Devonſhire.* But, my Lord, it is probable a Man of your Intereſt, and Acquaintance, muſt have received more Letters ſince, than are here to be found. We ſee here are many concerning Affairs that paſſed juſt before that Time.

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lords, a little before the Concluſion of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, I obtained Leave of the Houſe of Lords to retire into the Country, for the Recovery of my Health. During my Abode there, as long as the Parliament continued, I was ſomewhat curious to learn what paſſed in both Houſes, and therefore, as your Lordſhip has obſerved, Letters came thicker to me about that Time. But, when the Parliament was up, very little happening that was remarkable in that Interval, I was not ſo mindful to preſerve the Letters that came to me, whilſt all Things, both Abroad and at Home, were rather in Preparation than Action.

Beſides that, ſince the Time your Lordſhips ſpeak of, I was twice or thrice in Town for ſeveral Days together; once eſpecially, upon a publick Occaſion, the *Annual* Election of *Weſtminſter* School; which detained me here about a Week. And theſe are the true Reaſons why you find ſo few Letters to me ſince the Date of Time your Lordſhips have mentioned.

Earl of *Not.* Will it pleaſe your Lordſhips to aſk the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* any more Queſtions?

They being all ſilent, I ſaid, My Lords, I cannot imagine how it comes to paſs that I ſhould be thus ſuſpected to be guilty of any Contrivance againſt the Government; I think I may appeal to all that know me, I am ſure I may to all my Neighbours in the Country where I live, that there has no Man ſubmitted to it more peaceably and quietly than I have done ever ſince the Revolution; and I muſt own, I did it both upon a Principle of Conſcience and Gratitude. Of Conſcience, Becauſe I cannot ſee how the Church of *England*, and the whole Proteſtant Religion, can be preſerved but upon this Conſtitution; ſince an Invaſion from *France* cannot but be deſtructive to both. And of Gratitude, Becauſe, as you all know, I happened to be, in the late Reign, ingaged in an Affair, which ſince, I have been taught, was illegal. And though, I may ſay, I ſtopped betimes, and did no great

Hurt, but hindered, as much as I could, whilſt I acted; yet I acted ſo long, that I might have expected to be ſeverely puniſhed for what I did. But the King's and Queen's Part, in the General Pardon, was ſo gracious and benign, in making it their own Act, and not excluding me out of it, that their Majeſties have thereby laid upon me an Obligation never to be forgotten.

Upon this, I was bid to withdraw; and, about an Hour after, the ſame Clerk of the Council was ſent out to tell me, The Lords had ordered I ſhould return to my own Houſe, and be under the ſame Confinement as before, of a Meſſenger, and a Guard of Soldiers: And there I ſhould ſhortly hear what their Lordſhips would determine concerning me. He likewiſe told the Meſſenger, and the Guards, That he had a ſtrict Command to them to uſe me, with all Reſpect; only to take Care, that I ſhould be ſafely kept, and forth-coming. Nor, indeed, had I any Thing to object againſt their Behaviour: For, as Mr. *Dyve* demeaned himſelf always to me like a Gentleman, and the Meſſenger was very civil, ſo the Soldiers themſelves were as eaſy and quiet to the reſt of my Family, as if they had been a Part of it.

The ſame Evening, Mr. *Dyve* came Home to me, and brought me all my Papers, telling me, That the Lords had heard him read them over; and, having no Exception againſt them, had ſent him to return them all ſafe to me again.

Thus guarded, I continued from that Day, till the 18th of *May*, under the Cuſtody of a Meſſenger and of four Centinels, who watched Day and Night, and were relieved every eight and forty Hours.

But then, having heard Nothing in the mean Time from the Lords, I wrote this Letter to the Earl of *Nottingham*.

My Lord,

'AS I have all this While, according to 'my Duty to their Majeſties Government, with Patience and Humility, ſubmitted to my Confinement under a Guard of 'Soldiers, and a Meſſenger; ſo now, fearing 'that my longer Silence may be interpreted as 'a Miſtruſt of my Innocency, I think it becomes me to make this Application to your 'Lordſhip, earneſtly intreating you to repreſent my Condition and Requeſt to the moſt 'Honourable Board, where I was examined. 'I entirely rely on their Juſtice and Honour, 'that, if they find Nothing real againſt me, as 'God knows, I am conſcious to myſelf they 'cannot, they would be pleaſed to order my 'Enlargement. I am forced to be the more 'importunate with your Lordſhip in this Buſineſs, becauſe it is very well known, in what 'a dangerous Condition of Health I went out 'of Town towards the latter End of the Seſſion 'of Parliament: And I find my Diſtemper 'very much increaſed by this cloſe Reſtraint, 'in a Time when I was juſt entering upon a 'Courſe of Phyſick in the Country.

My Lord,

I am your Lordſhip's moſt humble, and moſt obedient Servant,

May 18. *Weſtm.*

Tho. Roſſen.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, *Principal Secretary of State.*

This Letter was read in the Cabinet Council that Day, and it had the deſired Effect; for, thereupon, I was ordered to be diſcharged that Evening; which accordingly was done about Ten at Night, by Mr. *Shorter*, a Meſſenger of the Chamber, coming to my Houſe, and diſmiſſing the Meſſenger, and taking off the Guard.

The next Morning, being *May* 19th, to prevent any Concourſe or Congratulations, uſual upon ſuch Occaſions, I retired early to *Bromley*, where I remained quiet till *June* the 9th, little Dreaming of a worſe Miſchief ſtill hanging over my Head.

But that Day, being *Thurſday*, as I was upon the Road, coming to *Weſtminſter*, to the Meeting of Dr. *Buſby*'s Preachers, who aſſemble once a Term at my Houſe there, I was ſtopped by a Gentleman, that brought me this Letter from my Lord *Nottingham*.

Whitehall, June 8, 92.

My Lord,

I *Muſt deſire your Lordſhip to be at my Office on* Friday *Morning by Ten of the Clock.*

I am your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant,

Nottingham.

For the Right Reverend, the Lord Biſhop of Rochester, *at* Bromley.

I aſked

I aſked the Beaſer, whether he had any farther Orders concerning me? He anſwered, No: But was forthwith to return. I deſired him to acquaint his Lord, that I was now going to Town upon other Buſineſs, but that I would preſently wait upon him at *Whitehall*. Accordingly, from *Lambeth* I went to his Office. When my Lord came to me, I told him, that having met with his Lordſhip's Letter accidentally in my Way to *Weſtminſter*, I thought it beſt to come preſently to know his Pleaſure.

Earl of *Not.* My Lord, there is a Miſtake, I gave you Notice to be here To-morrow Morning: And that is the Time you are appointed to appear before the Committee of the Council.

Biſhop of *Roch.* However, my Lord, being in Town occaſionally, I thought it became me to preſent myſelf to you as ſoon as I could. And I now make it my Requeſt, if your Lordſhips have any Thing farther to ſay to me, I may be convened before you this Day.

Earl of *Not.* I fear you cannot be ſo, for there is much Buſineſs to be this Afternoon, both at the great Council, and the Committee: But I will ſend you Word to the Deanery, if you can be called this Evening. In the mean Time you have your full Liberty to go where you pleaſe.

Thus I went Home; but having no Notice from my Lord that Night, the next Day, being *June* the 10th, about ten of the Clock, I came to his Lordſhip's Office; where were met the ſame Lords as before; only, I think, the Earl of *Portland* was not there, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Privy Seal, was.

When I was called in, beſides the Privy Councellors that ſat about the Table, there was ſtanding againſt the Wall a very ill-favoured Man, who afterwards proved to be *Blackhead*; with whom I ſtrait perceived I was ſent for to be confronted.

For, as ſoon as I was in the Room, my Lord *Nottingham* ſaid, *My Lord, Do you know that Perſon?*

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lord, I have ſeen this Man's Face, but I cannot immediately recollect where.

Earl of *Not.* I pray view him well. Has he never brought you any Letters from one Mr. *Young?*

Biſhop of *Roch.* I do call to Mind, he has brought me a Letter. I cannot, in a Moment, remember from whom it was.

Earl of *Not.* He ſays it was from one *Young?*

Biſhop of *Roch.* I think it was at my Houſe at *Bromley*, that he delivered it me; but I verily believe, it was not from any of the Name of *Young*.

Blackhead. I was with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* at *Bromley*: I brought him a Letter from Mr. *Young*, and I received an Anſwer to Mr. *Young* back again from the Biſhop.

Thus far, during the Beginning of this Examination, I ſtood with my Face againſt the Window, and my Eyes being ſo very tender and feeble as they are, I had not a perfect View of *Blackhead*; but he ſo confidently affirming, That he had of late carried Letters between me and one *Young*, I changed my Station, and got the Light on my Back; and then immediately, having a true Sight of his very remarkable Countenance and Habit, and whole Perſon, and being alſo much aſſiſted by his Voice, which is very loud and rude; I did, by God's Bleſſing, perfectly call him to Mind; and ſaid, Now, my Lords, by the Advantage of this Light, I do exactly remember this Fellow, and Part of his Buſineſs with me, at *Bromley*. What he ſays of *Young* cannot be true. I know not for what Purpoſe he affirms this; but, upon my Reputation, it is utterly falſe, that he ever brought me a Letter from one *Young*.

Earl of *Not.* My Lord, he ſays particularly, it was upon a Faſt-day.

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lords, I do remember this Fellow was with me at *Bromley* on a Faſt-day: By the ſame Token, I told him, he ſhould ſtay till after Evening-Prayers, and muſt expect only a faſting Kind of Meal. But then I would return an Anſwer to his Buſineſs.

Blackhead. It was upon a Faſt-day. I did eat with the Biſhop's Servants; and I received an Anſwer from his own Hand, to the Letter I brought him from Mr. *Young*.

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lords, this that he ſays of *Young*, is a wicked Lye: All my Correſpondencies are ſo innocent (as I hope your Lordſhips can teſtify) that, if I had received a Letter from any Mr. *Young*, I ſhould have no Reaſon ſo poſitively to deny it. I beſeech you, examine this Fellow throughly, and I

doubt not but you will diſcover ſome impudent Knavery. I ſtand to it; I am ſure there is no Perſon whoſe Name is *Young*, with whom I have of late Years maintained any Intercourſe by Letters.

Earl of *Devon*. My Lord, is there no Perſon of the Name of *Young*, a Clergyman, with whom you are acquainted?

Biſhop of *Roch*. Oh! my Lord, there are two excellent Perſons of the Name of *Young*, both Clergymen, to whom I have the good Fortune to be very well known: The one was your Brother *Offery*'s Chaplain, and is now Prebendary of *Winchester*; the other was Canon of *Windſor*, when I was a Member of that Church, and is there ſtill. But I ſuppoſe, neither of theſe are the *Youngs*, whoſe Correſpondence this Man objects to me. I ſhould take it for an Honour to Correſpond with them. But in Truth it has ſo happened, that I have neither written too, nor received one Letter from either of them theſe many Years, to the beſt of my Knowledge.

Blackhead. The Biſhop, if he pleaſe, may remember it was *Robert Young*, from whom I brought him a Letter.

Earl of *Not*. How long ago ſay you it was?

Blackhead. It was about two Months ago.

Biſhop of *Roch*. I have indeed, my Lords, ſome obſcure Remembrance, that ſome Years ago, there was one writ to me out of *Newgate*, under the Name of *Robert Young*, pretending to be a Clergyman; and I recal ſomething of the Contents of his Letter. It was to tell me, That he and his Wife lay in Priſon there upon a falſe Accuſation, of which he hoped they ſhould be ſpeedily cleared. In the mean Time, he deſired me to recollect, that he had officiated ſome Weeks for the Chaplain at *Bromley* College, and had preached once or twice in the Pariſh Church there. He intreated me to give him a Certificate of this, becauſe it would ſtand him in much Stead in order to his Juſtification: And withal, that I would ſend him ſomething out of my Charity, for his and his Wife's Relief in their great Diſtreſs.

This, my Lords, I dare ſay, was the whole Subſtance of that Letter, and this was two or three Years ago at leaſt.

To that Letter I am ſure I made no Reply in Writing. Only, having not the leaſt Remembrance of him myſelf, I inquired in the Neighbourhood, and among the Widows in the College; intending to have ſent him ſome Alms ſuitable to his Condition and mine, had I found him worthy.

But upon Inquiry, I received from all Hands, ſo very ill a Character both of this *Young*, and his Wife, that I reſolved to give him no Anſwer at all; and I have never heard any Thing more of him to this Day.

But now, I beſeech your Lordſhips, to give me Leave to ſpeak to this Perſon myſelf: And they intimating I ſhould do as I thought beſt, I ſaid to him;

I conjure you, in the Preſence of theſe Noble Lords, and eſpecially of the Great Lord of Heaven and Earth, that you will declare the Truth of what I am going to aſk you.

When you came to my Houſe at *Bromley*, upon a Faſt-day it was, I think the firſt Faſt of this Year; Did not you deſire to ſpeak with me, as having a Letter for me? When I came to you into my Hall, did not you firſt kneel down, and aſk me Bleſſing? Did you not then deliver me a Letter, affirming it was from a Country Miniſter, a Doctor of Divinity? Did not you tell me, you were his Servant, or Bailiff? And that your Maſter had ſent you on purpoſe many Miles, to receive an Anſwer yourſelf to that Letter from my own Hand?

Blackhead. I never brought a Letter to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* from a Country Miniſter; I know no ſuch Doctor of Divinity: Nor ever was Servant to any: I only brought a Letter to the Biſhop from Mr. *Young*.

Biſhop of *Roch*. My Lords, What I ſay is moſt certainly true. This Man had never any other Buſineſs with me, but in relation to that Letter, pretended by him, (for now I find it was but a Pretence) to be written to me by an eminent Country Divine, in *Buckinghamſhire*, a Perſon of a conſiderable Eſtate, as he told me. My Lords, I cannot yet call to Mind the Doctor's Name; but the Buſineſs of the Letter I am, in great Part, Maſter of; and it was to this Purpoſe:

That there was a Perſon (naming him) who had applied to him to be his Curate; but that he had Reaſon to ſuſpect he had counterfeited my Hand and Seal for Holy Orders; therefore he deſired me to ſend him Word, under my own Hand, by the Bearer, his Man, whether I had ordained ſuch a one,

in

in ſuch or ſuch Years: That if I had, he would encourage, and entertain him, if not, he would take Care he ſhould be puniſhed for his Forgery.

Now, my Lords, upon the Receipt of ſo friendly a Letter, by this very Meſſenger, I bid him ſtay a little, and I would give his Maſter Satisfaction out of my Books, whether I had ordained any Man of that Name, which I thought I had not. Accordingly my Secretary and I did ſeverally turn over all my Papers relating to ſuch Affairs, as carefully as we could; and finding no ſuch Man's Name in them; in which we could not be eaſily deceived, becauſe I keep methodically (as no doubt every Biſhop does) all Recommendations, Subſcriptions, Teſtimonials, and Titles of thoſe I admit into Orders; I wrote the ſuppoſed Author of the Letter as civil an Anſwer as his ſeemed to deſerve.

That I was extreamly pleaſed and thankful, that a meer Stranger to me ſhould be ſo careful of my Reputation: That my Secretary and I had diligently examined all the Books, where ſuch Things are recorded: And I could aſſure him, I never had ordained any ſuch Perſon, either Prieſt or Deacon, within the Space limited in his Letter, or at any other Time: That I ſhould look upon it as a ſignal Service done to the Church in general, and a ſpecial Favour to me in paticular, if he would, as he promiſed, cauſe the Counterfeit to be apprehended, ſo that the Courſe of Law might paſs upon him.

This Letter, my Lords, all written with my own Hand, I delivered to the Perſon here preſent: And he went away with it, aſking me Bleſſing again upon his Knees, and promiſing I ſhould ſpeedily be made acquainted with the Succeſs.

Earl of *Devonſh.* I pray, my Lord, how was the Letter ſuperſcribed you ſent back by this Man?

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lord, It was to the ſame Perſon, with the ſame Superſcription as he ſubſcribed himſelf, and directed to the ſame Place where he ſaid he was Miniſter; though the Name of Place or Miniſter I cannot yet recover. But let that Letter of mine be produced, and it will put an End to this whole Controverſy.

Blackhead. The Letter I received from the Biſhop was ſuperſcribed to Mr. *Young*, and to other.

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lords, this is a horrid Falſhood. I well remember now, this Fellow was at my Houſe a ſecond Time ſome Weeks after the firſt. When he came, I was in the Garden, with ſome Gentlemen, my Neighbours, where, firſt aſking me Bleſſing, he told me his Maſter, the Doctor, had taken up the Perſon who had forged my Orders: That the Man ſtood upon his Vindication; but that his Maſter was bringing him up to *London*; and then I ſhould hear farther from him: Adding, that his Maſter was a Man of ſuch a Spirit, and ſuch a plentiful Eſtate, that, whenever he ſuſpected a Man to be a Rogue or a Cheat, he would ſpare no Pains to diſcover him, nor think any Coſt too much to get him puniſhed. Theſe, my Lords, I well remember, were the Knave's very Words: And I hope your Lordſhips will likewiſe deal with him in the ſame Manner. I took this ſecond Meſſage ſtill more kindly, and ordered my Servants to entertain the Meſſenger very civilly.

Blackhead. I brought no ſuch Meſſage. All my Buſineſs with the Biſhop was from Mr. *Young*, which, I ſuppoſe, was of another Nature.

Biſhop of *Roch.* What I ſay is ſo true, that I am confident ſeveral of my Servants do remember the Particulars. For this Man ſtuck not to declare his Buſineſs before them all; very much magnifying his Maſter, and his Houſe-keeping, and vapouring what an Example he would make of the counterfeit Prieſt, without putting me to any Trouble, or Expence.

Earl of *Devonſh.* Has your Lordſhip none of thoſe Servants near at Hand?

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lord, ſome of them are in Town; and one, my Secretary, Mr. *Moore*, by an accidental good Fortune, came hither with me: He was without when I was called in. I doubt not but he will ſatisfy your Lordſhips what was this Man's Errand to me: He is a young Man of great Honeſty, and, I believe, would not tell a Lie to ſave my Life; I am ſure I would not have him.

Whilſt they were calling in Mr. *Moore*, I added, My Lords, I appeal to the great God of Heaven, to judge between me and this Wretch, touching the Truth or Falſhood of what we ſay, and to deal with us both accordingly at the laſt Day of Judgment: And I dare alſo appeal to your Lordſhips to judge between

tween us, by what appears to you; for did you ever ſee greater Villany, and Conſciouſneſs of Guilt in any Man's Countenance than in his?

By this Time Mr. *Moore* being come in, I ſaid, *Moore*, apply yourſelf to my Lord *Nottingham*. I charge you do not, for any Conſideration of me, ſpeak any Thing which you cannot juſtify for Truth.

Earl of *Not.* Mr. *Moore*, Do you know that Perſon there? Pointing to *Blackhead*.

Mr. *Moore*. My Lord, I do know him ſo far, that I have ſeen him once or twice at my Lord's Houſe at *Bromley*.

Earl of *Not.* What Buſineſs had he at *Bromley?*

Mr. *M.* The firſt Time he brought a Letter to my Lord?

Earl of *Not.* From whom?

Mr. *M.* My Lord, it was from a Country Miniſter in *Buckinghamſhire*, a Doctor of Divinity, as he wrote himſelf; his Name was *Hooke*.

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lords, I now very well remember, that was the Name, *Hooke*, or ſomething very near it; there may be the Difference of a Letter, I will not ſtand upon that; nor can it be expected I, or my Servant ſhould be poſitive, as to every Letter of a Name, in ſo ſudden a Queſtion.

Earl of *Not.* Mr. *Moore*, What was the Buſineſs of that Letter?

Mr. *M.* My Lord, it was concerning one that offered himſelf to be the Doctor's Curate, whom he ſuſpected to have counterfeited my Lord's Letters of Orders. The Doctor deſired my Lord to look into his Books, whether he had ordained any ſuch Perſon; my Lord and I did thereupon ſearch all the Places, where the Memorials of ſuch Affairs are kept, and we found no ſuch Name; and ſo my Lord himſelf wrote back to the Doctor, by this very Man that ſtands here.

Earl of *Not.* Mr. *Moore*, Will you take your Oath of all this?

Mr. *M.* I am ready to take my Oath of it, if you pleaſe to give it me.

Earl of *Not.* What ſay you, *Blackhead?* You ſee here is a young Man, the Biſhop's Secretary, comes in by Chance, and confirms punctually what the Biſhop had ſaid before, concerning your Meſſage to his Lord; and he offers to take his Oath of it: If you did bring a Letter from one Dr. *Hooke*, Why do you not confeſs it? It can do you no Hurt.

Blackhead. I know of no ſuch Divine as Dr. *Hooke*, nor any Thing concerning one that counterfeited the Biſhop's Orders; the Letter, I brought, was from Mr. *Young*.

Mr. *M.* My Lord, this Fellow cannot but know, that what he ſays is ſhamefully falſe; I aſſure you, I have the original Letter at home to produce, and doubt not, but divers of my Lord's Servants remember him and his Buſineſs, as well as I do; for he was a ſecond Time at *Bromley*, ſome Weeks after.

Earl of *Not.* What was his Buſineſs then?

Mr. *M.* He ſaid, he came to acquaint my Lord, that his Maſter, Dr. *Hooke*, had ſeized on the Perſon who had forged his Orders. My Lord aſked him, Whether he had alſo ſeized the falſe Inſtrument? And, if he had, deſired it might be tranſmitted to him. This Man anſwered, he believed his Maſter had got it; that he was coming up to *London*, and bringing the Cheat with him; and had been there ſooner, had he not ſprained, or hurt his Leg; but, when he was come, the Doctor would give my Lord Notice, or himſelf wait upon him. My Lord was much pleaſed with this ſecond Meſſage, and gave Orders to have the Bringer of it well uſed. He was ſo, and freely diſcourſed with the Butler, and the other Servants, touching his Buſineſs there; ſo that I am verily perſuaded, ſeveral of them remember all theſe Circumſtances of it, and, perhaps, more than I do.

Upon this, *Blackhead* being again urged by the Lords with ſo plain a Teſtimony, perfectly agreeing with what I had ſaid, and he ſtill perſevering obſtinately to deny every Part of it, I and Mr. *Moore* were ordered to withdraw, *Blackhead* ſtaying behind.

As I was going out, I ſaid: 'My Lords, I 'cannot comprehend to what Purpoſe this 'Fellow perſiſts in this Lie; I am ſure he 'can never prove, that I have injured the 'Government, in Word, or Deed, or Wri-'ting.' Then I could not but again obſerve to the Lords, what viſible Marks of Falſhood and Treachery there were in *Blackhead*'s Face; for, indeed, all the While he looked as if he would have ſunk into the Ground, though (as I was told afterwards) before I came into the Room, he had appeared very briſk, and bold, and full of Talk. But, upon m

firſt Coming in, his Complexion, which was naturally very ſallow, turned much paler and darker; and he was almoſt ſpeechleſs, ſaying nothing to any Purpoſe, more than what he thought was neceſſary to keep him firm to the main Lie: That he had brought me a Letter from one *Young*; and no other.

But, after my being withdrawn about Half an Hour, I was called in again, and *Blackhead* ſent forth.

Earl of *Not.* Now, my Lord, the Buſineſs is out, the Fellow has confeſſed he brought the Letter to you, written not in the Name of *Young*, but as from one Dr. *Hookes*; *Hookes* was the Name, not *Hooke*; your Lordſhip was in the Right in ſaying you would not ſtand upon a Letter.

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lords, I could not truſt my Memory ſo far as to a Letter; but one Thing I was ſure of: That was the only Letter this Raſcal ever brought me, and it was not from any whoſe Name was *Young*.

Earl of *Not.* Well, that Buſineſs is over, he has confeſſed it; and now, my Lord, pray take a Chair and ſit down.

Earl of *Devonſh.* Pray, my Lord, ſit down.

Biſhop of *Roch.* No, my Lords, I deſire you to excuſe me.

Earl of *Not.* My Lord, we have ſome few Queſtions to aſk you, and therefore pray repoſe yourſelf.

Biſhop of *Roch.* If you pleaſe to permit me, I had rather anſwer what your Lordſhips have farther to ſay, ſtanding thus as I am at the Table.

Earl of *Not.* Then, my Lord, we ſhall aſk you: Have you ever written to the Earl of *Marlborough* within theſe three Months?

Biſhop of *Roch.* I think I may ſafely affirm, I never writ to my Lord *Marlborough* in my Life; but I am certain, and upon the Faith of a Biſhop I declare, I have not written one Wor[illegible] to him theſe three Months.

[illegible]rl of *Not.* Have you received any Letter [illegible] my Lord *Marlborough*, within theſe [illegible] Months?

[illegible]hop of *Roch.* I proteſt ſolemnly, I have [illegible]eceived any.

[illegible]rl of *Not.* Have you received any writ- [illegible]or printed Papers from my Lord *Marl-* within that Space of Time?

[illegible] of *Roch.* As in the Preſence of God, [illegible] I have not. My Lords, I have [illegible]aintance with my Lord *Marlborough*, both in King *James*'s Court, and in the Parliaments ſince; but I cannot call to Mind, that ever I wrote to him, or he to me.

Earl of *Not.* Then, I think, my Lords, we have nothing more to do, but to wiſh my Lord Biſhop a good Journey to *Bromley*.

With that, they all roſe up and ſaluted me, teſtifying their great Satisfaction, that I had ſo well cleared myſelf, and confounded my Adverſary: More eſpecially, two noble Lords of the Company, to whom, I ſaid, I would now particularly appeal, gave me an ample Teſtimony of their Belief of my Innocency in this Accuſation, and of my dutiful Diſpoſition to the Government.

My Lord *Nottingham* then told me, in the Name of all the reſt, They had no farther Trouble to give me. I intreated them to ſuffer me to add a few Words; they permitting me, I ſaid:

My Lords, I heartily thank you for Confronting me with this Fellow; elſe I could not ſo well have made out my Innocency, but I might ſtill have lain under a Suſpicion, whereof I had not known the leaſt Ground. Had this been a Trial for my Life, I ſhould have been glad to have ſuch honourable Perſons for my Judges; but now I have much more Reaſon to bleſs God, that you have been my Compurgators; that you are Witneſſes, as well as Judges, of the Detection of this Villainy againſt me; whereof, I muſt acknowledge, as yet I do not fathom the Bottom: Wherefore I muſt intreat, that I may put myſelf under your Protection for the Future; for, although this Fountain of Wickedneſs has been now ſtopped in this Particular, as to myſelf, yet it ſeems to run under Ground ſtill; and, unleſs eſpecial Care be taken, it may break forth again in ſome other Place, on ſome other Occaſion, to the Ruin, if not of me, yet of ſome other innocent Perſon.

Earl of *Devonſh.* No, my Lord, you need never fear this Fountain can break forth any more, to do you, or any other good Man any Prejudice, he having been ſo palpably convicted of Knavery and Lying.

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lords, I hope ſo: As for myſelf, I take my own Innocency to be abundantly vindicated by this your general Declaration in my Favour. I make no Queſtion, but your Lordſhips will next vindicate yourſelves, and the Juſtice of the Government, by bringing this wicked Man to con-

digu

dign Puniſhment, and by examining the main Drift of his Deſign, and who have been his Accomplices.

They all aſſuring me, I might rely upon them for it, I withdrew.

All this while I had not the leaſt Conjecture, or Imagination, who this *Young* ſhould be, with whom *Blackhead* pretended I held ſo cloſe a Correſpondence.

But my next Appearance before the Committee of the Council, will clear up what remains of the whole wicked Myſtery.

In the mean Time, returning Home that Evening to *Bromley*, I preſently met with a plentiful Concurrence of Evidence from moſt of my Servants, of their Diſcourſe with *Blackhead*, and their Knowledge of his Buſineſs, in Reference to Dr. *Hookes*'s Letter.

Firſt, The Butler, *Thomas Warren*, told me, That according to my Order to uſe him kindly, he had done ſo both Times he was with us: Particularly, the ſecond Time, he had entertained him, with one of the Petty Canons of *Windſor*, who came thither by Chance, in the Parlour next the Garden: That thence he brought him down into the Cellar, where *Blackhead* drank my Health with Knees almoſt bended to the Ground: That then he earneſtly deſired him to ſhew him my Study; ſaying, I have heard your Lord has a very good Study of Books: My Maſter *Hookes* has a very good one: He often lets me go into it, and I doubt not but you have the ſame Liberty: I pray let me ſee his Books. The Butler anſwered, My Lord has but few Books here, only ſuch as he brings from Time to Time from *Weſtminſter*, for preſent Uſe, and they are locked up in Preſſes, ſo that I cannot ſhew them if I would. I pray then, ſaid *Blackhead*, let me ſee the Room, I hear it is a very fine one. The Butler ſaid, He could not preſume to do it without my Leave. Then, ſaid *Blackhead*, let me ſee the reſt of the Houſe. The Butler excuſed his not being able to do it then, becauſe there were ſome Ladies with his Miſtreſs. The ſame Requeſt, he aſſured me, *Blackhead* repeated almoſt twenty Times: But ſtill he denied him.

Then *Thomas Philips*, my Coachman, and *John Jewel*, my Gardener, confirmed moſt of what the Butler had ſaid: All of them agreeing, that both the Times he was at *Bromley*, eſpecially the Second, he had talked publickly with them of the Buſineſs he came about from his Maſter Dr. *Hookes*: Enlarging much in Commendation of the ſaid Doctor, what a worthy Man he was; what Hoſpitality he kept; and how he would never reſt, till he had brought to Puniſhment the Knave that had forged my Hand and Seal for Orders. They added, That, after I had diſmiſſed him, he lingered about, in the Garden, the Hall, and the great Parlour, a long Time; and was full of ſuch Diſcourſes.

Moreover, the Gardener, and *William Hardy*, the Groom, and *Thomas French*, and one or two of the other Servants, who remained at *Bromley* whilſt I was in Cuſtody at *Weſtminſter*, did all aſſure me, that this Man, who brought firſt the Letter, and then the Meſſage from Dr. *Hookes*, had been a third Time at my Houſe, whilſt I was under Confinement. That it was upon a *Sunday*, which by Computation proved to be *Whit-Sunday*, *May* 15th, that they found him in the midſt of the Houſe, before they knew he was entered. He told them, that paſſing that Way, he came to condole for my Miſhap, and to inquire what the Matter was; hoping it was not ſo bad as was reported at *London*. They anſwered, They knew nothing of Particulars; yet doubted not but I was innocent. That he then again deſired to ſee the Houſe; but all the Doors were locked, except the great Parlour, which has no Lock upon it. That he would have inticed them to Town to drink with him; which they refuſed, but made him drink there; and he coming after Dinner, they perſwaded a Maid-Servant to provide him ſome Meat: Which ſhe did, but unwillingly, telling them ſhe did not like the Fellows Looks; that, perhaps, he might come to Rob, or to Set the Houſe, now ſo few Servants were at Home: That he rather looked (as indeed he did) like ſome Knaviſh, broken Tradeſman, than an honeſt rich Clergyman's Bayliff, or Steward, as he alſo called himſelf; and it has proved ſince, that her Conjecture was true.

All this, and more, my Servants repeated to me, touching *Blackhead*'s Behaviour in the Houſe, and his Diſcourſe concerning his Maſter Dr. *Hookes*. And they offered to depoſe it all upon Oath. And, above all, the Day, being *Saturday*, *June* the 1[illegible]

Moore coming from *London*, immediately found the Original Letter, that *Blackhead* had brought me from the pretended Doctor.

Wherefore, being furnished with all these fresh Materials, especially with the Letter itself; and being not a little surprised to hear that the Rogue had, the second Time of his coming, been so earnest to get into my Study, or any of the other Rooms; and that he had the diabolical Malice against me, to come to my House a third Time, on Pretence of condoling my Misfortune, which I then thought it was probable had chiefly proceeded from his malicious Perjury against me. All this considered, I resolved to go to *London* on *Monday* Morning with these Servants, and to carry the Letter that he brought me as from Dr. *Hookes*, to lay the whole Business before the Lords of the Committee, and to desire their farther Examination of *Blackhead* upon these Particulars.

Accordingly on *Monday*, *June* the 13th, I went, and attended the Meeting of the Lords that Morning in the usual Place. When there was a full Committee, I sent to them by a Clerk of the Council, intreating that I might have a short Audience. After some Time, I was introduced. There were present (besides most of the Lords before mentioned) three others, whom I had not seen there since my first Appearance before them, the Marquiss of *Caermarthen*, Lord President, the Lord *Godolphin*, and Sir *John Lowther*.

When I came into the Room, and was just going to propose the Business that brought me thither: My Lord *Nottingham* prevented me, and said:

My Lord, do you know that Person there? Pointing to a Man who stood behind the Privy-Counsellors, near the Door which leads into the publick Room.

Bishop of *Roch*. My Lord, I do not know him.

Earl of *Not*. My Lord, I pray observe him well.

Bishop of *Roch*. Upon my Credit I never saw this Man before in my Life, to the utmost of my Knowledge.

Then the Person standing there looked boldly upon me, and said, Do you not know [illegible] my Lord? Do not you remember that I [illegible]ed some Weeks at *Bromley-College*, for [illegible]*bson*, in King *James*'s Time? And [illegible]ched in the Parish-Church there [illegible]?

Bishop of *Roch*. My Lords, I solemnly affirm I do not know this Man: I never saw him before: I never knew that he officiated in *Bromley-College*: I never heard him preach in the Church there: He is a mere Stranger to me: He may have served for the Chaplain of that College, in King *James*'s Time: But I was not then concerned who officiated there. He may have preached in the Church, and I not have heard him: For about that Time I was Clerk of the Closet, and was seldom or never at *Bromley* on *Sundays*, by Reason of my Attendance on the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, either at *Whitehall* or *Windsor*, or *Hampton-Court*, or *Richmond*.

The same Person presently took me up, with insolent Confidence, You will know me better when Captain *Lawe* appears: I warrant you don't know Captain *Lawe* neither.

Bishop of *Roch*. My Lords, if any of your Lordships please to ask me any Thing, I shall answer with all Respect. But I do not understand that I am bound to satisfy this saucy Fellow's Questions; yet, because he has asked me so familiarly, touching my Acquaintance with one Captain *Lawe*, I assure you I know not any such Man in the World as Captain *Lawe*.

But, my Lords, by this Person's Discourse, I am induced to believe he may be the *Young* with whom the other Knave, *Blackhead*, pretended the last Time that I held a strict Correspondence by his Means.

Earl of *Not*. This Man's Name is *Young*, *Robert Young*.

Bishop of *Roch*. Then, my Lords, because my Lord President, and some of the other Lords, were not here then, I must beg Leave of those that were, that I may repeat what I then remembered concerning one *Robert Young*. Whereupon I recollected the Substance of what I had said, of a Letter I had received some Years since, dated at *Newgate*, from one of the same Name, who pretended himself to be a Clergyman.

I added, It seems, my Lords, by his own Confession, this is the very same *Young*. But, as I never saw him before he was in *Newgate*, so I declare, upon the Faith of a Christian, I never saw, or heard from him since that Letter: However, I am very glad you have him now; I make no doubt but he will be found in the End such another Villain as *Blackhead* was proved to be on *Friday* last.

But, my Lords, said I, the Business that brought me to wait on you now, is to intreat you to take that same *Blackhead* into further Examination, and to inquire a little more into his Part in this wicked Contrivance, whatever it is.

My Lords, since I went to *Bromley*, my Servant, Mr. *Moore*, has had the good Fortune to retrieve the very Original Letter that *Blackhead* brought me from his counterfeit Master, Doctor *Hookes*. Then I delivered the Letter in at the Table, and my Lord *Nottingham* read it aloud. And to shew with what a treacherous Insinuation, and Plausibility of Style it was written, to draw from me an Answer under my own Hand, I here set down the very Letter itself, Word for Word:

My Lord,

'BEing destitute of a Curate, one Mr. *James Curtis* came to me, who produced Letters Dimissory (bearing Date, *March* 13th, '91) and likewise Letters of Orders under 'your Hand and Episcopal Seal. Now, my 'Lord, willing I am to employ any that your 'Lordship shall recommend, and give him all the 'Encouragement imaginable; but being since, 'by his own Words, suspicious that his In'struments are forged, I have therefore on 'Purpose sent my Man to know the Truth 'thereof, and, in order thereunto, I humbly 'beg your Lordship to give an Account in 'yours by this Bearer, promising, for the 'Church of *England*'s Credit, and likewise 'your Lordship's Honour, that, if he be an 'Impostor, I will see him brought to condign 'Punishment for such his Forgery; but, if he 'be not, I beg your Lordship's Pardon for 'this Trouble, occasioned by my candid Af'fection for your Lordship, and all Clergy'men, being not willing to have them im'posed upon.'

I am Your Lordship's

Most Obedient Servant,

Windgrave,
Apr. 6. --92. Robert Hookes, D. D.

Now, my Lords, proceeded I, I thought it would be for your Service to acquaint you, that I have received, from divers of my Servants, a farther Account of all *Blackhead*'s Demeanor, the first, second, and third Time he was at my House at *Bromley*; for he was there a third Time also, which I knew not of, before I went Home on *Friday*.

Then I summed up what, it has been said before, my Servants were ready to depose to that Purpose: Concluding thus, My Lords, my Servants are attending without; I pray that *Blackhead* may be brought before them Face to Face, and that they may be admitted to give it upon Oath, what they have to say concerning him.

Upon this several of the Lords said, Send for *Blackhead*; and he was sent for.

But, before he came, they called in Mrs. *Young*, the Wife, it seems, of the aforesaid *Robert Young*; but what a Kind of Wife, and which of the two Wives he had at one and the same Time, will appear in what follows.

When she was come in, my Lord *Nottingham* said to her, *Mary Young*, Whence received you this Paper? Taking up a Paper that lay upon the Table.

Mary Young. I had it from Captain *Lawe*.

Earl of *Not*. What did he say when he gave it you?

Mrs. *Young*. He bid me deliver it to my Husband.

Earl of *Not*. What did he say it was?

Mrs. *Young*. He said it was a Sociate, or some such Word.

Earl of *Not*. What! Did he deliver you a Paper of this treasonable Nature, in the Manner as it is, to be given to your Husband, without sealing it up, or inclosing it in another Paper?

Mrs. *Young*. Yes, my Lord, he did.

Earl of *Not*. Did he tell you any of the Names to it?

Mrs. *Young*. Yes: He said there were the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s, the Bishop of *Rochester*'s, and some other Lords Names to it.

Earl of *Not*. What passed afterwards between you about it?

Mrs. *Young*. I gave it my Husband, and when Captain *Lawe* came for it again, my Husband said, No, These Lords, whose Names are subscribed, have not been so liberal in the Relief of my Wants as formerly; and therefore I will make another Use of the Paper; and so locked it up.

By this Time *Blackhead* was brou[ght] the Woman ordered to withdraw, [and] kept by herself.

Earl of *Not.* *Blackhead.* The laſt Time you confeſſed you brought the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* a Letter from *Robert Young*, under the falſe Name of Doctor *Hookes*.

Blackhead. Yes, I did.

Earl of *Not.* Can you know that Letter when you ſee it?

Blackhead. I cannot tell, I doubt I cannot know it.

Earl of *Not.* Here it is; (and it was given into his Hand) is that the ſame Letter you delivered the Biſhop?

Blackhead. I am not ſure it is.

Earl of *Not.* Conſider it well; look on the Superſcription, you cannot but remember that. You began to be ſomewhat ingenuous laſt *Friday*; if you relapſe, it will fare the Worſe with you.

Blackhead. Yes, this may be the Letter: This is the very ſame Letter.

Earl of *Not.* And you received an Anſwer to this from the Biſhop for Doctor *Hookes*, which you carried to *Robert Young*?

Blackhead. Yes, I did, I own it.

Earl of *Not.* But, what made you, when you were at *Bromley* the ſecond Time, ſo earneſtly deſire of the Biſhop's Butler, and his other Servants, that you might ſee the Rooms in the Houſe, eſpecially his Study?

Blackhead. No, I do not remember that I deſired to ſee the Study: The Houſe I might, out of Curioſity.

Earl of *Not.* But here are ſome of the Biſhop's Servants without, who are ready to ſwear, that you preſſed very often to get a Sight of his Study; ſaying, you had the Freedom at your Maſter *Hookes*, to ſhew any Stranger his Books, and you doubted not but the Butler could do the ſame there.

Blackhead. I cannot deny that I did deſire to ſee the Biſhop's Study: The other Rooms I am ſure I did.

Earl of *Not.* What Reaſon had you to be ſo importunate to ſee that, or any of the other Rooms? Had you any Paper about you, that you deſigned to drop, or leave in any Part of the Biſhop's Houſe?

Here *Blackhead* ſtopped, as very loth to out with it; till divers of the Lords urged him to tell the Truth. At laſt he went on, though with much Heſitancy.

Blackhead. Yes, I muſt confeſs I had a Paper in my Pocket, which I deſigned to put ſomewhere in the Houſe.

Earl of *Not.* What did you with it?

Blackhead. I did leave it in the Parlour next the Kitchen.

Earl of *Not.* In what Part of the Parlour?

Blackhead. In the Flower-pot in the Chimney.

Good Lord bleſs me, cried I. I ſeriouſly proteſt, I never heard that any Paper was found there by my Servants. To be ſure they would have brought it me.

Earl of *Not.* But, my Lord, it will be worth your while to ſend preſently to *Bromley*, to ſee whether there be any Paper ſtill, and what it is.

Biſhop of *Roch.* My Lord, I will ſend one away immediately. Only my Servants are without, expecting to be ſworn. Be pleaſed firſt to call them in, and diſpatch them.

Earl of *Not.* Nay, my Lord, there is no Need of their Teſtimony now. For this Fellow has ſaid already more than they know. He has confeſſed, not only that he deſired to ſee your Houſe, and particularly your Study, but that he did it with Intention to leave a Paper ſomewhere in it; and that he did leave one in your Parlour, and in the Flower-pot of the Chimney.

Biſhop of *Roch.* Then, my Lord, I will ſend away forthwith.

Earl of *Not.* Stay, my Lord, let us firſt examine him a little farther. *Blackhead*, What Paper was it you left in the Biſhop's Chimney in the Flower-pot?

Blackhead. It was the Aſſociation.

Earl of *Not.* Was it this Paper here? Shewing the Aſſociation that lay upon the Table.

Blackhead. Yes, it was.

Earl of *Not.* How came you by it? And who adviſed you to lodge it there?

Blackhead. I had it from Mr. *Young*, and he adviſed me to leave it in the Biſhop's Houſe, as I did.

Earl of *Not.* Did *Young* direct you to put it into the Flower-pot in the Parlour?

Blackhead. Yes, he did, and I put it there accordingly in the Flower-pot.

Earl of *Not.* But were not you a third Time at the Biſhop's Houſe? It was upon a *Sunday*, which it ſeems was *Whit-Sunday*.

Blackhead. I was.

Earl of *Not.* You pretended to condole for the Biſhop's Impriſonment: It is manifeſt that could not be your Buſineſs. What was it?

Blackhead. I was desired by Mr. *Young*, seeing the Association was not found by those who apprehended the Bishop, to go to *Bromley*, and try to recover it, that being the Original. I did so, I came into the House before any of the Servants were aware, I went into the Parlour unseen, and took the Paper out of the same Place where I had put it, and delivered it again to Mr. *Young*.

Bishop of *Roch*. My Lords, I am very much surprised at all this. I cannot but admire the wonderful Goodness of God, in this my extraordinary Deliverance. It appears, by what this Fellow confesses, that this forged Association was in my House, in a Flower-pot, for many Days together; and that it was there at the very Time I was seized on by your Lordships Order. For he says he put it there the second Time he was at *Bromley*, which was a pretty while before I was in Hold, and took it not out till the third Time, which was upon *Whitsunday*, the ninth Day after I was under Confinement; and, by a strange and marvellous Providence, that Parlour, where he says it lay so long in the Chimney, was never searched or inquired after by the Clerk of the Council, or the Messenger.

The other Part of the House, on the Left-hand of the Hall, where my Study is, and Bed-chamber above Stairs, and a Parlour and Drawing-room below, all these they searched very accurately; particularly, I well remember, the Messenger thrust his Hand into the Flower-pots in every Chimney; which seemed very odd to me then, but I now understand the Meaning of it.

At this, my Lord *Sydney*, my Lord *Nottingham*, my Lord *Devonshire*, and some others of the Council affirmed, That they perfectly remembered, both *Blackhead* and *Young* did especially direct them to give Order to those, who should be sent to take me, to search all the Flower-pots.

By this Time it was thought seasonable by the Lords to confront *Blackhead* with *Young*.

But, in the mean While, the counterfeit Association, being handed about the Table, was at length delivered to me; it was to this Purpose, as much of it as, by a transient View, I could carry away in my Memory:

'THAT we, whose Names were subscribed, should solemnly promise, in the Presence of God, to contribute our utmost Assistance towards King *James*'s Recovery of his Kingdoms: That, to this End, we would have ready to meet him, at his Landing, thirty-thousand Men well armed: That we would seize upon the Person of the Princess of *Orange*, dead or alive; and take Care, that some strong Garison should be forthwith delivered into his Hands; and furnish him with a considerable Sum of Money, for the Support of his Army;' or to this Sense.

March 20. —91.

And the forged Subscriptions were, as I remember, after this Manner:

W. Cant.
Marleborough. *Salisbury.* *Tho. Roffen.*
Cornbury.
Basil Firebrace. *John Wilcaxe.*

Now, upon the first Sight of this Paper, I presently said, I protest, my Lords, I am very much amazed to see my Hand so well counterfeited; all the Difference is, they have done me the Favour to write it finer, than I can: Otherwise, I acknowledge it is so like, that I verily believe, I myself, had I seen it in another Place, should have been apt to doubt, whether it were of my Writing, or no. I am confident it might, upon the first Blush, deceive the best Friends I have.

But, my Lords, here is another innocent Person's Name, whose Hand I know very well, and I dare venture to say, it is even better forged than mine; I mean, Archbishop *Sancroft*'s.

Lord *Godolphin*. My Lords, I am very well acquainted with Archbishop *Sancroft*'s Hand, and really it is here most exactly counterfeited.

Moreover, my Lord *Godolphin*, my Lord *Sydney*, and others said, That the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Hand had been so well feigned, in a Letter pretended to be written to *Young* himself, that it was very difficult for his most intimate Friends to observe any Distinction; and, in that Letter, the Bishop of *Rochester* was said to have the Paper in his Keeping; which appears now to have been meant of the false Association's being in my Custody.

Nay, my Lord *Sydney* assured me, these very Impostors had brought him a Letter, supposed also to be written by me to *Young*; which, being but of ordinary Matters, he thought

thought not worth the Keeping, but he well remembered, the Subſcription of my Name was very like this in the Aſſociation, as well indeed it might.

By this Time, *Young* being come into the Room, my Lord *Nottingham* ſpoke to him:

Young, look upon that Letter (ſhewing him his own to me, under the Name of Dr. *Hookes*) Do you know that Hand?

Young. No, I don't know it.

Earl of *Not*. Did not you ſend that Letter to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, by *Blackhead*?

Young. No, I know no *Hookes*; I never writ to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, but in my own Name, with my own Hand.

Earl of *Not*. What ſay you, *Blackhead*?

Blackhead. I did receive that very Letter from Mr. *Young*'s own Hand, and delivered it to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* with mine.

Earl of *Not*. (Taking up the Aſſociation, and ſhewing it to *Young*) Did not you give this Paper to *Blackhead*, and order him to put it into a Chimney in the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Houſe, and into a Flower-Pot, if there were any?

Young. No, I never deſired him to carry it thither, or to put it into a Flower-Pot.

Earl of *Not*. What ſay you, *Blackhead*?

Blackhead. Mr. *Young* did give me that Paper, and directed me to leave it in the Biſhop's Houſe; and, if I could, to put it in a Flower-Pot in ſome Room; which I did, in the Parlour.

Young. There is no ſuch Matter, I abſolutely deny it.

Upon this, the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lord *Sydney*, and ſome others of the Counſellors, aſked *Young*, Why then did you give us ſuch expreſs Directions, to ſend, and ſearch the Flower-Pots, among other Places, in the Biſhop's Houſe?

Young. I ſaid Nothing of Flower-Pots. I did you take Care that the Biſhop's Perſon ſhould be exactly ſearched; becauſe, when he went Abroad, he carried the Aſſociation about him; when he was at Home, he put it in ſome private Place, for Fear of Surpriſe: Perhaps, I might ſay, in the Chimney.

The Lords replied, Nay, we all well remember, you particularly mentioned the Flower-Pots.

Earl of *Not*. *Young*, when you perceived that the Perſons ſent to ſeize on the Biſhop had miſſed the Aſſociation, Did not you then deſire *Blackhead* to go a third Time to the Biſhop's Houſe, and to take it out of the Pot, where he had laid it?

Young. No, I know Nothing of it.

Earl of *Not*. What ſay you, *Blackhead*?

Blackhead. At Mr. *Young*'s Requeſt, I went to the Biſhop's Houſe a third Time; it was upon a *Sunday*; I privately got into the Parlour, and took out the Aſſociation out of the ſame Flower-Pot where I had laid it, and returned it back to Mr. *Young*.

Young. This is a Combination between the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and *Blackhead*, to baffle the whole Diſcovery of the Plot.

Which Saying of *Young*'s could not but raiſe a general Smile among all the Company, they lifting up their Hands with great Indignation at his unparalleled Impudence.

Biſhop of *Roch*. I thought, my Lords, the laſt Time I was here, *Blackhead* was the moſt brazen-faced Fellow that ever I ſaw; but now I find this ſame *Young* to be a much viler Miſcreant than he. This is ſo baſe a Suggeſtion againſt me, and ſo impoſſible for me to be guilty of, and I know your Lordſhips ſo little ſuſpect it of me, that I need not make any Anſwer to it in my Defence.

Lord Preſident. *Young*, thou art the ſtrangeſt Creature that ever I heard of: Doſt thou think we could imagine, that the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* would combine with this thy Confederate, to have an Aſſociation written, with his own Hand to it, and then laid in his own Houſe, in a Flower-Pot there? Which, if it had been found, muſt have endangered his Life: And we ſee it was the moſt remarkable good Fortune to him that almoſt ever happened to any Man, that it was not found there.

But *Young* ſtill perſiſting, that he believed I had taken *Blackhead* off, they were both ordered to withdraw. And, I aſſure my Reader, that, during this whole Examination, though *Young*'s Forgery was ſo evidently convicted by the Confeſſion of his own Companion, and Inſtrument, yet he behaved himſelf with a daring unconcerned Confidence, with a bold and erect Countenance, though it had naturally very much of a Villain in it. His whole Carriage, indeed, was ſuch, as became the Diſcipline he has undergone for theſe divers Years; having ſo long been almoſt a conſtant Inhabitant, together with his Wife, of many of the common Gaols in *England* and *Ireland*; as you ſhall find before I leave them.

But

But to make Haſte to the Concluſion of this Narration; the Lord Preſident called for the Letter which *Young* had ſent to me under the Name of *Hookes*. When his Lordſhip had viewed it deliberately, he aſked alſo for the Aſſociation, and, having compared them for ſome conſiderable Time, he broke forth in theſe Words, Really, my Lords, it is a very great Providence, that this Letter, ſent by *Young*, under the Name of *Hookes*, to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was preſerved by his Servant: For this very Letter, and the Aſſociation, were both, apparently, written by the ſame Hand; you may perceive there is no Manner of Difference in the Writing, but only, that the Letter is written in a leſs Hand, as Letters are wont to be, and the Aſſociation in a greater, as a Publick Inſtrument.

At this, the whole Board, one after another, had a perfect Sight of both, and all applauded the Happineſs of the Diſcovery: For it was as clear as Light to all that were preſent, that the Letters, and Words, of both, were of the very ſame Form and Figure. Particularly, my Lord *Godolphin* farther obſerved, and made it plain to them all, That the *W* in *W. Cant.* in the Subſcription, was the very ſame Letter with the *W* in *Whereas*, which was the firſt Word of the counterfeit Aſſociation.

For my Part, I could not forbear Exclaiming, *Great is Truth, and it will prevail.*

After all this, I aſking the Lords, Whether they had any farther Service to command me? And they ſaying, *No*, I ſpoke theſe few Words:

My Lords, I muſt always acknowledge, That, next the ſignal Providence of God, in ſo viſibly protecting an innocent Man, your Lordſhips fair and honourable Way of Proceeding with me, in not ſhutting me up cloſe in the *Tower* immediately upon my firſt Accuſation; but, in openly confronting me with theſe Varlets, whilſt the Matter was freſh in my Memory; and in ſo ſtrictly and impartially examining them now, has been the principal Occaſion, that my Innocency has met with a Vindication as publick and unqueſtionable, as I myſelf could have wiſhed and prayed for. But ſtill, my good Lords, I do again moſt humbly recommend, to your Lordſhips, the Proſecution of this black Contrivance to the Bottom, for the Sake of Truth and Juſtice, and for the Safety of every other honeſt Man, whoſe Lot this might have been as well as mine. I am ſure your Lordſhips all believe, that there can be no greater Service to the Government, eſpecially at this Time, than to have ſuch perjured Informers, ſo plainly diſcovered, to be ſeverely puniſhed according to their Demerits.

And ſo I took my Leave of their Lordſhips.

This is the Subſtance of what I can remember, as far as my Part goes in this ſurpriſing Adventure. As to the Account I promiſed of my wicked Accuſers, my Reader ſhall have it as faſt as my weak Eyes will give me Leave to write it.

Aug. 1. 1692. *Tho. Roffen.*
Bromley.

The Second Part of the Relation of the late wicked Contrivance againſt the Lives of ſeveral Perſons, by Forging an Aſſociation under their Hands: Being a farther Account of the ſaid Forgery, and of the two Authors of it, *Stephen Blackhead* and *Robert Young*, alias *Youngs*, alias *Brown*, alias *Hopkins*, alias *Hutt*, alias *Green*, alias *Jones*, alias *Smith*, alias, &c. Written by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

Quo teneam Vultus mutantem Protea Nodo?

Imprimatur November 25, 1692, *Edmund Bohun.*

To

To the READER.

IT is well known to divers Persons of Worth and Honour, that this Second Part was finished, and has lain by me some considerable Time: Excepting the Addition of some very few Original Papers lately come to my Hands, which serve only to explain and confirm some Passages I had written before.

The Cause of my not Printing it sooner, was an Expectation of Robert Young's *speedy Trial. But that being now deferred till the next Term, upon Occasion of Mr.* Aaron Smith's *Sickness, I have been prevailed with no longer to delay the Publication of it.*

If any shall still surmise, that I might have done better to let him alone yet a little while, till the Justice of the Nation had passed upon him: I answer, That well-nigh all, that I say of him, relates to such of his Crimes, which the Justice of this, or a Neighbouring Nation, has already passed upon.

And though I can prove, this villainous Contrivance of his Plot has been at least of a Year and a half Standing; and do know many Steps of it more than are hitherto commonly known; and have seen many Letters to this Effect, all written by Robert Young's *Hand, some in his own Name, some forged for me, and divers other Persons far more considerable; yet my Reader will find, I pass all, or the greatest Part of that by, and leave still enough to be produced against him at his Trial.*

I do indeed briefly touch upon his late Endeavours to suborn one Holland, *to support his Perjuries by Perjuring himself. But his Discourse with* Holland *to that Purpose, and the Instructions he sent him to swear by, having been both averred already upon Oath, in an open Court of Justice, before a great Assembly at* Hicks's-Hall; *I know no Pretence, why I should be bound to conceal what was then, in so solemn a Manner, made Publick.*

The Truth is, The chief Reason that urges me, at this Time, to make known to the World the certain Discoveries I have made of Robert Young's *most detestable Villainies of all Kinds, is, That I am assured, this infamous Man does still persist in his causeless and wild Malice against me, and other innocent Persons; and attempts, at this Time of Day, to justify his forged Association, by the false Testimonies of others like himself.*

Wherefore, since he will not give me over, it is high Time I should begin with him: And whilst he goes on in such a barbarous Manner, to strike at my Life, surely none can blame me if I debase myself so much as to write his.

But if any one shall still suggest, That I have troubled myself too much, and spent too many Words on so inconsiderable a Rascal: I have this yet to say, That since he could think himself so considerable, as to hope to be an Evidence against mine, and several others Lives; I should be wanting to myself, to them, and indeed to the Publick, should I not prove him to be a dangerous Rascal, now it has come so unexpectedly into my Power to do it.

It seems also the more seasonable for me at this very Time to shew him to the World; since Blackhead *has made a second Escape out of the Messenger's Hands; and since there goes about a Letter (forged, one would think, by* Young *himself among his infinite other Forgeries) wherein it is declared in* Blackhead's *Name, but in* Young's English, That *Blackhead* has done no Wrong to no Man upon Earth but *Young.*

Whether this can poſſibly be true, I leave to any Man upon Earth, that has read my Firſt Part, *to judge. And whoever ſhall peruſe this my* Second Part, *I doubt not but he will be convinced,* That whatever *Blackhead* has done, I have done *Young* no Wrong.

IN the former Part, I promiſed to give ſome Account and Character of thoſe wicked Wretches, that brought me into the Troubles there deſcribed.

I come now to make good my Promiſe. Only I fear, let me do what I can, the Account of them, which I at firſt deſigned, ſhould be very ſhort, will be much longer, and riſe to a far greater Bulk, than I intended: Eſpecially, in what I have to ſay of *Robert Young*.

But for that, I hope, my Reader will reckon it to be his Fault, and only my Penance: Since his Life has been ſo highly criminal, and this is ſo clearly atteſted, that I muſt be ſomewhat large, or elſe I cannot do him all the Right he deſerves, and fully ſatisfy the World, concerning him.

I muſt confeſs, I could never have been brought to foul my Fingers with ſo baſe a Subject, had I not been provoked, and almoſt challenged to it, by this ſame *Young*'s intolerable Inſolence, even after he found himſelf detected of manifeſt Forgery.

For, the laſt Time I was diſcharged by the Lords at *Whitehall*, on *June* the Thirteenth, whereof I have already given a full Relation; whilſt I was paſſing through the outer Room, in my Way Home, there being a Crowd of People; I ſtopped, and ſaid, I pray, Gentlemen, Is Mr. *Young* here? I would fain have another Sight of the Man, who has put himſelf upon me as my old Acquaintance, and intimate Friend: Though I never ſaw him in my Life, till this very Day.

Divers of the Company preſently ſhewing me, where he was, ſitting by himſelf; I ſaid to him, *Robert Young*, Your Conſcience cannot but condemn you, for having thus mortally injured me, and other innocent Perſons. I cannot call to Mind, that ever I gave you the leaſt Provocation: I am ſorry now for your own Sake, that you are ſtill ſo obſtinate in Defending your Forgeries, after they have been ſo undeniably detected. For you know, there is one of your own Confederates within, who has plainly confeſſed them.

At this he briſkly, and moſt audaciouſly, replied to me, without the leaſt Concernment, that I could obſerve, Confeſſed! No; You ſhall find to your Sorrow, all is not confeſſed yet: A Parliament will come, and then you ſhall hear more from me. I left him, praying God to give him Grace to repent; and only adding, that elſe he was more in Danger of his own Damnation, than I of his Accuſation in Parliament.

Now therefore, becauſe of this impudent Defiance, I have taken ſome Pains to inquire into the Man, and his former Courſe of Life.

And notwithſtanding the Time of my Inquiry has been ſo ſhort (for he was never perſonally known to me, till I ſaw him at *Whitehall*, on the Thirteenth of *June* laſt) nay, though the Scene of his impious Actions has been ſo large, that I have been forced to collect my Intelligence, from far and near; yet I have been ſo fortunate in my Diſcoveries of him, and his Meet-help, that now I look upon the loathſome Heap of ſcandalous Materials, I have got together againſt him, I am almoſt aſhamed to make it publick.

But, perhaps, it may be no unacceptable, I am ſure it will be no unſeaſonable Service to my Country, to preſent it with a faithful Picture of one of the moſt graceleſs Wretches, that ever yet entered upon the Stage of Evidencing; which I think is as bad as can be ſaid of him, in ſo few Words.

As to a Diſcovery of the whole Plot and Contrivance againſt myſelf and others; I have been able to penetrate no farther yet, than to find that it was hatched and ripened in *Newgate*, wherever it was firſt laid, or deſigned.

Of the Managers or Abettors of it, there are but very few, hitherto, come to my Knowledge: Though, no Doubt, there are more ſtill behind the Curtain. And many other honeſt Men, in all Likelihood, had been accuſed after the ſame Manner, had this firſt Attempt taken Effect.

For how can it be imagined, they would only have introduced the good Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, and the poor Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and

and joining us with three or four Persons of Honour, and a Citizen or two, have then supposed us to be so mad, as to engage under our Hands, to seize on the Queen's Person; to surprise the *Tower*; to raise a mighty Army; and to bring the City of *London* into Subjection.

No; without all Question, if this false Association had once passed for authentick, many other Papers of the same Nature would soon have been produced out of the same Forge; to the Involving of many other innocent Persons, both of Clergy and Laity, in the like counterfeit Guilt.

But, till Time shall bring to Light more of this detestable Work of Darkness, the whole Ignominy of it must be shared at present among the pretended Witnesses, whom I have already heard named.

Of these there was one Captain *Lawe*, mentioned both by *Young*, and his Wife. And they boasted much of his concurring Testimony, when he should appear. Yet of him I have Nothing more to say, than that I find, there really was such a Man as *Lawe*, a Prisoner too in *Newgate*; and freed from thence the Fifth Day of *August*, 1691: A Captain, *Young* said, he was; and he might as easily make him one, as he made himself a Priest; which (I thank God for the Church's Sake) he was no otherwise than in Fiction.

How this Captain got his Liberty, I have yet no Reason, that I know of, to examine strictly; seeing he has hitherto had either the Modesty or the Cunning to withdraw himself, and not to venture being an Evidence in so bad a Cause.

For the Present, therefore, I leave Captain *Lawe*, as I found him, with no other Mark of Disgrace, but what his Friend *Young* has fixed upon him, by naming him as a Man likely to deserve the Title of the third Discoverer of his Plot.

Of *Blackhead* too, besides what relates to myself, which the Reader has had before, I have but one Story more to insert here; though that indeed is home, and to the Purpose. For this very *Stephen Blackhead* was Prisoner also in *Newgate*, and condemned on *January* 15, 1689, to stand in the Pillory, and to lose his Ears, together with one *Lewis* and one *Patrick*, being all three convicted of one and the same Forgery.

Lewis and *Patrick*, it seems, were so ill befriended, as to have the Rigour of the Law pass upon them. By what Favour, *Blackhead* came to be reprieved and pardoned, it is not now my Business over curiously to inquire: Else I could perhaps tell a Story, how the Knave, being himself a broken Taylor, and employed in the Soliciting of others Debts; and having, as is usual, some Bills and Letters of Attorney intrusted with him for that Purpose, had the good Luck, and the Honesty, by Delivering up, and Cancelling one of them, to save his Ears, and purchase his Pardon.

But, perhaps, I do not well to anticipate any Part of *Blackhead's* other Knaveries, not doubting, but he will, in Time, supply abundant Matter, to deserve a like History of himself: It is more than probable, that some other good and peaceably-minded Man, having been as vilely trepanned by him, as I have been, tho' perhaps, by some other Way, than a Flower-pot, will have the same Reason to search into all his Tricks, and to set them out with as much Variety, in as ample a Manner, as I shall now endeavour to do *Robert Young's*.

It is this *Robert Young*, that, I conceive, has most merited to be my proper Subject. By what appears yet, *Blackhead* was only the Tool, and the Instrument; *Young* was the Chief, if not the first Contriver of this treacherous Design. *Blackhead* was touched with some Remorse, so far as to reveal some Part of the Truth: *Young* persisted to the last, without any Relenting. And, when one would have thought he should have been quite overwhelmed with what his Colleague confessed, he had the Face, in so honourable a Presence, with a prodigious and inimitable Turn of Impudence, to impute *Blackhead's* Confession to my having suborned him.

As to *Robert Young* therefore, I will first give a true Draught in little of his whole Life: That my Reader, keeping the principal Passages of that in his Memory, may know where to require Satisfaction in any Particular, from my Original Papers.

But now, in the very Beginning of *Robert Young's* Story, I might be at some Loss, what is really his Name; for, in several Places, he has gone under divers Names; and behaved himself so, as quickly to wear them all out, and to make it necessary for him to change them often.

Thus, on ſundry Occaſions, he has paſſed under the Names of *Brown*, *Smith*, *Hutt*, *Jones*, *Green*, &c. In *Dublin*, he ſometimes called himſelf *Marſh*: In *Raphoe*, *Hopkins*, to render himſelf more acceptable, in his ill Projects; taking the true Names of the worthy Archbiſhop and Biſhop of thoſe Sees, at that Time.

Yet, after all, I find the Name of *Young* is moſt likely to pay all his Scores; for, notwithſtanding his many Divings, under other Diſguiſes, it has ſo happened, that he has ſtill riſen up again at laſt, in his own true Name of *Robert Young*.

There may be alſo as great a Controverſy raiſed, What Countryman he is. In ſome of the Original Papers in my Keeping, he paſſes for an *Iriſhman*; in ſome, for a *Scotchman*; in his own Letters (which I have the leaſt Reaſon of all to believe, and, being myſelf an *Engliſhman*, I am moſt unwilling to believe) he gives himſelf out for an *Engliſhman*, born at *Cheſter*. Wherefore, till I am more familiarly acquainted with him, than he himſelf ſays I am, I muſt be forced to leave his Country uncertain: Though I am confident, there will be no great Contention or Emulation between the three Kingdoms, to which of them he owes his Birth.

In the ſame Letters, wherein he ſays he was born at *Cheſter*, he affirms, That his Grandfather was Sir *Peter Young*'s Son, and his Grandmother the Duke of *Lenox*'s Daughter. Had he really been deſcended from Sir *Peter Young*, I might ſtill urge, that he is the more to blame in Rendering an honeſt Stock, as he calls it there, infamous, by making it degenerate into the moſt enormous Crimes.

But how can I credit him in this Matter of his Extraction from Sir *Peter Young*, and the illuſtrious Houſe of *Lenox*; when, in the very ſame Paper, there follows immediately, that which, to my Knowledge, is a horrid Lie: That he was ordained Prieſt by the Biſhop of *Clogher*. For I ſhall give infallible Proof, that his Prieſts Orders he only impoſed on himſelf, by his own falſe Hand.

But, to clear up this whole Buſineſs, I have alſo by me a true Copy of an Account, he gave of himſelf; wherein, quite forgetting this Romance of his being a *Cheſhire* Man, and his near Kindred to the Duke of *Lenox*, he gives this Narrative of his own Life.

It is dated, *May* 26, 1683; and declares, That he was born at *Warrington* in *Lancaſhire*, That he went over into *Ireland*, and to School at *Inniſkillin*: That he thence removed to *Dublin* College, being eighteen Years old; where he continued ſeven Years, and was made Maſter of Arts, eleven Years ſince: That thence he went to be Curate in *Leighlin*; and, for three Years laſt paſt, was Chaplain to the Biſhop of *Ferns* and *Leighlin*: That he preached all the Courſes, for the Dean and Prebends, at ten Shillings a Sermon: That he had all the Book-Money; that is, the Fees for Marriages, Burials and Chriſtenings, there being no other Pariſh-Church, but the Cathedral: That he lived in the Biſhop's Houſe, till his Death, ſince *Chriſtmas*: That, two Years before, he married the Biſhop's Houſe-keeper: That he had Teſtimonials from the College of *Dublin*, and was ordained by his own Biſhop.

Now would not any plain honeſt Man take this to be a ſimple and true Narrative of the Man's Birth, his Education, and Converſation? But nothing is more certain than that every Line almoſt of all this is full of groſs Falſhoods. And, as Ill-luck would have it, after he and his reputed Wife had rambled over *England* for divers Years, and cheated Multitudes of well-diſpoſed Perſons, by the Help of falſe and lying Certificates, they being at laſt apprehended and impriſoned at *Bury*, as you will hear, confeſſed before the Magiſtrates, That all their Teſtimonials and Recommendations were falſe, and forged.

Wherefore it is Time for me to leave ſtill in the Dark, as I find it, that Age of Mr. *Young*'s Life, which he has made either to be merely fabulous, or ſo mixed with Truth and Fable, that there is no Diſtinguiſhing between them. I now apply myſelf to that Part of it, which, from undoubted Teſtimony, I can affirm to be Hiſtorical. And I ſhall date the Beginning of this Period about the Year 1680.

In that Year, or near thereupon, his firſt famous Exploit, that occurs to me worthy of himſelf, was his Marrying a ſecond Wife, *Mary Hutt*, whilſt his firſt lawful Wife *Anne Yealeſly* was living; with whom he had cohabited five Years, and had three Children by her.

Then,

Then, to qualify himſelf for Employment in the Church of *Ireland*, and to maintain his Family (which he had taken ſuch a Way to increaſe) he did really inſinuate himſelf into Deacons Orders by the Hands of the Biſhop of *Killaloe*; whom he circumvented by Forging the Archbiſhop of *Caſſell's*, the Biſhop of *Waterford's*, and other Clergymen's Hands, to falſe, but very ample Teſtimonials of his Morals and Learning.

But, as for his Prieſts Orders, he was beholden to no Biſhop for them: He had only Recourſe to his own incomparable Faculty of counterfeiting Hands and Seals; ſo that, if that ſame Dr. *Hookes*, you wot of, had been but an honeſt Man, he might eaſily have found out the falſe Prieſt, without ever troubling himſelf to write to me about him.

However, being after this manner ordained Deacon, and having ordained himſelf Prieſt, he got to be entertained as a Curate, firſt at *Tullogh* in the Dioceſe of *Waterford*; whence, for divers Crimes, he ran away with another Man's Horſe, which he never reſtored: Then at *Caſtle-Reah* in the County of *Roſcommon*, whence he was forced to flee for getting a Baſtard: And, laſtly, at *Kildallin* in the Dioceſe of *Kilmore*.

Nor had he been long in this laſt Cure, but he was accuſed, for many heinous Offences, before the Biſhop of that See, who, at the Time of my writing this, is the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop of *Dublin*: Whoſe juſt Deſcription of the Man I ſhall give in its due Place; wherein his Grace has repreſented him, as the moſt impudent, lying, profligate Wretch on the Face of the Earth.

Wherefore, to eſcape the Juſtice of his Dioceſan, who knew him ſo thoroughly, he fled into the Dioceſe of *Raphoe*. But, being purſued thither, and traced out by the Notoriety of ſome of his new Pranks, he was apprehended by my old Friend Biſhop *Hopkins*, and firſt impriſoned at *Liſford*; then removed to the Gaol of *Cavan*: Where he was preſently loaded with many of his former Crimes; eſpecially for having two Wives then living; *Simon Hutt*, the Father of the Second, being then an Inhabitant and Innkeeper in *Cavan*.

Whereupon the good Biſhop of *Kilmore*, now Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, fearing *Robert Young* might come to be hanged in his Gown, degraded him from his Orders; if I may call them his, ſince the one of them he had ſurreptitiouſly gotten, the other was really none at all.

Shortly after he was indicted, and ſhould have been tried for his having two Wives: But he had ſo ordered the Matter, by an admirable Artifice (which I ſhall tell by and by) that the two Women could never be brought together at his Trial, to own him for their Husband.

By this Means he was diſcharged of a Crime, whereof I ſhall preſently give manifeſt Proofs, beſides his own Confeſſion, under his own Hand; which, I hope, the Reader will not think he did counterfeit too.

But, ſtill being in *Cavan* Gaol for Fees and Debts contracted there, to free himſelf thence he made Application to the Duke of *Ormond*, at that Time Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom; pretending, That, if he were once out of Priſon, and had Leave to appear before his Grace, he could make notable Diſcoveries of dangerous Plots againſt the Government; in which ſome of the Nobility, and ſeveral Biſhops, were concerned.

Whereupon, the Popiſh Plot having been juſt before in full Vogue there, as well as here, the Duke thought it expedient to grant him his Liberty, in order to his coming up to *Dublin*, to make good what he had ſo confidently promiſed.

But the Knave had his End, and having got out of Gaol, by a Pretence ſo plauſible, he never thought of calling at *Dublin*, but retired ſecretly to *Iniskillin*, and let the Diſcovery of that Plot ſhift for itſelf: Which, they that knew him beſt may think, was the honeſteſt Action of his Life; to break only a Promiſe, that he might avoid being an *Iriſh* Evidence: And perhaps ſome of my Friends may be apt to ſay, *Si ſic omnia*.

Whilſt he was lurking at *Iniskillin*, he inticed thither his ſecond Wife *Mary Hutt*, who has ever ſince run the ſame Fortune with him, and been the inſeparable Companion of all his Frauds, and was the very Woman that appeared againſt me before the Lords, to juſtify the Aſſociation. So that from that Time we hear nothing more of his true Wife, *Anne Yeabſley*. It ſeems he then intirely caſt her off, after he had allured her by the moſt ſolemn Vows of living with her alone, and for ever renouncing the other, to be the chief Inſtrument of his not being convicted at *Cavan*; and

that by no leſs than a downright Perjuring herſelf for his Sake.

But, whatever became of her, it is certain, that it was with *Mary Hutt* he fled into *England*, in or about the Year 1683. And, from that Time to this, they have run a conſtant uninterrupted Race of all Kinds of Wickedneſs in this Kingdom, ſcarce ever paſſing a Month, or a Week, of theſe eleven Years, without either being actually in ſome Priſon, or committing ſuch Crimes as deſerved the deepeſt Dungeons.

The firſt News I hear of him after, his Arrival in *England*, was upon his making Application to the Venerable Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, for ſome Employment in our Church. This he did in the Garb, and under the Character of a diſtreſſed *Iriſh* Clergyman; and, to prove himſelf ſuch, he exhibited his counterfeit Orders from the Biſhop of *Clogher*. And I muſt not omit, that, as a Teſtimony of his Modeſty, this his firſt Viſit at *Lambeth*, and the Producing his Orders there, was within a Month after he had been degraded in *Ireland*.

But the wiſe and wary Archbiſhop immediately ſuſpected him and his Letters o Orders, they being not in Form, or the uſual Style, nor the Seal fixed in its due Place. Againſt all which Exceptions the Falſary fenced as well as he could with a ſhameleſs Lye. Yet he received no other Anſwer, but that his Grace had no Cure void in his Gift.

But *Young* would not be put off ſo; ſhortly after he came again, deſiring and preſſing the Archbiſhop to recommend him to be a Chaplain to ſome Ship, or to ſome Cure in one of our Weſtern Plantations. Which his Grace again refuſed, and upon ſurer Grounds than before: For, in the mean Time, he had ſent to Dr. *Foley*, Chaplain to the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, then in *England*, for a better Information concerning this bold and importunate Man, which produced the Letters hereafter ſet down from the Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and the Lord Biſhop of *Ferns* and *Leighlin*, touching his Forging of Orders, his Degradation, his double Marriage, and other his good Qualities.

Thus failing at the Archbiſhop's, he forthwith ſent his Woman to *Windſor*, where the Court then reſided, with a Petition to the King; wherein ſhe ſets forth, That her Name was *Mary Green*, the Wife of one *Robert Green*, an *Iriſh* Miniſter; who, going into the *Weſt-Indies*, upon urgent Affairs, was taken Captive by the Pyrates of *Sallee*. Therefore ſhe prays that the King would be graciouſly pleaſed to recommend her ſad Condition to the Clergy of *England*; and that his Majeſty would requeſt them (ſo her Secretary words it) to contribute their Charity toward her Husband's Ranſom.

This Petition was read in Council, *June* 18, 1684, and referred to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Biſhop of *London*. But we may be ſure the Petitioner, or her Huſband, came no more to *Lambeth* for an Anſwer to the Reference. They took a ſhorter Way, and much eaſier to themſelves; they forged a favourable Report upon the Petition, under the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of *London*'s Hands and Seals; by Vertue of which (together with the Archbiſhop's true Hand and Seal, which they had gotten by Chance, and affixed a falſe Recommendation to it) they wandered a long Time over *England*, ſometimes together, ſometimes aſunder, he paſſing for her Brother, ſometimes under the Name of *Robert Hutt*, ſometimes of *Robert Green*; and ſo cheated the King's Subjects of very conſiderable Sums.

But at length this Plot was unluckily ſpoiled by their coming in their Progreſs to play their Pranks in *Suffolk*, the Archbiſhop's native Country, eſpecially in *Bury*; where exhibiting their falſe Recommendations to Mr. *Cleggat*, the Miniſter of that Town, the Vagabond and his Quean were ſeized upon Suſpicion; and, being ſeverally examined, they themſelves confeſſed before divers Juſtices of the Peace the whole Train of their Forgeries in this Particular. Whereupon they were tried, and found guilty, and ſentenced to ſtand in the Pillory in the Market of *Bury*, *October* 6, 1684; he going under the Name of *Robert Young*, alias *Hutt*; ſhe of *Mary Green*, alias *Hutt*, alias *Peirſon*, alias *Young*.

Some Time after this, having made a Property of the Name of *Green*, and of the Captive *Iriſh* Miniſter long enough, and ſqueeſed out of it as much Money as it would afford; and not being to be terrified from ſo gainful a Traffick by one Pillorying at *Bury*, they ſtill carried it on, only changing the Scene, and altering their Style: She, that before was *Mary Green*, is again ſent out, and furniſhed by her Friend, with a new Set of forged Inſtruments and Names.

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In ſome of her falſe Recommendatory Papers, ſhe paſſed for Mrs. *Mary Jones*, Wife of Mr. *Robert Jones*, Rector of *Aſhford*: In others, for Mrs. *Mary Smith*, Wife of Mr. *John Smith*, ſuppoſed Rector too, at the ſame Time, of the ſame *Aſhford*, in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*; whereas neither *Jones*, nor *Smith*, was ever Rector there, no more than Doctor *Hookes* is Rector of *Wingrave* in *Buckinghamſhire*.

However, each of theſe her new Huſbands was pretended to be a Priſoner for a vaſt Debt, upon the Account of Suretiſhip: And ſhe carried about with her divers counterfeit Letters of the Hand ſtill of Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, deſiring (and in one of her Papers making his Grace humbly to beſeech) the Contributions of the Biſhops and Clergy for the poor Man's Enlargement.

This Cheat was indeed more gainful to them than the former. The Archbiſhop's Hand was ſo admirably well imitated, eſpecially in the Subſcriptions of his Name, that ſhe generally met with a very kind Reception; and particularly applying herſelf to three Biſhops, who, of all the Bench, were the Archbiſhop's moſt intimate Friends, even they were deceived by a Legerdemain ſo well deviſed, and nothing doubting, but it was his Grace's true Hand (though they knew it almoſt as well as their own) they and their Clergy were very bountiful to her.

Nor was *Robert Young* himſelf all this While idle, but ſometimes he accompanied this Mrs. *Jones* and Mrs. *Smith*, as her Brother; ſometimes he came after her as her Receiver; ſometimes he went a different Road from her, as her Agent deputed to ſollicit good People's Charity to ſo pious a Work: Shewing another falſe Letter under the Hand of Dr. *Fauleonberge*, Secretary to the Archbiſhop; wherein were ſet down divers Sums, as given by ſeveral of the Clergy, to draw in others; and, among the reſt, I thank her, ſhe owns the Receipt of 4 *l.* from the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

I admire how it was poſſible this their wicked Trade was not ſooner diſcovered; which it had been in a Nation leſs charitable than ours. But here they ſucceſsfully drove it on the better Part of the Year 1687, till at length the Archbiſhop was alarmed from divers Quarters, by Notice that his Hand and Seal went a Begging about the Kingdom; which occaſioned the Advertiſements, that were given to the whole Nation, in the *Gazettes* of *September* and *October* 1687, to beware of Mrs. *Jones* and *Robert Smith*; and to apprehend them, that they might be dealt with according to Law: Whereupon Mrs. *Jones* was very cloſely traced to *Cheſter*, and ſearched for there by the Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*'s Order. But ſhe prevented the Diligence of his Meſſenger, and eſcaped to *London*.

Not long after this, they both came to *Bromley*. The Occaſion of it was (as I have underſtood ſince) that Mr. *Goodwyn*, who officiated ſometime for Mr. *Dobſon*, falling ſuddenly ill, and going to *London* for Cure; and being at a Loſs for the Supply of a Chaplain at the College of Widows, had by Chance this *Young* offered to him, as a grave *Iriſh* Clergyman, of good Preferment in that Church, but at preſent out of Buſineſs, having fled that Kingdom with his Family, upon the Beginning of the Duke of *Tyrconnel*'s Rage againſt the Proteſtants.

By Help of this Impoſture he and his Wife were entertained at *Bromley*, though, by good Hap, they made a very little Stay here. Yet, as ſhort as it was, he has left ſignal Marks behind him of his Wickedneſs, and particularly of his owning that he had the Knack to counterfeit any Man's Hand in *England*.

However, during his ſmall Time in the College, the good Widows had reſpected him, and his Fellow Traveller ſo kindly, that he remembered it two or three Years after, when he was in *Newgate*. I will preſently produce the very Letter written thence, in which he is not aſhamed to beg of an Hoſpital, and in a canting Strain, to intreat they would make a Collection among them, towards his being removed to the *King's-bench*.

The whole Letter is full of Prevarications: But there is one I cannot forbear Mentioning now. For though the true Cauſe of his and his reputed Wife's being clapped up in *Newgate*, was their Forging ſeveral Bills of *Exchange*, and Receiving the Money upon them, for which they both then ſtood convicted, and had been pilloried; yet he ſolemnly proteſts, and thanks God, That he was not a Priſoner for any ill Thing, but only becauſe an *Iriſhman* (whom I pray God forgive, theſe are his very Words) ſwore againſt me, That, by Virtue of Bills, I raiſed Money for the Uſe of King *James*: Whereas (ſays he) you all remember I ſtood up for the Church of *England*, and

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ſtood in the Gap againſt the *Roman* Catholicks in the worſt of Times.

But after a ſhort Time of ſojourning here, of about ſix Weeks, or two Months, in the Year 1687, *Robert Young* ſoon perceived, that this poor Town of *Bromley* was not a proper Seat for him to ſet up his Reſt in; where he could only expect a bare Subſiſtence by Reading Prayers, as a Subſtitute to one who was himſelf a Subſtitute to the Chaplain of the College: Whereas he knew, and had practiſed, a far more ready Way of Getting a plentiful Livelihood; whether honeſt or diſhoneſt he mattered not.

Wherefore, removing hence to *Wapping*, and thence to *White-chapel*, he began to look out for ſome fitter Place for a new Scene of Action; where he might more profitably exerciſe his beſt-beloved Faculty of Counterfeiting Hands and Seals.

At length he caſt his Eye on *St. Albans*, a Town, which, by Reaſon of its great Trade, and convenient Diſtance from *London*, and, being ſo great a Thorough-fair, he pitched on to practiſe in it ſome of the cleanlieſt Feats, I muſt ſay, of his knaviſh Dexterity in that Kind.

Between *St. Albans* and *London*, he began to ply in the Beginning of the Year 1688, and it was not long before he crept into a great Familiarity in the Poſt-Houſe there. By what Arts of Courtſhip he became ſo intimate on a ſudden in the Family, I leave it to the enſuing Papers to inform my Reader.

However, by this Means, he procured the abſolute Command of all the Mails of that Road; and ſo had the Opportunity of opening and peruſing, and taking out, and putting in, what Letters he pleaſed, between the chief Traders of thoſe Parts, and their Correſpondents in *London*.

Having thus furniſhed himſelf with proper Tools, and choſen as fit a Shop to work in, as any in *England*, he preſently fell to his uſual Way of Commerce; whereof I ſhall only mention three or four Inſtances; they being the very ſame for which he and his ſuppoſed Wife were afterwards condemned of Forgery at the *Old Baily*.

His firſt Cheat was thus: In *July* 1688, he went to *Northampton*, and, under the Name of *Robert Smith*, paid to Mr. *John Clarke*, an Inhabitant there, the Sum of twenty Pounds, and took his Bill of Exchange for it, to one Mr. *Jonathan Kendall* of *London*: Mr. *Clarke* alſo ſending a Letter of Advice, that he had drawn ſuch a Bill upon him for the Uſe of Mr. *Robert Smith*.

Robert Young, whom we muſt now call *Robert Smith*, forged another Bill *verbatim* by the true one, for the ſame Sum of twenty Pounds, payable to himſelf under the ſame falſe Name; and, ſtraight coming up to *London*, delivered the forged Bill to Mr. *Kendall*; which being ſo very exactly done, Mr. *Kendall* made no Delay of paying it, and had *Robert Smith*'s Receipt, dated *July* 16.

As ſoon as this was over, honeſt *Robert* immediately took Horſe, and haſted down to *Northampton*; where, arriving on *July* 17, he forthwith went to Mr. *Clarke*, and told him, That he had offered his Bill at *London*, but Mr. *Kendall* refuſed to pay it, and therefore deſired his Money again, producing the true Bill; which Mr. *Clarke* receiving, and ſeeing no imaginable Cauſe of Diſtruſt, paid the twenty Pounds without Demurr.

Thus far Mr *Clarke* and Mr. *Kendall* only ſuſtained the Loſs of twenty Pounds, and, perhaps, ſomewhat ſmiled at the clever Contrivance. But that which next follows, was more extraordinary, and ſtruck deeper into their Purſes.

And how can my Reader now think it probable, that both Mr. *Clarke* and *Kendall* ſhould be again cheated by the ſame Hand, of a much greater Sum, within leſs than three Months after? Yet ſo it really happened; and, in ſuch a Manner, that it was almoſt impoſſible for the Wit of Man to prevent it.

His ſecond *St. Albans* Cheat, therefore, was this: Being now become perfect in the exact Character of Mr. *Clarke*'s Writing, he forged a Bill, dated *October* 5, 1688, as drawn by Mr. *Clarke* on Mr. *Kendall*, for One-hundred and fifty Pounds, payable at Sight to his own *Mary Young*, under the Name of Mrs. *Mary Clarke*.

And, becauſe there was a Neceſſity that a Letter of Advice ſhould go before the Bill, he counterfeited one alſo in this Manner: In the *Northampton* Bag, which he opened at *St. Albans*, he found a long Letter written to Mr. *Kendall* by Mr. *Clarke*, touching divers particular Affairs then tranſacting between them. This Letter he intercepted, tranſcribed it throughout, and, about the Middle of his falſe Copy, inſerted theſe Words, That he had drawn

drawn on Mr. *Kendall* a Bill of One-hundred and fifty Pounds, to be paid upon Sight to Mrs. *Mary Clarke*; and ſo went on with the other Buſineſs, as in the true Letter. This forged Letter he put into the *Northampton* Mail; ſo it went ſafe to Mr. *Kendall* at *London*.

The next Morning after, Mrs. *Mary Clarke* came to him with her Bill. Whereupon Mr. *Kendall*, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting that the Bill or Letter of Advice were forged, becauſe he was confident, they were both of Mr. *Clarke*'s own Hand-writing, and the Letter giving him an Account of ſeveral other Buſineſſes, which he thought could not poſſibly be known to any, but to Mr. *Clarke*, and himſelf, he preſently paid to *Mary Clarke* the One-hundred and fifty Pounds, and ſo loſt the whole Sum beyond Recovery.

His third Cheat on the ſame Road was in this Manner: About the latter End of *February*, in the ſame Year, 1688, he ſent his ſecond Falſe ſelf now again under the Name of *Mary Young*, to Mr. *Jonathan Mathew* of *Daventry* in *Northamptonſhire*. She paid him nine Pounds; for which he gave her a Bill of Exchange upon Mr. *Richard Shipton* of *London*, payable to the ſaid *Mary Young*, which ſhe received *March* the 14th.

By this true Original of Mr. *Mathew*'s own Hand, on the 18th of *March* following, he forged another Bill in the Name of the ſaid Mr. *Mathew*, for Two-hundred Pounds charged alſo on the ſaid Mr. *Shipton*. And, having ſtill the Liberty to ſearch the *Daventry* Mail at *St. Albans*, and finding there a Letter from Mr. *Mathew* to Mr. *Shipton*, he made the ſame Uſe of it as he had done that of Mr. *Clarke*'s to Mr. *Kendall*; tranſcribed it intirely, and, in the ſame ſurreptitious Manner as before, put in an Advice of his having drawn a Bill of Two-hundred Pounds, and for whom. Which Letter was immediately ſent by the Poſt to Mr. *Shipton*.

The falſe Bill and Letter of Advice, I am aſſured, was ſo accurately counterfeited, that Mr. *Mathew* himſelf could not diſcover the Difference, nor diſown it upon View; but only in that he was certain he had never drawn any Bill of that Importance.

Mr. *Shipton* therefore was eaſily deceived by the Similitude of Hands; and *Robert Young* having ſent *Mary* to *London*, to receive the Money, he paid it without the leaſt Scruple; ſince this Letter of Advice alſo mentioned other Things which Mr. *Shipton* knew to be true.

Mr. *Mathew*, as ſoon as Mr. *Shipton* ſent him Word, that he had paid in his Name a Sum ſo conſiderable, diſpatched immediately a Servant up to *London*, to let him know, He had never drawn any ſuch Bill upon him, and had given him this timely Notice, that, if poſſible, he might retrieve the Money.

Thenceforth, they both uſed all imaginable Endeavours to diſcover the Authors of the Fraud. Which *Mary Young* perceiving, by their frequent Letters to each other, *Robert* having ſtill the Advantage of Opening at *St. Albans*; ſhe wrote Mr. *Mathew* a moſt inſulting Letter; telling him, That ſhe had made bold to borrow of Mr. *Shipton* two-hundred Pounds upon his Credit, but would repay it, when ſhe was able. And, to amuſe him the more in his Search, ſhe addeth a ſham Story, That ſhe had got his Hand by corrupting one of the Letter-Carriers in *London*; and that, therefore, he need not trouble himſelf to enquire any farther about the Matter: Subſcribing herſelf, *Mary Young*, alias *Brown*, alias *Stewart*, alias *Forbus*, alias *Boner*, *&c.* of which pretty Piece of impudent Raillery, my Reader ſhall have the true Copy, when it comes in its Courſe.

His laſt Forgeries practiſed at *St. Albans*, that have come within my Obſervation, were upon Mr. *Olds* of *Coventry*, and Mr. *Billers* of *London*.

But, before I proceed to theſe, I muſt acquaint my Reader, that *Robert Young* had owed Mr. *Olds* and Mr. *Billers* an ancient Grudge, of as long Standing as the Year 1683; becauſe then he could only defraud them of ten Pounds, and a Ring, and not of one-hundred Pounds, as he deſigned. The Caſe was thus:

Robert Young, in *June* 1683, forged a Bill in the Name of Mr. *Joſeph Olds* of *Coventry*, for one-hundred Pounds, upon Mr. *John Billers* of *London*, payable at Sight.

He likewiſe forged a Letter of Advice of the ſaid Bill, which he procured to be put into ſome Poſt upon the Road. And accordingly it was delivered in *London* to Mr. *Billers* on *June* the 12th.

The next Day, being *June* the 13th, *Robert Young*, in a Canonical Habit with a Scarf on, preſented to Mr. *Billers* the forged Bill for one hundred Pounds; the Counterfeit was exact, and Mr. *Billers* had received a Letter of Advice before; whereupon he ſtraight ordered his Caſh-keeper to pay the Reverend Mr. *Young* his Bill.

Robert,

Robert, ſeeing the Money come ſo freely, would have taken it upon Content; the Servant would not pay it, except he would tell it over; which at length he did.

But, before he could carry it away, the Servant whiſpering this to his Maſter, and Mr. *Billers* himſelf obſerving ſomething in the Bill, that gave him Reaſon to ſuſpect it, came to them, and ſaid to *Robert*, That he deſired to be better ſatisfied in the ſaid Bill, and that he was the Perſon, whoſe Right it was to receive it, ſince he knew him not.

Robert replied, He was a Country Miniſter, altogether a Stranger in Town, and known to none but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 'Well, ſaid Mr. *Billers*, when you 'bring me any of the Archbiſhop's Gentle-'men to give me an Account of his Grace's 'Knowledge of you, you ſhall preſently have 'the Money.'

But *Robert* pretended very urgent Occaſions for it, and that he was to pay away ſome of it that Night; and therefore earneſtly intreated he might have the Whole, or at leaſt ten Pounds of it for the preſent. Mr. *Billers* conſented to this laſt Requeſt; Mr. *Young* gave a Receipt for the ten Pounds; and, to prevent a farther Trouble of Telling the Money again, Mr. *Billers* deſired him to ſeal the reſt up in the Bag where it was put. Mr. *Young* had no Seal. Mr. *Billers* pulled off his Finger a gold Ring ſet with a Cornelian Stone; bid Mr. *Young* ſeal the Bag with it; gave the Ring into his Keeping, and appointed him to bring it again the next Day, when he came for the Reſidue of the Money. Mr. *Young* very fairly went away with the ten Pounds and the Ring, but never came again for the Remainder of his Bill, or to bring Witneſs, that he was acquainted with the Archbiſhop.

Having now ſet forth this Matter of Fact of Mr. *Billers*'s Keeping back ninety Pounds from Mr. *Robert Young*, even juſt when he was in the very Act of Receiving it, I leave it to my Reader to judge, whether *Robert* did not owe him a good Turn. My next Buſineſs is to ſhew how he paid it him: Some Years, indeed, had paſſed, before he took his Revenge; which I ſomewhat wonder at; but he took it at laſt to ſome Purpoſe.

The Manner how it was done I ſhall expreſs as briefly as I can, becauſe the Circumſtances of this were very near the ſame with his other aforementioned *St. Albans* Forgeries.

About the Middle of *February*, 1688, he ſent his faithful Inſtrument *Mary*, under the Name now of Mrs. *Sarah Harris*, to pay the ſame Mr. *Olds* ten Pounds at *Coventry*, for which he gave her a Bill of Exchange upon the ſame Mr. *Billers*, payable at Sight: So, for very good Cauſe, *Robert* took Care all, or moſt of his Bills ſhould be worded.

By this Means *Robert* renewed his Acquaintance with Mr. *Olds*'s Hand, and ſoon perfected himſelf in it, by Watching over all his Letters of Correſpondence with Mr. *Billers*, which muſt come from *Coventry* through *St. Albans*, where he governed thoſe that governed the Poſt-houſe.

Being thus prepared, he began at firſt to play at ſmall Game, that he might keep his Hand in Uſe; for, finding in one of Mr. *Olds*'s Letters two Bills, the one of fourteen Pounds ten Shillings, the other of twenty Pounds, both payable to Mr. *Billers*, he took Poſſeſſion of the Letter, forged Indorſements on the Bills, in the Name of Mr. *Billers*, that they ſhould be paid to his Servant, *James Moreton* (whoſe true Name was *James Young*, and he was really *Robert*'s Servant) and accordingly both theſe Bills were paid, *Aug.* 5, 1689, to *James Moreton*, alias *Young*; as, it ſeems, nothing can belong to *Robert Young*, without being intitled to an *alias*.

This *James Moreton*, alias *Young*, I ſay, did actually receive both the Bills; and, thinking it was but reaſonable he ſhould have a Share in the Profit, as he had in the Knavery, paid the Sum of the one Bill to his Maſter, and kept the other to himſelf: The firſt Cheat (and the laſt, I believe) that was ever put upon Mr. *Robert Young*.

But, after theſe leſs gainful Experiments, it ſeems, *Robert Young* thought it now a fit Seaſon, that his main Plot upon Mr. *Olds* and Mr. *Billers* ſhould begin to work; for, by his long Familiarity with the Northern Mails, he had learned, that, at this Time, there was a conſiderable Caſh of Mr. *Olds* remaining in the Hands of Mr. *Billers*.

Wherefore, by the ſame Method which he had uſed in his other Cheats of this Kind, he forged a Bill of two-hundred Pounds to be paid at Sight to the ſame Mrs. *Sarah Harris*, proceeding in the ſame Steps as before; that

is,

is, he intercepted one of Mr. *Olds*'s Letters, tranſcribed it, adding an Advice of having drawn the ſaid Bill of two-hundred Pounds for Mrs *Sarah Harris*; then ſuppreſſed the true Letter, and put the falſe one into the Poſt; which was delivered to Mr. *Billers*, at *London*, upon *Auguſt* the 11th, 1689.

The next Morning came Mrs. *Sarah Harris* to Mr. *Billers*, and produced her forged Bill: He could diſcover no Deceit in the Hand, owned he had received the Letter of Advice, and was juſt giving Order for the Payment; when, by good Fortune, he recollected, That he had heard Mr. *Shipton* of *Friday-ſtreet* had, not long before, been defrauded after the ſame Manner, by a Woman coming, as this did, in the Morning, and of the ſame Sum of two-hundred Pounds.

The freſh Remembrance of this gave him juſt Grounds of being jealous of the like Trick; ſo that, while the Money was telling out, he thought it would not be amiſs to ſend and deſire Mr. *Shipton* to come and take a View of this Mrs. *Harris*, intimating the Reaſon why he ſent for him.

Mr. *Shipton* came accordingly, and, upon the firſt Sight, declared her to be the ſame *Mary Young*, that had lately cheated him of his two-hundred Pounds.

She, being thus unexpectedly charged with this Crime, confeſſed it upon the Place; whereupon ſhe was apprehended, and committed to the *King's-bench*, after ſhe had received above five-hundred Pounds, in a ſhort Space, by the like Ways, whilſt ſhe was ſuch a Kind of Agent at *London* for *Robert Young*, as my Reader will find ſhe owned upon Oath afterwards at *Litchfield*.

But in the *King's-bench* I muſt leave her for a ſhort Time, that I may look out after her dear Friend, and inquire how he behaved himſelf, in this ſad Cataſtrophe of their Affairs, after they had ſo long proceeded ſmoothly and proſperouſly.

It was high Time for him now to intermit his Correſpondencies at *St. Albans*, and to remove to a greater Diſtance from *London*; ſo that the next Footſteps, I have traced of his Rogueries, were at *Litchfield*; whither, I find alſo, he had made ſome Excurſions in the Year 1688: But now, in the Year 1689, it ſeems, he went thither, reſolving to ſettle there for ſome Time.

There he appeared in a genteel Habit, with his Man, *James Young*, alias *Moreton*, to wait upon him: There he perſonated again an *Iriſh* Clergyman, of conſiderable Preferments in that Church, and a plentiful Temporal Eſtate. He kept two Horſes, rode often Abroad in an Equipage, rather fitting a Highway-man, than a Divine. He had Plenty of Gold and Silver, and ſome Plate; the Product, no Doubt, of his late Cheats upon Mr. *Clark*, and Mr. *Mathew*, and Mr. *Olds*, beſides ſome Remains, probably, of what was collected for Mr. *Green*, Mr. *Jones*, and Mr. *Smith*, whilſt they, good Men, perhaps, lay in Priſon for it, all the While.

During his Abode at *Litchfield*, he profeſſed himſelf to be a ſingle Man, and, upon that Pretence, made Love to divers Women, in the Way of Marriage; believing, that his former *Mary* was lodged ſo ſafely in the *King's-Bench*, that ſhe could never get out to diſturb his Deſigns.

But there he was deceived: For, when the Fire broke out in *Southwark*, ſhe made her Eſcape, and ſo had Leiſure to look out after him, and came Time enough, to prevent his intended Marriage.

For juſt then he was in cloſe Purſuit of a young Woman at *Tamworth*, who had at leaſt one-thouſand Pounds to her Portion, and he was in great Probability of obtaining her. But *Mary*, having got looſe by the above-mentioned Accident, wrote him divers Letters, That all her Money was ſpent; that ſhe would be with him ſhortly, though ſhe begged by the Way. Which, at laſt, ſhe made good, and arrived there, ſome few Days before his new-deſigned Wedding, and challenged him for her Huſband. Or elſe, undoubtedly, he had ſerved *Mary Hutt* the ſame Trick, for the Sake of a Thouſand Pounds, as my Reader will find, he really ſerved *Anne Yeakſly*, for one-hundred and Fifty Pounds.

But this had like to have coſt *Mary* her Life: For *Robert*, being inraged at the Diſappointment, practiſed with his Man, to meet her in her Coming down; and either to cut her Throat, or drown her. And, when he refuſed (which was a wonderful Honeſty in any one, that could ſubmit to be his Man) *Robert*'s next Attempt was to diſpatch and kill his Man, as he went Abroad, one Day, with him a Shooting.

My Reader, no Doubt, will be amazed at this horrible Story; yet I ſay no more than what his Man himſelf declared upon Oath, at *Litchfield*, and what all the Country thereabout believes to be true.

But, the Gun not going off, his Man fled from him, firſt to *Litchfield*, and thence to *Coventry*; where, he acquainted Mr. *Olds*, a Mercer there, whom I have already ſo often mentioned, with the ſeveral Cheats, that his Maſter *Robert Young* had formerly acted upon him, by Forging Bills of Exchange.

Mr. *Olds*, having never before, by all his Search, been able to diſcover the Contrivers of thoſe Forgeries, without Delay, repaired to *Litchfield*, and lighted upon *Robert Young*, whilſt, he was yet fluſh of Money and Plate; which he pretended to have brought out of *Ireland*, where he affirmed, he was a Dean.

Mr. *Robert*, being thus unawares charged with all theſe Cheats, freely confeſſed them all to Mr. *Olds:* And, that he might not loſe his new-gotten Reputation in the Church there, and all his Hopes at once, privately made up the Buſineſs, and repaid to Mr. *Olds* all he could demand: That is to ſay, the fourteen Pounds, ten Shillings; the twenty Pounds; and the ten Pounds; and the Value of the Gold Ring: Which unlucky Blow to his Fortune made him, for the future, be content to be ſerved without Plate.

But this was alſo the Occaſion of a worſe Miſchief, that ſhortly after befel *Robert Young* and *Mary*; I ſay *Mary* alſo. For, before this, ſhe arrived ſafe at *Litchfield*; and though, at firſt, he poſitively denied her to be his Wife, and forſwore her too, according to his Cuſtom; yet, in a ſhort Time, I know not how, they were pieced together again, as ſeeming indeed to be born for one another's Society.

I have already told my Reader, That Mr. *Mathew* of *Daventry* had uſed all poſſible Induſtry, and written a vaſt Number of Letters, and made many fruitleſs Journies, in Queſt of the Author of his two-hundred Pound Forgery. But all in vain, till now the Noiſe of it, ſpreading all over the Country, came, at length, to Mr. *Olds* at *Coventry*. He preſently gave Intimation by Letter to Mr. *Mathew*, How he himſelf had likewiſe been cheated of divers leſs Sums, and recovered them again, by Compoſition: And that his Knave was ſtill in a flouriſhing Condition at *Litchfield*; and he might probably be the ſame Man.

Mr. *Mathew*, upon this Intelligence, quickly poſted down to *Litchfield:* Beſet the Houſe, over Night where *Robert* and *Mary* lodged: The next Morning *Mary* was ſoon taken, and *Robert* alſo, after above an Hour's Search, was pulled out from under a Heap of Furz, in a Corner of the Cellar.

They both immediately confeſſed the Fact; and *Robert* would fain have ſtopped Mr. *Mathew*'s Mouth, as he had done Mr. *Olds*'s, with the ſmall Relicks of his ill-gotten Wealth.

But, that not ſufficing for a Sum ſo conſiderable, *Robert* ſtoutly denied all again, and defied him to do his worſt: Whereupon they were both clapped up in *Litchfield* Gaol.

During this Time, News was come to the Secretaries Office at *Whitehall*, of the aforeſaid Violations on the Poſt-Office, at *St. Albans*; and that the Perſons offending were in Cuſtody at *Litchfield*. Whereupon, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, then Principal Secretary of State, granted a Warrant to Mr. *Legatt*, the King's Meſſenger, to bring them up to Town, as being accuſed for dangerous Practices againſt the Government: The Perſons, abuſed by the former Forgeries, giving their Conſent, that they ſhould be ſo removed.

Mr. *Legatt* brought them up, and laid them firſt in the *Gate-houſe* in *Weſtminſter*; whence, by a Warrant of the Lord Chief Juſtice, they were removed into *London*, and lodged ſafely (one would have thought) in *Newgate*.

To *Newgate*, they had directly ſteered their Courſes the greateſt Part of their Lives; and thus, at laſt, wrought their Way thither, *per varios Caſus, per tot Diſcrimina*. There they were tried and condemned for theſe Forgeries, and underwent again the Puniſhment of the Pillory; he being fined, for one Fault, a hundred Marks; for the other, a hundred Marks; and ſhe twenty Marks.

If my Reader ſhall aſk, Why *Robert* was found guilty of no more than two of theſe Cheats? It was, Becauſe there was no other Proof againſt him for the reſt, but the Confeſſion of *Mary*, who plainly confeſſed him to be the Author of all. But that, it ſeems, in Law, is not Evidence ſufficient, becauſe they ſuppoſed her to be his Wife; it was a Pity the Judges and Jury had not known how little ſhe was his lawful Wife.

However, in *Newgate* they continued above two Years, for Want of Payment of theſe

Fines, till the Twenty-fifth of *May* laſt, when his Fines were paid: I ſuppoſe his Wife's Fine was diſcharged too. For they both came forth in Triumph, and new Cloaths on, that Day, with the Aſſociation in their Hands; after they had prevailed with *Blackhead* to ſteal it in, and ſteal it out of my Chimney.

Thus, according to the Faſhion, I have given a true Pourtraict of theſe precious Evidences of a new Plot. My next Buſineſs will be to exemplify all this more largely, by authentick Proofs: Which, if I miſtake not, I ſhall do ſo unqueſtionably, that none ſhall be able to diſbelieve what I ſay againſt *Young*, but ſuch as can believe what *Young* has ſaid againſt me.

But firſt I will diſpatch *Blackhead:* Touching whom, I will only give a Copy of the Record of the Seſſions at the *Old Bailey*, where he was condemned for Forgery.

London ſſ. Deliberat' Gaol' Dominor' Regis & Regin' de Newgate tent' pro Civitat' London, apud Juſtice-Hall in le Old Bayly London, die Jovis (ſcil.) 15° die Januarii, Anno Regni Will' & Mar' nunc Regis & Regin' Angl' prim' &c.

Felix Don Lewis, Thomas Patrick, Steph. Blackhead, *Convict' pro fabricand' & publicand' falſum Script' Obligator' in Nomine cujuſd' Thom' Faulkener pro ſumm'* 60 l. *ponantur & quilibet eor' ponatur ſupra Pillor' uno die in Cornhil prope Excamb' London ab hora undecima ante Merid' uſq; ad hor' prim' poſt Merid' ejus diei: Et quilibet eor' habeant un' aur' ibid' abſciſs' & quod quilibet eor' habeat & ſuſtineat impriſonament' in Gaol' de Newgate per ſpatium unius anni integri ſine Bal' vel Manucaptur', juxta form' Statut' ejuſd'.*

By this it appears, *Blackhead* and his two Companions were convicted of Cheating one Mr. *Faulkener* of ſixty Pounds, by a falſe Bill or Bond; and were condemned to ſtand in the Pillory in *Cornhill* near the *Exchange*, for two Hours; to loſe each of them an Ear; and to continue Priſoners, for twelve Months, without Bail or Mainprize in *Newgate:* Where, no Doubt, that Intimacy between *Blackhead* and *Young* was contracted, which had been ſo fatal to me, had not God marvellouſly defeated their Conſpiracy againſt me.

Having thus, for the Preſent, rid my Hands of *Blackhead*, I proceed next to *Young*. And, the firſt Scene of his Villainies, that have come to my Knowledge, having been in *Ireland*, I will now give certain Demonſtration of the Particulars, out of the Original Papers themſelves: Which ſeem to me to deſcribe the Caitiff ſo plainly, that I need only ſet them down in their Order, without any Comment of mine upon them.

The principal Crimes, I have already objected againſt him in *Ireland*, were his Marrying a ſecond Wife, whilſt his firſt was alive: His Counterfeiting Certificates for Deacons Orders: His intirely Forging of his Prieſts Orders; and his Feigning the Knowledge of a dangerous Plot, in that Kingdom; wherein he would make out, that divers great Perſons were engaged.

There are, alſo, ſeveral others of his Rogueries, ſuch as his having a Baſtard by a Kitchen Wench, at *Caſtle-Reah*, whilſt he was, a ſhort Time, Curate there: His lewd Life, and Cheating divers People of Money by counterfeit Bills, at *Tallogh*, where he was alſo ſometimes Curate: His Running away with another Man's Horſe, when he was forced to flee thence, for his other Pranks, and the like. All theſe, and more ſuch, will come in, as by the by; and it will be enough for me only to give my Reader this Notice, to mark them in the Papers I am going to produce: The Method of which ſhall be this:

Firſt, He ſhall have *Robert Young*'s general Character, in a Letter from the preſent Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*; and another from the Lord Biſhop of *Ferns* and *Leighlin*; both written ſo long ago, as the Year 1683: Whilſt he was only under Suſpicion at *Lambeth*; and before he had entered upon ſo many vile Practices in *England*.

In theſe Letters, he is, even then, deſcribed to be as wicked a Lyar, as the little Carmelite Friar *Moor*, and to be as very a Rogue as the *Spaniſh* Wits have fancied their *Guſman*. Who the Carmelite Friar was, I know not; *Guſman* is ſufficiently known. But, in the Sequel, it will appear, that our Rogue has far outdone the very *Spaniſh* Romance of theirs.

Secondly, He ſhall have the Lord Biſhop of *Raphoe Hopkins*'s Letter to the Lord Biſhop of *Kilmore*, when *R. Young* was apprehended in that Dioceſe under the Name of *Robert Hop-*

kins; for which Name alſo he ſhewed his forged Letters of Prieſts Orders, upon his Examination by the ſaid Biſhop, which ſhall alſo follow.

Thirdly, Here are the Copies of the original Certificates confirming the Truth of both his Marriages.

Fourthly, Here are divers Letters of *Robert Young*'s own Hand, when he was impriſoned at *Cavan*, and in Danger of his Life for having two Wives.

1. A Letter to one Juſtice *Waldrum*, to offer him a Bribe, if he would take Bail for him.

2. Another Letter to the Lord Biſhop of *Kilmore*, confeſſing ſome of his Knaveries, but ſolemnly denying his having married two Wives.

Next, here is a Letter to *Roger Yeabſly*, Brother to his firſt Wife *Ann Yeabſly*, alias *Apſly*.

Then another to *George Yeabſly*, her Father; then two Letters to herſelf.

In all theſe he confeſſes his two Marriages: However, propoſes, to her and her Brother, a Way to ſave his Life by Forſwearing themſelves: That they ſhould get a Certificate at *Cork*, ſigned by a publick Notary, that *Ann Yeabſly* was really married to one *Robert Young*, and that *Roger* her Brother was preſent at the Marriage, and that then they ſhould both come to *Cavan*, and, upon his Trial, deny that he was the Man; and, if they did him this Service, he promiſed, with horrible Imprecations upon himſelf, that he would only ſtay to receive *Mary Hutt* his ſecond Wife's Portion, and then run away with *Ann Yeabſly*, his firſt Wife, into *England*.

Laſtly, To compleat all, I will produce two of his Letters to his ſecond Wife *Mary Hutt*; the one after he had fled out of the Dioceſe of *Kilmore*; the other after he had got to *Iniſkillin* out of *Cavan* Gaol.

The Firſt is full of the like blaſphemous Curſes and Execrations upon himſelf, if ever he was married to any other Woman but her; therefore inviting her to come and relieve him, with dreadful Promiſes and Vows of never forſaking her.

In the Second, to ſay nothing of his impudent Reviling of the Lord Biſhop of *Kilmore*, he deſires her to ſteal away from her Friends to him, and to bring the Bond with her (a true one, without Doubt) to bring alſo all the Money ſhe could get, and to be ſure to pay no body; which was accordingly done, and ſo with her he fled, and took Sanctuary in *England*.

A Letter from Dr. Foley, *containing Part of a Letter from the preſent Lord Archbiſhop of* Dublin, *concerning* Robert Young; *written, in the Year* 1683, *to the Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

Tunbridge, June 27, 1683.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

LAST Night I received a Letter from my Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, concerning Mr. *Young*; Part of it runs thus:

'If he be *Robert Young* whom I degraded, 'he is the verieſt Villain alive: He has now, 'or had when I knew him, ſeveral Wives 'living. A notorious Cheat, has counterfeited ſeveral Hands and Seals, by which he 'has deceived Men of Money, and ſtolen into Credit and Holy Orders. He has been 'in ſeveral Gaols, as namely *Lifford*, where 'he was laid up by the Biſhop of *Raphoe*, 'now *Derry*, who is going now for *London*; 'and, if you can procure him to ſee him, I 'am confident he remembers him well enough. 'He was long in *Cavan* Gaol, and to be tried 'for his Life; where I got, and have by me, 'very many of his Papers, which would enable any Man to write the *Scotchman*'s Life, 'which I think would tranſcend the *Spaniſh* 'Rogue. For fear he ſhould hang in his 'Gown, by the Advice of the Lord Primate, 'I degraded him for the leaſt of his Villainies; 'becauſe the Canon was expreſs, and he 'guilty, as was proved, of Marrying without 'Licenſe. In Brief, he is a notorious wicked Man, and ſo well furniſhed with the neceſſary Inſtruments of it, that I think Friar '*Moor*, the late Convert, cannot exceed him in 'Lying. He is a black ſwarthy Man, of a ſuſpicious Countenance. He has ſeveral Names. 'He aſſumed mine at ſome Places; *Hopkin*'s 'at *Raphoe*; and was here lately by the Name 'of *Brown*; but, hearing that I was here, I 'ſuppoſe, made off again. The laſt Wife he 'married

'married was one *Simon Hutt*'s Daughter of '*Cavan*. I ſend you the incloſed, which I pray 'reſerve for me. It is a Letter he wrote to 'his ſecond Wife, after he fled from me. 'Keep the Letter for me; I ſend it, becauſe 'I am mightily of Opinion he is the Man. 'Here is another Letter to his former Wife, '*Ann Yeabſly*, at the ſame Time; by which 'you will be ſatisfied that *Robert Young* is a 'very ingenious Perſon, and a Man of deep 'Contrivance. Had he been in Time and 'Place, he would have made an excellent 'Evidence; and, had that Trade gone on, I 'had doubtleſs been in a Plot; for he declared 'he had a Plot to diſcover, in which ſome 'Noblemen and ſeveral Biſhops were con-'cerned. I am confident I had been one; 'and the Biſhop of *Waterford* (whoſe Hand 'and Seal he counterfeited to me, and the 'Biſhop of *Elphin*) another; from whom he 'pretended Orders, and the Biſhop diſowned 'upon my Letter to him.'

Dublin. *Thus far the Archbiſhop.*
June 2, 1683.

I ſend incloſed to your Grace the two Letters, which my Lord ſent me, and beg your Grace will pleaſe to keep them by you, till I can wait on you for them; becauſe he deſires to have them again. I am bold to ſay, That your Grace will hereafter be a little ſuſpicious of Clergymen who come out of *Ireland*, without better Teſtimonials; and that it will be for the Honour of our Clergy and Univerſity, that wicked and ignorant Men, who pretend to be of them, and are not, be animadverted on by your Grace, with ſome Severity. I beg your Grace's Bleſſing, and am

Your Grace's, &c.
Sam. Foley.

A Letter from the Lord Biſhop of Ferns *and* Leighlin, *now Archbiſhop of* Caſhel, *to Dr.* Foley, *concerning the ſame* Robert Young; *written in the Year* 1683.

SIR, *Dublin*, *June* 2.

ACcording to your Deſire, I waited on my Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, to inquire of his Grace concerning one *Young*, whom he degraded for ſeveral notorious Crimes; as having two Wives, Counterfeiting the Archbiſhop of *Caſhel*'s Hand to the Biſhop of *Killaloe*, for his being made Deacon; which the Biſhop (not diſcovering the Cheat) did; and then his Counterfeiting the Biſhop of *Clogher*'s Hand for the Order of Prieſthood, which he never had: He went likewiſe under ſeveral Names, and was in ſeveral Gaols, particularly in that at *Cavan* for a great While. The Man, my Lord ſays, is about his Grace's own Stature, that is, ſomewhat tall; neither lean nor corpulent; of a pretty long, black, ill Viſage; his Hair, if his own, is black, thin, pretty long, and hangs flag without any Curls. He is a *Scotchman*, about twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight Years of Age; and will lye as faſt as the little *Carmelite Fryer Moor* (to uſe his Grace's own Expreſſion). And this is all I can ſay of him. I am

Yours, &c.

Narciſſus Ferns *and* Leighlin.

A Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Kilmore, *from Biſhop* Hopkins, *then Lord Biſhop of* Raphoe; *written in the Year* 1680, *concerning* Robert Young's *Apprehenſion in his Dioceſe, under the Name of* R. Hopkins.

My Lord, *Raphoe*, *Nov.* 11, 80.

YOUR Lordſhip's to me came very ſeaſonably, that is, one Day before Mr. *Young*: And he came very confidently, expecting much Kindneſs for Name's-ſake; for he thought it fit to aſſume mine; and, at his firſt Accoſt, thruſt into my Hands Letters Dimiſſory, lewdly forged, as from the Biſhop of *Killaloe*; with the Seal to them vilely cut, and the Date of *octo die Octobris*. This alone would have given me Suſpicion of an Impoſture; but, being forewarned by your Lordſhip, I was certain I had the Man, though he lurked under another Name. The Contents

of

of the Letters were the ampleſt Form of Commendations, which I keep by me, but ſhall remit when your Lordſhip requires it. I put many croſs Interrogatories to him, till, at laſt, one Lye ſo contradicted another, that the Man was perfectly confounded, and began to ſpeak Truth. There were two other Juſtices then with me: We took his Examination, a Copy of which I have ſent here incloſed. When I preſſed him upon the Point of Polygamy, he utterly denied it, as indeed it concerned him; as alſo that he ever was at *Londonderry*, much more that ever he was Schoolmaſter there; and this ſome who were preſent believe to be Truth. Beſides, ſome affirm, That, to their Knowledge, *Sarah Mallon*, who was afterwards married to one *Young*, was, upon his Deceaſe, married to one Mr. *Laughtin*, a Miniſter in the Dioceſe of *Londonderry*, with whom ſhe now lives. I know not whether he can be ſo well vindicated from others, for your Lordſhip ſpeaks of two or three more. However, his Miſdemeanors and Forgeries were ſo many, that we committed him to the County-Gaol, where, I hope, he will not long continue. For, as at your Lordſhip's Deſire I have ſecured him, ſo I muſt deſire that your Lordſhip would ſpeedily take Order to have him ſent where the fulleſt Evidence may be given againſt him.

I am

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Ezechiel Raphoe.

The Examination and Confeſſion of R. Young, *before the Lord Biſhop of* Raphoe, *and others, in the Year* 1680.

County Donegal.

THE voluntary Examination of *R. Young*, late of the Pariſh of *Kildallin*, in the Dioceſe of *Kilmore*, and County of *Cavan*, Clerk, taken at *Raphoe* the Tenth of *November*, 1680, before the Right Reverend Father in God, *Ezechiel* Lord Biſhop of *Raphoe*, *Richard Inett*, Clerk, and *Matthew Cocken*, Eſq; Juſtices of the Peace of the ſaid County of *Donegal*.

Who being voluntarily examined, upon Suſpicion of being guilty of ſeveral Forgeries and Miſdemeanors, ſaith, That he was Curate at the ſaid Pariſh of *Kildallin* for three Quarters of a Year; that he came thence in *October* laſt; that he had not any Certificate or Diſmiſs from the Biſhop of that Dioceſe; that he confeſſed the Counterfeiting of Letters Dimiſſory from the Lord Biſhop of *Killaloo*, and the Seal and Subſcription thereof are falſe; as alſo the Name of *R. Hopkins* in thoſe Letters Dimiſſory mentioned, he intended to have taken on him; but that his own Name is *Robert Young*; that he was about three Years ſince ordained Deacon by the Biſhop of *Killaloo*. That he is a married Man; and that his Wife's Name is *Hutt*, Daughter to *Simon Hutt*, and is now with her Father in the Town of *Cavan*; That he was never married before: And ſaith, That he is not guilty of Counterfeiting any Letters of Orders; but confeſſed, that he did counterfeit and forge a Letter from one Dr. *Smith* of *Limerick*, to the Biſhop of *Killaloo*, upon which Letter, he ordained the ſaid Examinate Deacon, as aforeſaid, and further ſaith not,

Capt. coram nobis — *Robert Young.*
Ezechiel Rapotenſi.
Rich. Inett.
Mat. Cocken.

Copies of the Original Certificates and Papers, confirming the Truth of both Robert Young's *Marriages, and both his Wives being alive at the ſame Time.*

The Certificate upon Oath of George Yeabſly, *or* Apſly, *his firſt Wife's Father, concerning* R. Young's *firſt Marriage, with three other Certificates of his Cheats.*

Memorandum, *Jun.* 17, 1680.

THE Day and Year above written, *George Apſly*, of the *Breedas*, in the Pariſh of *Arda*, in the County of *Cork*, Yeoman, came before me, *Richard Pine*, one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the ſaid County, and made Oath, that on, or about the 18th of *May* laſt was five Years paſt, He, this Deponent, was preſent, and gave his Daughter, *Ann Apſly*, in Marriage with one Mr. *Robert Young*, Clerk, at *Ralph-cormack* in the County aforeſaid; and that he ſaw them lawfully joined in Matrimony (Dr. *Smith*, Miniſter) and

and lived together ſeveral Years afterwards. He afterwards, that is to ſay, about two Years laſt paſt, was Curate under Mr. *Francis Beecher*, in the Pariſh of *Tallogh*, in the County of *Waterford*; and that his Daughter *Ann* had three Children born and begot by him, and that ſhe, his Daughter, is now living.

George Apſly.

Jurat. coram me R. Pine.
17 *Die* Jan. *Ann. Dom.* 1680.

Thom. Neeſham, *Notario publico præſente.*

Jan. 17. 1680.

I *Richard Burt* of *Tallogh*, in the County of *Waterford*, Eſq; do certify, That (upon Peruſal of the within Contents) the within named *Robert Young* was entertained and licenſed as a Curate in the Pariſh aboveſaid, and afterwards depoſed for Reaſons unknown to me; but did ſoon after, *viz.* about *Chriſtmas* 1679, feign and counterfeit my Name and Hand-writing to an Acquaintance and Kinſman of mine at *Fealher*, for ſeven Pounds (Mr. *Cook* by Name) and did, by Vertue of his other counterfeit Letter in my Name, receive (as I am aſſuredly told) the Sum of three Pounds of one *Henry Ruſſel* of *Clonmell*. The Truth of all which I certify under my Hand and Seal, the Day and Year above written.

Richard Burt, Vice Com.

Jan. 17, 1680.

I *Thomas Elms* of *Tallogh* in the County of *Waterford*, Feltmonger, do certify, that the aforenamed *R. Young*, on, or about the Firſt of *December*, 1679, did hire an Horſe, with Bridle and Saddle, to ride to *Caſhel*, of me, at the Rate of Twelve-pence *per* Day; all which he hath deceived me of to my great Damage. And I certify under my Hand the Day and Year aboveſaid.

his
Thomas † Elms.
Mark.

Being preſent,

Richard Burt, *Vice Com.* Garret Roche.
Francis Foulke. Roger Power.
Thom. Neeſham, *Notarius Publicus.*

The Counterfeit Bill of Mr. Burt.

Tallogh, 17 *Dec.* 1679.

SIR,

THE Bearer hereof, Mr. *Robert Young*, Miniſter of our Town, is bound for *Caſhel* to the Archbiſhop, to pay ſome Money. Therefore I intreat you to do me that great Kindneſs, as to let him have three Pounds, and I will pay you, when you call for it. If you do me this Courteſy, I will requite you for it: So hoping you will not fail, I reſt your loving Friend,

Richard Burt.

To Mr. Henry Ruſſel, *Goldſmith, at* Clonmell.

December 18, 79.

REceived of *Henry Ruſſel* the Summ of three Pound: I ſay, received by me,

R. Young, Clerk.

The Certificate of divers other Perſons, touching Robert Young's *Firſt Marriage.*

WE, whoſe Names are ſubſcribed, do hereby certify all whom it may concern, that *R. Young*, who lately ſupplied the Cure at *Tallogh*, was, as we are credibly informed, married at *Rath-cormack*, by Dr. *William Smith*, to *Ann*, the Daughter of *George Yeabſly*, about five Years ſince; during which Time, the ſaid *Robert Young* and *Ann* did cohabit, or dwell together, as Man and Wife, at the Houſe of the ſaid *George Yeabſly*; where they had three Children; which ſaid *George Yeabſly* and *Ann* his Daughter do now dwell at *Monoth*, within

within four Miles of this Town of *Tallogh*. All which we do certify this Twenty-firſt Day of *January*, 1680.

Thomas Beecher, *Prebend. de* Claſhmore.
Richard Giſt. Richard Giles.
John Yeabſly. George Oburn.
William Giſt. Robert Benger.
William Page. Francis Cooper.
Thomas Clark. Thomas Bateman.
Richard Burt, *Vice Com.*

The Certificate of the Dean of Kilmore, *concerning* Robert Young's *Second Marriage with* Mary Hutt.

I *Edward Dixy*, Dean of *Kilmore*, do hereby own and acknowledge, that I married *Robert Young*, formerly Clerk and Curate of *Kildallin*, in the Dioceſe of *Kilmore*, and *Mary Hutt*, Daughter of *Simeon Hutt*, of the Town of *Cavan*, Vintner, on the Firſt Day of *July* laſt, in the Preſence of the under-named Perſons, and others, who, with myſelf, do hereby certify the ſame, and ſubſcribe hereunto this 5th of *March*, *Ann. Dom.* 1680.

Edw. Dixy, *Decan.* Kilmor.
Hen. Gilloriſt, *Notar. Public.*
Simeon Hutt.
Lettis Hart, *ſen.*
Lettis Hart, *jun.*
Ann Hollend.
Alexander Makeland.
Thomas Lavender.

AT the Requeſt of *Mary Young*, alias *Hutt*, we do hereby certify, that *Robert Young*, in the aboveſaid Certificate mentioned, lieth in the Gaol of *Cavan*, and ſtandeth charged with being the Huſband of two Wives, *viz. Mary Hutt*, now reſident in the Corporation of *Cavan*, and one *Ann Abſly*, in the County of *Cork*, unknown to us. And we do hereby deſire ſome of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the ſaid County of *Cork*, that they will be pleaſed to bind over the ſaid *Ann Abſly*, her Father, and ſome other Perſons, who were preſent at the Inter-marriage of the ſaid *Ann* to the ſaid *Robert Young*; that they may appear the 30th Inſtant, to give their Evidence againſt the ſaid *Robert Young*.

Dated at Cavan, *the 5th of* March, 1680.

Humphry Perriot, *Vice Com.*
Richard Lewis.
Samuel Townly.
John Maxwell.
Henry Waldram, *Sov. of* Cavan.
Mer. Hart.

An Order of the Juſtices to ſummon George Yeabſly, *his Son* Roger, *and* Ann Young *his Daughter, to appear at the Aſſizes at* Cavan, *at the Tryal of* Robert Young.

By his Majeſty's Lords Juſtices of the Aſſize for the Province of Munſter.

WHereas *George Abſly* of *Breedas*, in the Pariſh of *Arda*, in the County of *Cork*, Yeoman; *Roger Abſly* of the ſame, in the ſaid County, Yeoman, Son to the ſaid *George Abſly*, and *Ann Young*, are material Evidences in his Majeſty's Behalf, againſt *Robert Young*, now Priſoner in his Majeſty's Goal of the County of *Cavan*, and charged with being married to two Wives, both being alive: Theſe are therefore, in his Majeſty's Name, to will and require you, *George Abſly*, *Roger Abſly*, and *Ann Young*, to appear before his Majeſty's Lords Juſtices of Aſſize for the North-Weſt Circuit of *Ulſter* at *Cavan*, on the Thirtieth Day of this Inſtant, then and there to give your Evidence, in his Majeſty's Behalf, againſt the ſaid *Robert Young*. Whereof you may not fail, at your Peril.

Dated at *Cork*, this Seventeenth Day of *March*, 1680.

Hen. Hen. *William Davis.*

Robert

Robert Young's *Letter to the Lord Biſhop of* Kilmore, *confeſſing his Guilt of ſome Crimes, but denying his double Marriage.*

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

HAving deliberately conſidered the Evils I have really done, and the greater Evils that have been miſ-reported of me to your Lordſhip, I cannot but acknowledge the Juſtice of your Lordſhip's Diſpleaſure; and I am now ſo far from making any Defence for the diſingenuous Shifts, my Neceſſities and Fears have put me upon, that I have already been my own Accuſer, and do as much condemn myſelf as the ſevereſt Judge can do. And I hope no Temptation of ſecular Advantage ſhall ever hereafter make me ſo far ſwerve from the ſevere Rules of Vertue, becoming a Chriſtian and a Clergyman. But though I am willing, in all Humility, to ſubmit myſelf to your Lordſhip's Cenſure, for what I have done amiſs: Yet I hope your Lordſhip's Goodneſs will be my Sanctuary, where I am manifeſtly wronged. There are ſo many Perſons of Credit here, that knew the Gentlewoman, that was affirmed, and, as I hear, ſworn to be my Wife in theſe Parts; that I doubt not but it will be made clear to your Lordſhip, that that Report was the Iſſue of Ignorance and Malice; and I hope a little Time wil acquit me of what other Reports I ſuffer under in that Matter. But, while I am here in Confinement, I am in a Manner debarred of all Expedients to clear my Innocence, at leaſt to do it ſpeedily. And, in the mean While, I ſuffer all the Hardſhip of a Goal amongſt People, from whom I can expect no Relief, and at ſo great a Diſtance from ſuch as might relieve me, that I can hope for little Comfort from them. May it therefore pleaſe your Lordſhip, ſo far to favour my Innocence in this Matter, as that I may be brought to Hearing before your Lordſhip; where, if it appear that I have any other Wife but her, with whom I have lived in your Lordſhip's Dioceſe, I ſhal quietly ſubmit myſelf to the Severity of the Laws; if not, I hope my Penitence and Reformation may in Time mitigate your Lordſhip's juſt Diſpleaſure for the confeſſed Faults of

Lifford, Novem. 26, 1680.

Your Lordſhip's
moſt Humble Suppliant,
Robert Young.

A Letter from Robert Young *to Juſtice* Waldram, *offering him a Bribe to let him be bailed.*

May it pleaſe your Worſhip,

MY Mind I thought your Worſhip underſtood, therefore if your Worſhip does not underſtand what I mean (as I ſuppoſe you do) I will diſcover it to your Worſhip. For may it pleaſe your Worſhip, I have not any to make my Complaint to, but to your Worſhip. Therefor I moſt humbly beg your Worſhip to take Bayl, and I will give you forty Shillings. Moreover, my Brother will bring a Letter from Captain *Sanderſon*, that my Brother is ſufficient Bayl, and that Captain *Sanderſon* is ſatisfyed to take him, provided I get any other: And I, not being acquented with any, in theſe Parts, fears I cannot procure another eaſily; but, if your Worſhip will take any other Bondſman with my Brother, I will give you the aforeſaid Summ of Money, before you take Bayl: And I will take my Oath to your Worſhip, that I will not tell it to any Body. Dear Mr. *Waldram*, do me that Charity, for I ly in a ſad Condition; indeed, you will do me a ſingular Kindneſs, and ſhew a great Deal of Charity, in ſo doing; for I know, if your Worſhip pleaſe, it lys in your Hands. I deſire your Worſhip not to diſcover any Thing, to the Bearer, or any other. I intreat your Worſhip, to write your Worſhips Mind to me by the Bearer, that I may ſend him for Captain *Sanderſon*'s Letter to your Worſhip. So I reſt

Your Worſhips moſt Humble Suppliant to command,
Robert Young.

A Letter from Robert Young *to* Roger Yeabſly *his Brother-in-Law, to come and ſave his Life, by Forſwearing himſelf.*

Dear Brother, *Cavan, Feb.* 5, 1680.

COME along to me, with your Siſter, for I have fallen under a ſad Buſineſs, and I will looſe my Life, if you and your Siſter does not come to deny, that I am not the Man. For Chriſt's Sake, dear Brother, come along with her, and I hope you ſhall not be the worſe for it; for my Life lyes in my Wife's, and your Hands: So that I am certain, you will do what lyes in you; if you do not come, I wil be put to Death; but, if you and my Wife comes, you may have many a merry Day with me hereafter. So I reſt

Your Loving Brother,

Robert Young.

A Letter from Robert Young *out of* Cavan *Gaol, to his firſt Wife,* Ann Yeabſly, *to the ſame Purpoſe.*

WHEN I left you laſt, I came to *Belturbet* in the County of *Cavan*, where I ſerved as Curate for the Space of Half a Year, and had thirty-five Pounds a Year. Upon which, I ſpoke to my Brother-in-Law to bring you down to me, but he ſeemed unwilling to go ſo far. At which Time, I uſed too oft, which is my Sorrow this Day, at one *Simon Hutts* in *Cavan*, curſed be the Time, that ever I went there. Whereupon *Simon Hutt* profferred me a hundred and fifty Pound with his Daughter; and he getting me drunk one Night, I was married to her, and was ready to cut my own Throat, the next Day; but I ſeeing what a Priminary I had by my Ludneſs brought myſelf in, I ſaw that it could not be avoided: Whereupon I reſolved only to ſtay till I had gott the Money promiſed, and then to come to you, my dear Honey, and ſo for you and I to go for *England*, where we ſhould never be known. But my Journey was ſtopt, for *Simon Hutt* heard ſomething of my Marriage to you, before the Portion was paid, and ſo ſent up to know, whether it was ſo, or no. And ſo the Meſſenger brought Word, that one *Robert Young*, a Miniſter, was married to one *Ann Yeabſly*, Daughter to *George Yeabſly*, near *Tallogh*: But, for all that the Meſſenger brought, they knew not whether I was the Man or no. So that it may be denied with Safety, to preſerve my Life. For they have clapt me in Goale upon Suſpition, where I lye in a deplorable Condition, and Nobody to help me. Therefore, dear Honey, for Chriſt's Sake come to me, and bring my Brother *Roger* along with you; for the Aſſizes is the Sixth of *March*; where I will be tried for my Life, and there is not any in the World can preſerve it, only you, my dear Honey, if you come and ſay, that I am not the Man, you were married to, and bring my Brother *Roger* along with you to juſtifie the ſame; I wil be ſet at Liberty, and then I ſhal get what Money is promiſed, and go over to *England* with you. And I wiſh, that I may never thrive in this World, if ever I leave you hereafter; for I care no more for this Huſy, than for the Durt under my Shoo. O Curſe of God light on me if ever I leave you hereafter, if you prove ſo real to me, as to come and deny that I am none of your Huſband! for there is no Way to ſave my Life but that. I wiſh that I may never ſee the Kingdome of God, if I do not prove as real, conſtant, and loving Huſband to you, as ever Man did to Woman. Dear Heart, I know that I have committed a grievous and abominable Fault; but I may blam bad Company, and my Drink, for it. Therefore, for Chriſts Sake, dear Honey, forgive me, and come along with the Bearer, and clear me. And the Curſe of God light on me, if I prove falſe to you, after ſaving my Life; for now my Life lyes in your Hands. I will earneſtly repent for what I have done, and I hope God Almighty will forgive me. If I had a hundred Wives, it is you alone that is my lawfull Wife, and ſhal be to my dying Day; for Chriſts Sake, come and ſay, that I was not the Man you were married to. I ſay, Dear Heart, come along with the Bearer, and bring my Brother

Roger along with you. If you do not clear me, I will be put to Death; and is it not better for you to come, and tell a Ly to preſerve your Huſbands Life, and to enjoy him, as long as you live, and I lives; than for to have him put to Death, and never to ſee him again? And this I will aſſure you, that there will be an Order from my Lord Chief Juſtice to bring you down againſt the Aſſizes: So that I ſent the Meſſenger to prevent that, by giving you timely Notice; for you may come and ſtay in my Brother-in-Laws Houſe, until ſuch Time as we do get our Buſineſs done. And I will go with you unknown to any Body; ſo hoping you will come and ſave the Life of your loving Huſband; I reſt, dear Heart,

Your loving Huſband, and till Death,

Cavan, Feb. 5, 1680. Robert Young.

Here I have ſent you the encloſed to my Father, and my Brother *Roger*.

Pray preſent my Duty to my Mother, and my Love to my Brother *John*, and *William Haskins*, and my Siſter *Elſe*; and my Bleſſing to my poor Child, if ſhe be alive.

A Letter to her Father George Yeabſly *from* Robert Young, *propoſing the Means, how he might get off, by his Son and Daughter's Perjuring themſelves.*

Dear Father, *Cavan, Feb.* 5, 1680.

I Have declared the Reaſons and Cauſes of my Marriage in my Wife's Leter, which you may peruſe; therefore, dear Father and Mother, forgive me, for it was a Folly of Youth-hood, and, if you come to proſecute to put me to Death, I cannot help it. But if you give your Conſent to my Wife, to preſerve my Life, this ſhal be a Warning to me ſo long as I live. O! dear Father, you know that *David*, a Man after God's own Heart, was guilty of both Murder and Adultry. And therefore, dear Father, preſerve my Life, if you pleaſe; and I proteſt to God Almighty, I will never forſake my poor Wife, your Daughter, ſo long as Life continues; for it is ſhe, that is my lawfull Wife. And therefore, for Chriſt's Sake, dear Father, ſend my dear Wife and my Brother *Roger*, to clear me by the ſame Means, that I have preſcribed in my Wifes Leter. If I were cleared, I could gett Mony enough to do you and I Good, as the Bearer can tell you. After I am cleared, I will carry my Wife and my Brother *Roger* down to ſe my Grany, whom I dare not as yet write to. If you have a Mind to ſave my Life, do not come yourſelf; but ſend my Wife and my Brother *Roger* down to me: And go to *Tallow*, and gett a Certificate drawn, and have it ſigned by Mr. *Burt*, and Mr. *Neeſham*, that *Ann Yeabſly* is your Daughter, and that ſhe was married to one *Robert Young*, that they may believe, ſhe is the ſame Woman; and that *Roger Yeabſly* is your Son, and that he was ſtanding by, when *Robert Young* was married to your Daughter; and if you have a Mind to ſave my Life, they muſt deny, that I am the Man: For there is no Way to preſerve my Life, but that. Write alſo to *Simon Hutt*, in *Cavan*, that you would a comt to ſe if it were the ſame Perſon, to proſecute him, but only you fell ſick; and therefore you ſent your Son and Daughter, to proſecute, if it be the ſame Man. So having no more at preſent to write, I reſt

Your Loving Son,

Robert Young.

My Duty to my Mother, and Love to my Brother *John*, and Siſter *Elſe*, and my Brother *Haskins*, and all the reſt of our Friends in General.

A Letter to his Second Wife, Mary Hutt, *denying his firſt Marriage, with terrible Curſes.*

O, my dear Heart,

YOU know it was for Love of you that I brought this Miſery upon myſelf, God Almighty help me; I was fully reſolved to tell you the Contents of all my Letters, whenever I could have the Opportunity of ſpeaking to you: For my Landlady can tell you, that I was fully reſolved to ſhew you the Letters, but could not, by Reaſon I could not gett ſpeaking to you. O, my Dear, have I thrown myſelf, for the Love of you, into all this Miſery, and you to ſerve me thus: Surely, if you have the Heart of a Stone, you will not do it. O, if I had but only you here, I would a reckoned all this Nothing; but, if I be requited thus, I cannot help it. O, I wiſh to Chriſt I were ten Foot under Ground, and then you would have your Hearts Deſire as I perceive. Thoſe Leters that I write, was only for that Woman to come and clear me; for I was afraid, that, if I had writ any otherwiſe, ſhe would not come. But, upon thoſe Letters, I was certain would a com't and cleared me. And then I was in good Hopes to have enjoyed you again. If I had my Liberty and your Conſent, I would quickly have brought you out of all your Miſery. I write purpoſely to that Woman againſt you, for to have her come and clear me; which, if ſhe did me Juſtice, I am certain ſhe cannot do to the contrary. I wiſh I may never leave this Place alive, if ever I was married to any other Woman upon the Face of the Earth, but you. But, if you will be pleaſed to give me a Meeting, I will ſatisfy you why I write ſo to that Woman; and you will find it ſo at long Roning; though I dare not ſay that my Soul is my own here. For Chriſts Sake take Pity on me, and let me not ſtarve in this deplorable Condition. For Gods Sake pay my Landlady but only for one Months Diet unknown to any; and, if I do not prove, what I ſaid formerly, to be Truth, then never pay another Week for me again. My dear Heart, for Chriſts, Sake do not heed theſe Leters, for I write them only in Deſign to gett my Liberty, and to enjoy your ſweet Company again. God let me never ſe the Face of God Almighty, if there was any other Deſign in it. You may believe me a poor miſerable Soul. I hope you will take all this to Conſideration, for, if I had but only your Favour, I did not care for any Thing; but if not, pray put an End to my Days. I wiſh that I may never ſe the Kingdome of God and Chriſt, if ever I was married to any Woman but yourſelf. Indeed, I ſhould not take ſuch an Oath as this, if I found myſelf guilty, and knowing not how long I have to live. O, my dear Soul you wil believe any Body before me; I have ſeen the Day, you would not believe any before mee; but now, it ſeems, the Caſe is altered. I wil take the Sacrament To-morrow, and take it on my Death if I were going to dye, that thoſe Leters were write upon no other Deſign; O I wiſh that I may never ſe the Face of my Saviour, If ever I was married to any other Woman but yourſelf. Surely you may believe me in this ſad Condition, and know not how long I have to live. If you will but only to do me the Charity as to come and ſpeak to me, I will give you full Satisfaction why I write to *Abſly:* If you remember, I told you ſomewhat of that Woman before I left *Belturbit.* O my dear Heart! Will you not do me the Charity as to give me a Meeting, that I may ſatisfy you? O! will you, my Dear, leave me comfortleſs in this ſad Condition? God knows, I ly Weeping and Writing. I thought I was well enough ſo long as I had you on my Sid; but now, it ſeems, all Comfort is fleed from me, O wil not Death make an End of this Miſery! if not, I wil, if I can conveniently. If you give me any Comfort, I will endeavour to clear myſelf, and take a good Heart ſtill: But if not, I wiſh they would put me out of this Miſery. For I am ſure I ſhal die with a clear Conſcience. If you forſake me, I have none to take my Part; but if not, I hope you and I ſhal have joyful Days for all this. So, hoping you will pity my Condition, I reſt, dear Soul,

Your Loving Huſband till Death,

Robert Young.

I hope you wil ſend me an Anſwer by the Bearer, what you are reſolved to do. If you will pay for my Diet unknown to any, my Landlady will ſay, that ſhe took my Word.

Another

Another Letter to her from Iniſkillin, *after he was got out of* Cavan *Gaol.*

My dear Heart,

I Am ſafely arrived at *Iniſkillin*, and am well at preſent, and cares not for all your barking Dogs at *Belturbit* and *Cavan* both. Let them do what they can, I care no more for them than I care for the ſillieſt Dog in the Street. But, as to that, I will leave it off at preſent. I hope you are mindful of your Promiſe to me in *Harris*'s Garden, made to me there. Here I have ſent the Bearer purpoſely for you, and I gave him 6 *s.* for Going for you. Dear Heart, do not fail but come along with him to me, for my Life lyes where you do: If I had your Company, I did not care for all the World. Dear Heart, I ſay again, come to me, for I will aſſure you have as many Tears from my Eyes, as there are Letters in this Letter, from your poor Huſband. Therefore, dear Heart, if ever you intend to ſe me alive, come to me now; if you do not, I will make this Town my Burial-place. I hope you will take no Bodys Counſell, in this Caſe, but your own. If your Friends will not let you come to me, pray (if you have any Love for me) ſteal away to come to me. Send all your Linnen and Cloaths of Woollen, and my Cloaths alſo out before you, and ſeal all that you cannot bring along with you; and be ſure not to pay a Farthing to any Body, but keep it yourſelf; take my Counſel, I deſire you. Dear Heart, you and the Bearer may contrive the Buſineſs I ſuppoſe, and be ſure bring the Bond or Mony along with you, for you know I have but little Money when I pay the Bearer. I could a had a Place, but only it is too nigh your Biſhop, that Dog. Do not fear, for I will ſoon get a Place if I would look for it. So, hoping you wil come to your poor Huſband, I reſt, dear Heart,

your loving Huſband, till Death do us part,

Robert Young.

Pray do not truſt any Thing with the Bearer, but come yourſelf.

Dear Heart, be ſure to bring the Bond along with you, if you love me; and all the Papers that you find in my Box. I hope you will not fail to perform all that I have ſpoken.

All theſe Letters of *Robert Young*'s I have ſet down, juſt as I found them under his own Hand, in his own Way of Spelling, as I ſhall do the reſt of his which are to follow; and, perhaps, ſome Reader or other, who is more acute in ſuch Matters, than I am, will ſhrewdly gueſs thereby, and by divers unuſual Words and Expreſſions, and his Manner of Syntax, what Country-man he is.

That, which next follows, is another of his diſingenuous *Shifts* (as he modeſtly calls them) performed alſo in *Ireland*, I mean, his profane Invaſions of Holy Orders; that of Deacon, by deluding the Lord Biſhop of *Killaloo* with forged Certificates; that of Preſbyter, by his own ſacrilegious Self-ordination.

To prove this, I ſhall produce alſo the undoubted Evidence of Original Writings; wherein, as in thoſe foregoing, and indeed in moſt of the other Papers, I have by me concerning him, it may eaſily be obſerved, that, beſides the main Crime they chiefly intend to prove, there is alſo, here and there, a caſual Mention made of divers other Steps towards his preſent Pitch of Perfection.

And particularly, in this whole Cheat relating to his Orders, it may be obſerved, that he had always ready divers Sets of Teſtimonials, Letters Dimiſſory, and Letters of Orders fitted to his ſeveral Names, and pretended to be from ſeveral Biſhops: But let the Papers ſpeak for themſelves.

A Letter, from one Dr. Nicholſon, *of* Caſtle-Reah, *to the Lord Biſhop of* Kilmore, *concerning* Robert Young*'s Forging Certificates.*

Caſtle-Reah, *in the County of* Roſcommon, Decemb. 22, 1680.

My Lord,

I Received a Letter from your Lordſhip concerning Mr. *Young*; I am glad he is ſecured. Upon better Recollection of his Doings, I remember exactly, that he produced Letters of Prieſts Orders here, not from your Lordſhip, as I at firſt ſuppoſed, but from the Biſhop of *Killaloo*, and that by the pretended Recommen-

Recommendation of the Archbiſhop of *Caſhell*; under whoſe Hand he ſhewed a Letter here, directed as to the Biſhop of *Killaloo*; and another from the Biſhop of *Killaloo* in Anſwer to that, and to acquaint the Archbiſhop, that he had ordained Mr. *Young*; ſeveral others here ſaw his Letters. I hope his Forgery and ſacrilegious Invaſion of the Prieſthood will receive due Puniſhment, for the neceſſary Diſcouragement of others of the like Impudence. *I am*

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Edward Nicholſon.

A Letter, from the ſame Dr. Nicholſon, *to the Lord Biſhop of* Elphin, *concerning* Robert Young's *heinous Miſcarriages.*

Caſtle-Reah, Octob. 11, 1680.

My Lord,

I Do verily believe, that Mr. *Young* was never ordained by your Lordſhip, nor any elſe: He produced Parchments, in this Dioceſe, from the Biſhop of *Kilmore*, as ordained Preſbyter by him, and that, by Mediation of a Letter from the Archbiſhop of *Caſhell*, which he ſhewed me here, and I ſuſpected it counterfeit; as alſo I did his Letrer of Orders; for which Suſpicions, if I had had as great Evidences then, as I have had ſince, I ſhould have ſeized his Papers; but, being then glad to be rid of him, I diſpatched him, without Giving him the Interruption to meddle with his Papers. As to the Character of him, I am ſure he was a moſt unconſcionable ignorant Villain; he got a Baſtard here, by a Kitchen-maid, at the Inn he firſt lodged at; which he owned himſelf to me; and, being needy, I beſtowed on him forty Shillings more than I owed him, to carry him away: Yet, when he went to *Dublin*, he counterfeited Letters, under my Hand, to my Brother, a Merchant there, to get fifty Shillings-worth of Goods; and did alſo the ſame for Mr. *Dalton* to his Son-in-law in *Dublin*. Both the Letters were returned to us by the Poſt, and we never heard from him ſince; but we hear, he had a Wife living, and another before her, and was ſeeking for a third very buſily. We have heard ſo much of him ſince, that we all think it a great Pity, he was not rather hanged, than employed to ſerve at the Altar, I am certain, if any conſcientious Perſon, that could apprehend him, would make it his Deſign to rid the Church of ſuch a Scandal, he would ſufficiently appear to have deſerved that, if not to be quite packed out of the World. And I aſſure your Lordſhip, it is no Grudge at his Perſon, but perfect Charity and Zeal for the Church, which forces me to give this Teſtimony of him, in Obedience to your Lordſhip's Commands, which require my Character of him; and, if your Lordſhip could be a Means of preventing him from further Proceeding in the Profanation of holy Things and Offices, it would, no Doubt, be acceptable Service to God and his Church; which is only ſubmitted to your Lordſhip's Wiſdom, by

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Edw. Nicholſon.

A Letter, from one Mr. Fletcher, *to the Lord Biſhop of* Kilmore, *to the ſame Purpoſe.*

James-Town, Octob. 19, 1680.

My Lord,

I Suppoſe, my Lord of *Elphin* will be particular with your Lordſhip in the Matter of Mr. *Young*; Mr. *Cooke*, who was Surrogate of *Elphin* Dioceſe, tels me, he had never Letters of Orders from that Biſhop. It is certain, he fled from his Cure at *Caſtle-Reah*, having got a Wench with Child; and Fame ſays, he has two Wives, beſides the laſt. I am

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Ben. Fletcher.

A Letter,

A Letter, from the Lord Biſhop of Waterford, *to the Lord Biſhop of* Kilmore, *concerning* Robert Young.

My *Lord*, Waterford, Feb. 5, 1680.

I Should have ſent your Lordſhip an earlier Account of your Laſt to me concerning *Young*, but I did deſire to inform myſelf, the beſt I could, for your better Satisfaction, of his having a Wife in theſe Parts, and being Chaplain to the Earl of *Barrimore*, and Tutor to his Son. As to the former, you will receive here incloſed a Certificate from the High Sheriff of the County, and ſeveral of the beſt of the Inhabitants of *Tallogh*, to which I refer you; and, as to the latter, I have ſpoken with ſome Perſons of Quality from thoſe Parts, who tell me plainly, That *Young* was never Chaplain to the Earl of *Barrimore*, nor went Tutor to his Son to *Oxford*; for his Son was never there: But, for farther Satisfaction, I have employed a Friend to the Earl of *Barrimore* himſelf for his Certificate, which every Day I now expect. This *Young*'s Rogueries and Forgeries muſt needs redound to the great Diſcredit of the Church; and I think your Lordſhip has done very well, in Taking up his pretended Letters of Ordination. I humbly intreat you farther, That you would be pleaſed to take up that forged Teſtimonial, he ſhewed you in my Name, and to ſend it to me, who am

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Hen. Waterford *and* Liſmore.

Robert Young's *Counterfeit Letter, from the Lord Biſhop of* Waterford, *to himſelf; together with his forged Teſtimonials from the ſame Biſhop.*

SIR, Waterford, March 30, 1680.

ACcording to your Expectation I have ſent you the Incloſed, and truly am ſorry you left my Dioceſe; but, however, I will be kind to you, if any Thing offers itſelf worthy your Acceptation. So, concluding with my Bleſſing to you, I reſt

Your, &c.

H. Waterford *and* Liſmore.

Locus Sigilli. 'Theſe are to certify, That 'Mr. *Robert Young*, *Cler*', 'and Maſter of Arts (whoſe 'Teſtimonials from the U-'niverſity of *Oxford*, in '*Magdalene-College*, I have 'often peruſed) is a Man 'whom I have known from 'a Child; and knows him

H. Waterford and Liſmore.

'to be of a ſober, and reli-'gious, yea, a ſingular Life 'and Converſation: Who 'behaved himſelf, in my 'Dioceſe, as becometh a 'Labourer in God's Vine-'yard. And, as concerning 'whoſe Parts, I myſelf has 'often founded them, and 'knows him to be a ſingu-'lar Scholar, yea, I may 'ſay, as well qualified for 'the Function, as any with-'in my Epiſcopal See; which 'is not all I have to ſpeak 'in his Commendation. All 'this I do certify, as wit-'neſs my Hand and Seal, 'this 30th Day of *March*, '*Ann. Dom.* 1680.'

A Letter,

A Letter from the Lord Biſhop of Waterford, *to the Lord Biſhop of* Kilmore, *and another from the Earl of* Barrimore, *touching* Robert Young's *never having been the Earl's Chaplain, or Tutor to his Son, as he pretended.*

My Lord, *Waterford, Feb.* 18, 1680.

I Acquainted your Lordſhip in my Laſt, that I daily expected an Account from the Earl of *Barrimore*, concerning *Young*'s pretended Chaplainſhip to his Lordſhip; I do now ſend your Lordſhip here incloſed an Account thereof from the Earl; and do earneſtly intreat that your Lordſhip will be pleaſed to take up that forged Certificate *Young* ſhewed you in my Name; and to ſend it to me. Our Poſt will not give me Leave to write any more, but that I am

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Hen. Waterford *and* Liſmore.

My Lord, *Caſtlelyons, Feb.* 11, 1680.

I Received a Letter from Mr. *Dalton*, wherein he gives me an Account of one *Young*, who has impudently and falſly called himſelf my Chaplain, and my Son *Buttevant*'s Tutor. I never ſaw him but once that he brought me a Letter from the now High-Sheriff of your County, to recommend him to Colonel *Witenham* (late deceaſed) at *Caſtletown*: If he had been never ſo much my Chaplain, if he failed in the leaſt Part of that Duty he owes your Lordſhip, he ſhould not have been owned by, my very good Lord,

To the Lord Biſhop of Waterford.

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Barrimore.

A Letter from the Biſhop of Waterford, *to the Biſhop of* Kilmore, *touching* Robert Young.

My Lord, *Waterford, Oct.* 11, 1680.

I Heartily thank your Lordſhip for Communicating to me the incloſed ſilly forged Certificate concerning Mr. *Robert Young* therein mentioned. This *Young* I never knew till about three Years ſince, when he came to the Archbiſhop of *Caſhell*, with a Letter of high Recommendation from Dr. *Smith* to be ordained Deacon. The Archbiſhop being ſomewhat indiſpoſed, and not ſuſpecting the Letter, writes to me that I would do that Office, and incloſed Dr. *Smith*'s Letter to him therein. I knew the Archbiſhop's Hand, and his Secretary's Hand that tranſcribed the Letter: But *Young*, it ſeems, not contented therewith, breaks open the Letter by the Way, and adds a ſilly Poſtſcript (as near as I can remember) in theſe Words, 'Moreover, dear Brother, 'fail not to do this Office for Mr. *Young*, for 'he is a good Scholar, and moreover a very 'good Preacher.' This Poſtſcript gave me ſome Suſpicion: I charged him with it, but he ſtood ſtiffly to it a great While, that the Poſtſcript was the Archbiſhop's as well as the Letter; but, at length, confeſſed he had broke open the Letter by the Way, and added the Poſtſcript himſelf. Then I began to examine Dr. *Smith*'s Letter, and went into my Study to compare it with ſome I had of Dr. *Smith*'s, which I found to be nothing like, and charged him with that too; and, after a little While, he confeſſed he had bribed a Kinſman of Dr. *Smith*'s to forge the Letter to the Archbiſhop; whereupon I gave him a Reproof, and diſmiſſed him from me, *re infectâ*. The next News that I heard of him, was, That he had forged a Letter from the Archbiſhop of *Caſhell* to the Biſhop of *Killaloo*, to be ordained Deacon, and thereupon he was ordained. But, how he came to be ordained Prieſt by the Biſhop of *Elphin*, I cannot give your Lordſhip any good Account; yet this I have heard, That, whilſt he was labouring his Ordination there, in few Days, he was to have married ſome poor Woman in thoſe Parts, had not ſome Perſon of the Neighbourhood where he lived here in *Munſter*, being caſually there, diſcovered that he had a Wife and Children then living here in theſe Parts: An Account whereof, if Occaſion be, may eaſily be had. And now, my Lord, I have an humble and earneſt Requeſt, That your Lordſhip would not

not return this forged Teſtimonial to *Young*, but either deſtroy it yourſelf, or ſend it by the next, to

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

H. Waterford *and* Liſmore.

If *Young* be not free to part with his Teſtimonials and Letters of Orders too (if your Lordſhip think good) I pray let him be ſecured, and in ſhort Time there will be enough to be ſaid againſt him.

A Poſtſcript of a Letter, together with a Letter to the Lord Biſhop of Kilmore, *both from the Lord Biſhop of* Elphin, *concerning* Robert Young's *having counterfeited Prieſt's Orders from his Lordſhip.*

Elphin, Oct. 4, 1680.

The Incloſed gives your Lordſhip an Account of Mr. *Robert Young*, who was in an ill Name before he left us; and ſince it appeareth that he is ἀυτόχειρ, fills his own Hand, the Church cannot do herſelf greater Right, than to caſt ſuch unſavoury Salt to the Dunghil.

My Lord,

MR. *Young*, alias *Hopkins*, coming into theſe Parts, and producing Letters of Orders from Dr. *Roan*, Biſhop of *Killaloo*, was by me admitted in Writing under my own Hand and Seal, to ſerve a Cure in this Dioceſe; that wretched and unworthy Man was not by me ordained Deacon or Preſbyter: I had much rather have laid my Hands on Briars than on ſuch Heads. The Incloſed has been viewed by ſuch as know his Hand, and compared; all conclude it a Forgery, the Inſtrument formed by himſelf, the Regiſter's Hand counterfeited. How he ſhould get my Seal, I am not able to ſay, unleſs it was taken off the Licence I granted him; and of that there are ſtrong Preſumptions. I ſhall acquaint thoſe that knew him there, that he is now in ſafe Cuſtody; and if he ſhould eſcape without ſome Brand, his ſcandalous Crimes being divulged and ſpread abroad, it would tend to the great Diſhonour of God, and to the great Diſcredit of our whole Profeſſion. I ſhall not give your Lordſhip farther Trouble, but ſhall beſeech God to direct you herein; and likewiſe ſhall watch all Opportunities to ſerve you, and approve myſelf

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Joh. Elphin.

The counterfeit Orders themſelves.

'TEnore præſentium nos Johannes Proviſen' Divin' Elphin' Epiſcopus notum facimus univerſis quod nos Dei omnipotent' præſidio in Eccleſia Cathedr' Sanctæ Mariæ Elphinenſis vigeſimo ſexto die menſis Novembr' Ann. Dom. milleſimo ſexcenteſimo ſeptuageſimo ſeptimo, Sacroſanctos ordines Celebrantes, dilectum nobis in Chriſto Robertum Young, in Artibus Magiſtru' de vita ſua laudabili morumque & virtut' ſuaru' donis nobis multiplicit' commendat' & per nos etiam examinat' & approbat' & ad Sancta Dei Evangelia Primitus jurat' de Agnoſcendo ſupremam Regiam Authoritat' in omnibus cauſis tam Eccleſiaſticis quam civilibus, & de recuſando & Reſut' omnes & ſingulas juriſdictiones ſorinſecas quaſcunque juxta form' Statut' hujus Regni in hujuſmodi caſu editi & proviſi, manuali inſuper ſubſcriptione ſua aſſenſum & conſenſum ſuum præbentem quatuor primis Canonibus Eccleſiæ Hiberniæ editis Anno decimo Regis Caroli primi beatæ memoriæ, ad ſacrûs Preſbyteratum ordinem juxa morem & ritus Eccleſiæ Anglicæ & Hibernicæ editos & proviſos, admiſimus & promovimus: ipſumque Robertum Young in Preſbyterum ritè & Canonicè ordinavimus tunc & ibidem. In cujus rei teſtimonium ſigillu' noſtrum Epiſcopale præſentibus apponi Fecimus & ſubſcripſimus die menſe & Anno & noſtræ conſecat' An. undecimo.'

Locus ſigilli. Thom. Banneſter.
Joh. Elphinenſis. Regiſtrarius.

Aprilis 22°. 1679.

' Exhibit' fuit hæc licencia in ordinario ' viſitationis curſu Reverend' Decan' ' de Liſmore.

Tho. Neeſham.
Regiſtrarius.

' Exhibit' in viſitatione ordinaria tent' ' apud Cavan Septimo Aprilis 1680.

I think my Reader will ſay I have given a ſufficient Heap of Evidence concerning *Robert Young*'s Life and Converſation in *Ireland*. And to prove that all theſe Allegations againſt him are undeniable (for I would not willingly bely *Robert Young* himſelf) I will briefly ſhew by what certain Means I came by my Intelligence.

Having, among other Papers ſent me by Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, found the aforementioned Letter of Dr. *Foley*'s, incloſing one from the Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, I ſent a Copy of it to that excellent Perſon, my dear and honoured Friend, Sir *Charles Porter*, Lord Chancellor of that Kingdom; withal, intreating his Lordſhip to enquire a little farther into *Young*'s Character there. Whereupon my Lord Chancellor took ſuch Care, that in a ſhort Time I had the Originals of all theſe Papers tranſmitted to me by the Favour of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*; together with a Letter from his Grace to myſelf, juſtifying them all to be Authentick, as may be ſeen in their Lordſhips own Letters, which I here ſubjoin, as a Teſtimony of the great Obligations they have hereby laid on me, and Right they have done the World, in reſpect to *Robert Young*.

Three Letters from my Lord Chancellor Porter *to me.*

Dublin, July 28, 1692.

My good Lord,

SO ſoon as I received your Lordſhip's of the Eleventh, with the Incloſed from Dr. *Foley* to Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, and found my Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin* was moſt likely to give me an Account of the Perſon you deſired from Dr. *Foley*; I went to him, and told him what Reaſon I had to enquire after one *Robert Young*; and deſired he would give me ſome Directions, how I might certainly know his Character. I did not ſhew him Dr. *Foley*'s Letter; but he remembered him and his Rogueries ſo perfectly, that he gave me the ſame with what is in the Letter; and withal ſaid, He did believe he could recover ſome Papers which would give me a full Account of all that paſſed: And, within a Day or two after, he came to dine with me, and brought them with him; which I now have in my Cuſtody, and have peruſed. They are ſuch as ſhew by his own Confeſſion, as well as Proof, that he had two Wives at the ſame Time in this Kingdom, for which he was in Gaol; and I find by ſome of his Letters, that he writes to his firſt Wife (wherein he owns his ſecond Marriage) he deſires her to ſave his Life, by ſwearing he was never married to her; and promiſes, if ſhe will do it, that he may gain his Liberty, he will immediately go into *England* with her, and never more ſee his ſecond Wife, who was the Daughter of one *Simon Hutt* in *Cavan*. It appears by theſe Papers, that he counterfeited the Hands and Seals of the Biſhops of *Elphin* and *Waterford* to Letters of his Admiſſion into Prieſts Orders, and the Hands of Dr. *Wilſon* (now Biſhop of *Limerick*) and Dr. *Nicholſon*, and the Archbiſhop of *Caſhell*, all certifying in his Behalf, as to his Morals and Learning. In a Word, I never met with ſo infamous a Villain. He was degraded by the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, when Biſhop of *Kilmore*. I know not how he got out of Gaol, where he was committed for having two Wives, the Truth whereof appears by ſeveral Letters under his own Hand. But I will inform myſelf, and then give your Lordſhip an Account. I know not whether you would have the Originals of all the Papers or Copies relating to this Rogue; when I know your Mind, I will take the beſt Care I can to obſerve it. I am

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Charles Porter.

He has counterfeited other Men's Hands in Bills, and got the Money thereupon; one of which I find among the Papers.

To the Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

My

Dublin, Auguſt 17, 1692.

My Lord,

I Have yours of the 9th Inſtant, and, having ſhewed it to my Lord Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, he has freely conſented I ſhall tranſmit you the original Papers, which, as ſoon as I can light of a ſafe Hand to bring them to your Lordſhip, ſhall be done, they being now with Publick Notary for authentick Copies to be kept here. My Lord Archbiſhop has alſo writ your Lordſhip a Letter relating to the Man, and the Matters of thoſe Papers, which he ſent me juſt now. I will not be wanting in giving it all poſſible Diſpatch, that your Lordſhip may have Opportunity to publiſh what you intend. I am, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

To the Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. Charles Porter.

Dublin, Aug. 26. 1692.

My Lord,

I Have now ſent you the original Papers about *Young*: Mr. *Roberts* has promiſed me to deliver them to your own Hands; he goes from this Place To-morrow. I have ſent alſo my Lord Archbiſhop's Letter to your Lordſhip (of which I formerly ſent you a Copy) in the ſame Box; and have cauſed a Publick Notary to make Copies of all thoſe relating to *Young*, which I keep by me, as I muſt alſo deſire your Lordſhip to do the Originals; for I have undertaken you will do ſo: And you will find by what his Grace writes, that he deſires the ſame. I am

Your Lordſhips, &c.

Charles Porter.

A Letter from my Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin *to me.*

Dublin, Aug. 17, 1692.

My Lord,

BY Permiſſion of my Lord Chancellor, I had the View of your Lordſhip's Letter to him concerning Mr. *R. Young*, whom I found employed as a Curate in the Dioceſe of *Kilmore*, when I ſerved there. He was delated to me for many Extravagancies, the leaſt of which was marrying without Banns or Licenſe. Though after his Avoidance, by running out of my Dioceſe, upon his Apprehenſion in the Dioceſe of *Raphoe*, whither he had betaken himſelf, and was ſent back to *Cavan* Goal by Warrant of the Juſtices, procured by *Simeon Hutt*, whoſe Daughter he had married, and her Father had diſcovered to be married to another Woman then living; I took the Advantage of uſing all the Force of the Canon in that Caſe, and degraded him, being then apprehenſive of the Danger of his Hanging in his Gown. For this Crime he was indicted, but both the Women could not be brought together; and, if they had, the then riding Judge (which, as I remember, was Mr. *Herbert*) declared the Fact within Benefit of the Clergy: He was not ſentenced, but left ſtill in *Cavan* Gaol for Fees and Debts contracted there; where *Simeon Hutt*, an Inn-Keeper and Inhabitant there, by his Intereſt and proper Concern, found Means of intercepting, and getting into his Hands ſome of the Letters of his own Hand-writing, and brought them to me. The other, which are written to me, are all Realities, and his pretended Orders I received of himſelf before he run away. But, my Lord, as I was ſaying, he was left in Gaol, and not knowing how to get out, he uſed Means of applying to my Lord Duke of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant, pretending he could make notable Diſcoveries of dangerous Plots againſt the Government. The Popiſh Plot was then on Foot, and his Grace, as imported, very tender and cautious of diſcountenancing his offered Service, gave him his Liberty, and ordered him to come up to *Dublin*, and make out what he could. The *Scotchman* had his End, never appeared, but run away into *England* with his ſecond Wife, and I never heard of him till this Overture with your Lordſhip. I indeed did write to Dr. *Foley*, then in *England*, to make ſome Enquiry after him, and to give Notice of him, that there was ſuch a Privateer abroad, and to obviate, as much as I could, the evil Practices of ſo vile a Man, and the Diſhonour of the Church he pretended to. It is certain he ſtole into Deacons Orders unobſerved; he forged his Prieſts Orders, and was ſelf-ordained. He was extremely vicious,

and had Ignorance and Impudence enough to offer at any Thing. Much of his Story (it is ſo long ſince 1680) is out of my Head, and I wonder how theſe Papers, now ſent to your Lordſhip, eſcaped the general Plunder I underwent, when all my Books and Papers were utterly loſt for ever. I cannot otherwiſe account for their Preſervation, than that they were all tied together, and thrown into a Box of looſe and uſeleſs Letters, which they who took the reſt of my Goods neglected, becauſe they had Store of better Things: And conſequently were preſerved by a Servant of mine; and by a very caſual View, ſince my Return out of *England*, after the late general Diſperſion, came into my Hands as I left them, utterly beyond any Purpoſe or Deſign of mine. However, it fell out happily enough, if your Lordſhip can make any Uſe of them, for the Vindication of any honeſt and innocent Perſon, or the Detection of a notorious Villain. I beg your Lordſhip would let me know, by ſome Means or other, that you received them, and that you will preſerve them; for, if they be any Way available to your Lordſhip, they may be ſo (though that be, as this was, more than I can poſſibly forethink) to ſome Body elſe. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips, &c.

To the Lord Biſhop
of *Rocheſter*. Francis Dublin.

I have now brought the true *Robert Young* and his falſe Wife ſafe into *England*, though, I confeſs, I had rather any Man in *England* had done it than myſelf. But, now, they are here, I will proceed with them in the very ſame plain and juſt Method as I did before in relating their Actions in *Ireland*; I will trace out their crooked Paths as near as I can, Step by Step, and follow them cloſe at their Backs, with an honeſt Hue and Cry of Original Papers, deſcribing them and their Crimes.

I have already declared, That, after their Arrival in *England*, about the Year 1683, upon *Robert Young*'s unlucky Repulſe at *Lambeth*, one of the moſt memorable Enterpriſes, in which he and his Woman diſplayed their Art, was the Taking upon them the Names, firſt of *Green*, then of *Jones*, then of *Smith* (all Counterfeits of Clergymen in Diſtreſs) and then Authoriſing the whole Cheat by forged Recommendations of Archbiſhop *Sancroft*'s: Beginning thus to practiſe on other Men's Purſes, by Forging his Grace's Hand, that, when they were more perfect in it, they might attempt with it to ſtrike at his Life.

I begin, firſt, with their Cheating Dealings under the Name of *Green*, which was the firſt conſiderable Figure I know of, that they made of themſelves in *England*.

By this having deluded vaſt Numbers of good People in ſeveral Dioceſes, eſpecially that of *Norwich* (whereof I have by me a large Liſt of the Parochial Collections) they came at laſt, as I have ſaid, to be detected and puniſhed for it at *Bury*.

Now, to clear up this Part of their Hiſtory which concluded there, it will be very material that I ſhould recount diſtinctly the Occaſion and Manner of their being apprehended, and ſome of *Robert*'s moſt notorious Enormities even whilſt he was impriſoned in that Gaol, which was for the Space of a Year.

When *Robert* and *Mary* brought the Recommendation falſified under the Hands of the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Biſhop of *London*, to Mr. *Cleggat*, Miniſter of that Town; and boldly required him to aſk the Charity of the Inhabitants thereupon; both Mr. *Cleggatt*, and Mr. *Samuel Batteley*, a very worthy Perſon dwelling there (whoſe Brother was then the Archbiſhop's Chaplain) ſoon diſcerned the Knavery, and immediately repaired to the Magiſtrate's for a Warrant to ſeize them.

In the mean Time *Robert Young*, alias *Youngs*, alias *Hutt*, alias *Green*, ſuſpecting he was diſcovered, went directly to his Inn, and, with his Siſter and Wife, Mrs. *Mary Green*, alias *Young*, &c. preſently took Horſe, and rode as faſt as they could out of Town, in Hopes to have eſcaped.

Mr. *Batteley*, believing they would do ſo, left the Conſtable to bring the Warrant, and ran ſtraight towards the Inn to look after them; when he ſoon perceived them on Horſe-back, making all poſſible Speed away. But, by good Luck, their Horſe being weak and poor, he overtook them, laid Hold on the Bridle, and led them back. Whereupon they were committed, tried, and, upon their own Confeſſion, condemned and pilloried; as by the Record will appear, when it ſhall be produced.

After this *Robert* ——, What ſhall I call him? remained in *Bury* Gaol divers Months,

for

for not Paying his Fees, till the Summer of the Year 1685. That being the firſt Year of King *James*'s Reign, and about the Time of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Invaſion, he thought it a proper Seaſon for him to declare (as he had done before in *Ireland*, upon the like Exigency of his Affairs) that he could make out a certain Diſcovery of ſeditious and treaſonable Practices, wherein divers conſiderable Perſons thereabouts were engaged.

To this Purpoſe he not only actually ſwore Treaſon againſt one *John Pannel* (to whom he owed a Spite, who was then a Fellow-Priſoner with him for Debt, and is now an Officer in the ſaid Borough) but alſo ſent up a Petition, which he called, A full Diſcovery of Treaſon by *Robert Youngs*, Clerk, to be delivered to the King and Parliament then ſitting; wherein he offered to prove (if he might have his Freedom, and be brought up to *London*) That divers wicked Traitors in that Country, particularly ten Preſbyterian Miniſters, one Lord, two Eſquires, a Colonel, a Captain and a Cornet, and a Gentleman, had been long plotting and contriving the Death of the King, and the Subverſion of the Government.

But, of his whole Behaviour at *Bury*, the following Papers, being of undoubted Authority, are an abundant Proof. It will be enough for me to name them as they paſs along by me.

Only here I intreat my Reader once for all to obſerve what is moſt for my Purpoſe, That ſuch has been the conſtant Method of his Life, both before and ſince, as far as I have been able to obtain any Knowledge of it: Whenever he was out of Priſon, he has forged Hands to Bills, and Recommendations to get Money: And, when he happened to be impriſoned for thoſe Forgeries, then he has fallen to counterfeit mighty Diſcoveries of Plots againſt the State, to gain his Liberty.

Firſt, then, here are the ſeveral Confeſſions of *Robert Young* and *Mary Hutt* themſelves, before the Juſtices of Peace at *Bury*, in 1684.

Number I.

Borough of Bury St. Edmonds.

The Information of Mary Green, *alias* Hutt, *alias* Peirſon, *alias* Young; *taken by* Martin Spenſley, *Eſq*; *Mayor of the ſaid Borough*; Thomas Holland, *Eſq*; John Sotheby, *Eſq*; *and* Robert Sharp, *Gent. Juſtices of the Peace for the ſaid Borough, the* 15*th Day of* September, 1684.

THE ſaid Informant ſaith, that the Paper and Seal thereunto annexed, pretended to be a Certificate from the Biſhop of *Elphin*, in *Ireland*, was counterfeited in *Ireland*, and brought over from thence by her, in *April* or *May* laſt; and that ſhe neither hath, or ever had, any Huſband called by the Name of *Robert Green*; but that all in the ſame Certificate mentioned concerning him is counterfeit; and that the Perſon, who is now in her Company, came with her out of *Ireland*, and that he is her Brother, and his Name is *Robert Hutt*; and that they came together to *London*, where, in the Square at *Eſſex-Stairs*, ſhe met with one, whoſe Name ſhe doth not now remember, that writ the Petition, which ſhe carried to *Windſor*, and, with her own Hands, preſented it to the King, who delivered it back to one Mr. *Bolſtred*, without any further Anſwer to it. Whereupon ſhe repaired to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſhewed him her counterfeit Certificate from the Biſhop of *Elphin*; and he, having viewed it, recommended it to Sir *John Nicholas*, to whom ſhe repaired accordingly, and ſhewed him the Petition which ſhe had delivered to his Majeſty, and left it with him; and afterwards (as he told this Informant) he carried the ſame to his Majeſty at *Hampton-Court*; and that, it being read, becauſe it concerned *Ireland*, the King recommended it to the Duke of *Ormond*, and afterwards this Informant had the Anſwer to it from him, mentioned in the Paper to which Sir *John Nicholas*'s Name is ſubſcribed. And further ſaith, That the Paper, to which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London*'s Hands and Seals are ſet, is alſo counterfeit, and was written by another Perſon, whoſe Name ſhe remembereth not; and that the ſame Perſon did ſet the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of *London*'s Hands and Seals to it: And ſaith, That, by Vertue of the ſaid Paper and Seals, ſhe and her Brother have gathered a great deal of Money, and thereby abuſed many of the King's Subjects.

Mary Hutt.

The

The Information of the ſaid Robert Hutt, *taken before us the Day and Year aboveſaid.*

WHO ſaith, that the ſaid *Mary Hutt* (who goes by the Names aforeſaid) is his Siſter; and that he never knew any Perſon by the Name of *Green* or *Young*, that was her Huſband; but ſays, That he living in or about *Cork* in *Ireland*, and ſhe in *Connaught*, above an hundred Miles diſtant, in *March* laſt ſhe came to this Informant's Houſe, and told him, That ſhe had been married to one *Green* a Clergyman, and that he, going to Sea, was taken by the *Turks*, and ſhe was going to *London* to petition his Majeſty for Money for his Releaſe; and that ſhe had a Certificate from the Biſhop of the Dioceſe of the Truth thereof, and thereupon deſired this Informant to go along with her, and preſſed him ſo hard therein, that at laſt he left his own Occaſions with a Friend, and went with her to *London*, by the Name of *Green*, and knew no other Name ſhe had; and at *London* carried her to one *William Youngs* a Drummer, living in *Petty-France*, beyond *Weſtminſter*, near the Sign of *Whitehall*, where they ſtayed all the Time they were about *London*; and during that Time ſhe went to *Windſor* to petition his Majeſty; and, finding no Satisfaction there, ſhe applied herſelf to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London*, Sir *John Nicholas*, and others, as in her ſaid Information is ſet down. But ſaith, that he knew nothing how ſhe came by the ſaid Certificates and Papers, or who drew her Petitions, he knows not. But ſaith, that upon and with them he hath gone about the Country with her, and hath collected ſeveral Sums of Money in ſeveral Countries in the Papers thereof mentioned, he not knowing but all her Papers and Certificates were true.

Martin Spenſley, Mayor. *Robert Hutt.*

The further Information and Examination of the ſaid Robert Hutt, *taken the Day and Year aforeſaid.*

THE ſaid Examinate ſaith, That his Name is *Robert Young*, not *Hutt*, and that the ſaid *Mary* is his Wife; and that they came out of *Ireland* at the ſame Time aforementioned; and that he is in Prieſts Orders according to the Church of *England*, and received the ſame from Dr. *Roan*, Biſhop of *Killaloo* in *Ireland*, and had a Cure of eighteen Pounds *per Annum* at *Calthorn* there, and that he hath preached in St. *Margaret's* Church in *Weſtminſter*; and confeſſeth, that all the Papers and Certificates aforeſaid are counterfeit, and were made by one * *Wright*, a Scrivener in *Oxford*; and he ſet the Hands and Seals to them, except that from the Biſhop of *Elphin* in *Ireland*, which is ſigned by *Thomas Banneſter*, and was made by him; and he obtained the Biſhop's Seal to it, for which he had ten Shillings. And further, That, about two Years ſince, he was in *England*, and applied himſelf to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for ſome Preferment, and dined with him; but, finding none, he returned into *Ireland*; and, being deſtitute of Friends, he applied himſelf to this ill Courſe, preſuming thereby to obtain Charity from the People. And further ſaith, That the ſaid *Wright* ſet Sir *John Nicholas's* Hand, in Anſwer to the Petition to the King; and for that, and for Setting the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London*, he had a Guinea.

Thom. Holland. *Robert Young*, Clerk.
John Sotheby.
Rob. Sharp.

Secondly, Here are Copies of *Mary Hutt's* Petition to King *Charles the Second*, under the feigned Name of *Mary Green*; and of the forged Reference and Recommendations upon it.

Numb. II.

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, and the Right Honourable Lords of his Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-council,

The humble Petition of *Mary Green*, Wife of *Robert Green*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*,

Moſt humbly ſheweth,

THAT, your Petitioner's ſaid Huſband being minded to take a Voyage into the *Weſt-Indies* upon ſome extraordinary Occa-

* I am certainly informed, that there never was one *Wright*, Scrivener, in *Oxford*; ſo that he has abuſed the Name of *Wright*, as he has done that of *Green*, *Jones*, *Smith*, and divers others.

ſions,

ſions, it was his hard Fortune to be taken by a *Sallee* Man of War, about ſix Months ſince, as may appear by a Certificate under the Hand and Seal of the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Biſhop of *Elphin* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and that he ſtill remains under the extreme Burthen of Slavery in *Sallee*, his Ranſom being ſet at a thouſand Dollars; which your Petitioner, in Regard of her great Poverty, is no Ways able to raiſe; ſhe having two ſmall Children, being with Child of a third, hath not wherewith to provide for herſelf and them, but is like to periſh, for Want of Relief.

Your Petitioner therefore moſt humbly prays, That your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to recommend your Petitioner's and her Huſband's diſtreſſed Condition to the Conſideration of the Clergy of *England*; and, in his Behalf, to requeſt them to contribute their Charity towards her Huſband's Ranſom, and your Petitioner's preſent Relief.

And your Petitioner ſhall ever pray, &c.

Read in Council, Jun. 18, 1684.

THE Petitioner is referred to his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *London*, to do therein, as to them ſhall ſeem meet and convenient, for the Redemption of this ſaid *Robert Green*, Clerk.

John Nicholas.

WE recommend the Petitioner to the Clergy of (provided this our Order continue no longer than three Months) *England*, intreating them freely to contribute their Charity toward the Ranſom of the ſaid *Robert Green*. Moreover (on his Majeſty's Command to us) we require, and earneſtly deſire the reſpective Miniſters of all Cities, Towns, *&c.* to go from Houſe to Houſe, to receive the charitable Benevolence of well diſpoſed Chriſtians, whom we hope will likewiſe contribute to the Enlargement of a poor diſtreſſed Clergy-man.

Given under our Hand and Seal, at Lambeth-Houſe, June 16, 1684.

W. Cant. Here ⊙ the Seal.
H. London. Here ⊙ the Seal.

Numb. III.

Robert Young's *Petition to the Magiſtrates at* Bury, *acknowledging his Crime.*

To the Worſhipful Mayor, and the reſt of the Juſtices for the Borough of *Bury St. Edmonds.*

The humble Petition of Robert Youngs, *Clerk.*

Sheweth,

THAT the Petitioner being not only ſenſible, as it is apparent, of his Bidding Adieu to all Truth and Honeſty, and Meaſuring the ſame by his own humorſome Fancy, making every Thing ridiculous, that was not ſutable to his owne ignorant Conceptions; but penitent likewiſe, thinking himſelf bound, for the future, to take a Notice, That Honeſty is the beſt Policy.

Foraſmuch therefore, as your poor Suppliant being a Stranger, and ſuch to moſt in this Kingdom, and having little or no Friends or Acquentance, Humbly beſeecheth,

That your Worſhipes will be graciouſly pleaſed to accept of ſuch Baile, as your poor Suppliant can conveniently produce, whereby he may not in a Goal be compelled to end his Days, but have his Liberty to compoſe thoſe Differences, now depending. The Lord create in your Worſhips Bowells of Compaſſion, towards him, who prays for,

Your, &c.

Next, here is *Robert Young*'s firſt Letter to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in 1684, confeſſing his Crime of Forgery; but, in all elſe, giving a very lying Account of himſelf. A Letter very ſingular for the Elegancy of its Stile; and recommended to the Reading of all who call themſelves *Preſbyterians.*

Numb. IV.

Bury, Sept. 30, 1684.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

THIS rude and imperfect Supplication, being now to paſs into your Grace's Hands, ſhal I be ſo bold as to begg your Grace to peruſe it: In Proſecution whereof, I do conceive my Birth and Education, wil in your Grace create a better Underſtanding of me, my Life and Converſation, than that which the envyous Man realy repreſents it to be: For Envy is ever working upon ſome or other; for which Cauſe, it is the proper Attribute of the Devill, who is called the envious Man, that ſoweth Tares amongſt the Wheat by Night. But to return, your poor Suppliant is (by Birth) an

an *Engliſhman*, born of an honeſt Stock, at *Cheſter*, a Town of Marchandize on the Sea-Coaſt of *England*, whoſe Grandfather was Sir *Peter Young*'s Son, and Grandmother the Duke of *Lenox*'s Daughter; the Truth whereof, if queſtioned, may ſufficiently, by a Gentleman in *London*, be proved: Knowing ſome Perſons to delight in Giddineſs, and accounts it a Bondage to fix a Belief, afecting Freewill in Thinking, as well as in Doing. Your poor Suppliant likewiſe (after ſome Knowledge in Schoole Learning) was removed to *Trinity* Colledge near *Dublin*; where, in good Litterature, he for the Space of ſeven Years remained: And, from thence, by the Inſtigation of Dr. *Smith*, Dean of *Limerick*, was employed as a Reader; which Duty by me was faithfully performed, for the Space of two Years, being then only a Deacon. From thence, by the Death of the ſaid Dr. *Smith*, removed I was to ſerve Dr. *John Wilſon*'s Cure, ſometime Fellow of St. *Magdalene* College in *Oxford*, who, as Chaplain to his Grace my Lord Duke of *Ormond*, came for *Ireland*, on which Proviſion (though inconſiderable) admitted I was into full Orders, by the late Biſhop of *Clogher*, who was a Man of that Divine Nature, that all that knew him had a Loſs of him: The very Memory of whom may juſtly draw a Fountain of Water from mine Eyes; his Favour to me ward cannot eaſily be forgotten. Thus, in ſhort, your Grace has a Deſcription of my Birth, Education, Life, and Converſation; which leads me to expoſtulate my preſent Sufferings: I am, and ever was, a faithfull Son of the Church of *England*. All Diſcentors were ever odious in mine Eyes, 'ſpecially that damnable Faction of Preſbytery. If I could, as well as others, have winked at their irregular Undertakings, Poverty and Bondage would not now have Dominion over me. But my Method was to reduce ſuch factious Perſons to a regular Underſtanding, and obſerve wherein, and how far, they have degenerated; although others Gleanings, I confeſs, are better than my Vintage, as I am the leaſt of the Tribe: Yet, I cannot ſit ſtill, but, if Occaſion offered itſelf, would once more adventure to caſt in my Mite againſt ſuch Hæreſy, as thoſe Gifted Perſons pretended to. But, knowing to whom I ſpeak, I muſt not hold your Grace too long to peruſe this ignorant Diſcourſe, leaſt I give Offence. *Laſtly*, to make an ingenious Confeſſion; your poor Suppliant in the aforeſaid Cure, though inſufficient if narrowly conſidered to maintain a Family, continued without Scandal and Corruption, for the Space of four Years; but by the Inſufficiency thereof, being but eighteen Pound, *per Annum*, was forced to borrow Money, which Summ, at the Day prefixed, I could not diſburſe; whereupon they iſſued out Writs againſt me: But I conſidering Fortune to be like the Markett, where, if a Man ſtay a little, the Price will fall. Thus I thought it better to meet ſome Danger Half Way, than to keep too long a Watch upon my Enemies Approach: For, if a Man watch too long, as my Caſe ſtood, though he committ the Beginnings thereof to *Argos*, with his hundred Eyes; and the Ends to *Briareus*, with his hundred Hands, tis odds he will fall a ſleep: So that I thought it my beſt Way, for a Time, to remove myſelf and Family, to prevent future Inconveniences. Whereupon I, with a diſcontented Heart, came for *England*; and, if your Grace call to Mind, made to you my Application; willing was I to take up with the leaſt Proviſion: But no Vacancy in your Grace's Dioceſs, was the Anſwer; and withal told me that my Lord of *London* poſſibly might anſwer my Requeſt. Whereupon I ſtrait Way attended my Lord of *London*, but no ſatisfactory Anſwer, could I find there. On which, what to do I knew not; but the ſecond Time waited on your Grace, and gave up my Lord of *London*'s Anſwer; and withal told your Grace, that willing I was to go for the *Weſt Indias*. Your Graces Anſwer was, That Proviſions there lay in my Lord of *London*, but being deſtitute of Money and Friends, diſinabled I was to get thither, unleſs I had ſold myſelf for a Bond ſlave, which I was not willing to do. So that for *Ireland* I again repaired; but no ſooner was I well there ſettled, in a Cure far remote from the other, but News my Creditors had; for which, without my Salary, glad was I to flee again in a diſtracted Condition; and came, accompanied with my Wife, to *Oxford*; where Friendſhip I did endeavour to create, but all in vain. From thence went I towards *Briſtol*, thinking to have made my Addreſs to the Biſhop of that Dioceſſe, but ſupplanted I was by his Death. So that myſelf I applied to the Body of the Clergy, but meet not with a ſatisfactory Anſwer. My ſecond Application was to deſire them to diſburſe Money for our Fraught; but, meeting not with my deſired Succeſs, I came away, not knowing

which

which Way to turn myſelf; to go and ſteal, I would be hanged; to take by Violence a Purſe, I would be in the ſame Condition; to work, I knew not which Way; to begg of the Clergy (ſo many Cheats going about) I knew, being a Stranger, they would, though undeſerved then, paſs on me the ſame Sentence. Thus Friendleſs and Moneyleſs, we came to *Oxford*, in a ſad Condition, and accidentilly meet with one *Wright* by Surname; who, after ſome Days *Acquentance*, put me upon this Helliſh Stratageme upon your Grace, which Forgery he committed, although I am not thereby excuſed. Truly a Terrour to my Conſcience was it every Hower, knowing ſuch Clandeſtine Actions to be both againſt the Laws of God and Man. O fie! that ever it ſhould be ſaid that a Clergyman have committed ſuch durty Actions. O! that my Eyes were a Fountain of Water, to weep for Remiſſion, for Pardon, for Satisfaction, both to God and Man. For ſure I am the Unjuſt ſhal be puniſhed in the next World, if not in this. I acknowledge my Crime to be great, the Lord give a right Underſtanding of my Errour; wherein I have offended both God and Man: And what ſhal I do, or what ſhal I ſay to mitigate this Crime? Tis true, I am heartily ſorry, which perhaps, in your Grace, may create Mercy; but not Pardon from my God, without a loathing and hearty Deteſtation of ſuch unlawfull Ways of Gain, and an Abſolution from a Biſhop. Truely my Intention, after the Receipt of twenty Pounds, was for the *Weſt Indias*; no more did I deſire than what would carry my Family thither: But diſappointed I was by the juſt Judgement of the Almighty; all we received was ſpent to recover my Wifes Health; ſeaven Weeks did ſhe lye ſick, which the Juſtices here are not ignorant of; and what little Stock we had was exhauſted, ſo that we have neither Friends nor Money. Your poor Suppliant therefore, in moſt humble Manner, beſeecheth, That your Grace will be graciouſly pleaſed to regulate the Hearts and Minds of theſe Juſtices, who have committed my poor ſickly Wife, as well as myſelf; and, by your Graces Letter, to animate their Hearts to Charity, the Seſſions being *Monday* next. Tis true, I have in a moſt groſs Manner incurred your Graces Diſpleaſure, and does not diſerve the leaſt Favour, eſpecially at your Graces Hands; for which, from the Bottom of my Heart, I humbly beg your Graces Pardon, beſeeching your Grace in Juſtice to remember Mercy; and though your Grace may caſt a ſevere Eye upon the Example, yet I humbly beſeech your Grace, to caſt a merciful Eye upon the Perſon, to whom this ſhal for ever be a Warning-piece, and ſubſcribes himſelf,

Your Graces

Moſt penitent

and obedient Servant,

Robert Young.

My Reader finds that this firſt Letter of *Robert Young*'s to Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, which ſeems full of Remorſe and ſolemn Deteſtation of his former Wickedneſs, in Forging his Grace's Name, was dated in Priſon at *Bury*, *Sept.* 30, 1684; but, to ſhew what Kind of Penitent he was, I will here ſubjoin the Informations of divers Perſons at *Bury* in 1685, touching *Robert Young*'s Threatenings againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Life, not long after he had written this firſt Letter.

Numb. V.

Bury St. Edmonds, *Martii* 27, 1685.

Memorandum, That we whoſe Names are underwritten, being in Company with *Robert Young*, (who was laid in *Bury* Gaol for Counterfeiting his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Hand and Seal, *&c.*) he ſpoke theſe Words immediately upon hearing of his late Majeſty's Death, which was *Saturday*, *February* 7, 84. [*Is the King dead? Then have at the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury*'s Head.*] Theſe Words were ſpoken in his Chamber in my Hearing. Witneſs my Hand,

Thomas Boume.

THE ſame Day in the Cellar, the ſaid *Robert Young* declared, *That, now the King was dead, he would have the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury*'s Head off.* Witneſs our Hands,

John Pannell.
Matthew + *Baxter*,
his Mark.

AND at other Times, in my Hearing, and others that are now out of Town, the ſaid *Robert Young* declared, *That, if ever he got out of Priſon, he would revenge himſelf on his Grace the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

John Pannell.

AT another Time, ſome two or three Days before, the ſaid *Robert Young*, upon hearing of his Majeſty's Death, did in the Hearing of me *John Rewſe*, in the ſaid *Young*'s Chamber, in *Bury* Priſon, ſay theſe Words: [*Some of my Enemies may repent what they have done to me: It will not be long e're the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury*'s Head be off.*]

John Rewſe.

William Roſe, of *Elmſwel*, in the County of *Suffolk*, Yeoman, ſaith, That *Robert Young*, a Priſoner in *Bury* Gaol, upon hearing of his late Majeſty's Death, did publickly ſay theſe Words following, *viz. Now, by God, have at the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury*'s Head.* And that, at ſeveral Times, he hath diſcovered himſelf to bear Hatred againſt his Grace, and hath often ſpoken reproachfully againſt his Grace.

William Roſe.

Sixthly, Here is *Robert Young*'s ſecond Letter to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; confeſſing ſtill his own Guilt, but intended chiefly to weaken the Evidence of *John Pannell*, one of thoſe *Bury* Witneſſes, by Accuſing him of Treaſon.

Numb. VI.

Bury, July 23, 85.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

IN the firſt Place, all that I deſign in this Letter, is an Apology for myſelf, to aſk Pardon for my Tranſgreſſion againſt your Grace (although deluded thereto) hoping, that this my mean and weak Supplication will be ſheltered under the Canopy of your profound Charity. And ſeeing I have, by wicked Advice, conſented to Things miſbecoming an honeſt Man, moſt Reverend Father, let not my Honeſty be tainted therewith, but evil Counſell juſtly blamed; which, for ever hereafter, ſhal be a Warning-piece to me, never to commit the like again; but, by honeſt and Chriſtian Endeavours, to provide for himſelf and Family, whoſe Conditions are now reduced ſo low, that periſh they muſt, unleſs by your Graces Clemency eaſed. Furthermore, I do promiſe to do your Grace that Juſtice, as to bring in the firſt Actours and Contrivers of that wicked Action, who did not only encourage me, but ſeveral Impoſthims they likewiſe have ſent Abroad, which I can prove. Having thus far declared myſelf, and endeavoured to take off ſuch Aſperſions as might poſſibly have been thrown on me; give me Leave to * *acquent* your Grace, that I am given to underſtand, that one *John Pannel* have lately ſent your Grace a Petition, intreating you to incenſe the Judge, that comes this Circuit, againſt me; which Petition I humbly deſire, and beſeech you, for your Honour, to diſregard. For that Perſon is a rebellious Traytor, and have declared himſelf ſo to be; his Words and intended Actions are, in breve, as followeth. He called the King a Popiſh Dog, a Rogue, and ſaid, that he has taken that which was none of his own, but the Duke of *Monmouth's*; he has ſaid likewiſe, that he would do his Endevour to chop off that Popiſh Rogue's Head. *Si indixeris mihi ut ſingula dilatem, non recuſabo; modo tempus mihi conceſſeris: nam ſtatim hoc facere, non eſt harum, quoad Corpus, Virium: paratus ſemper dicere, qui ſunt ſubditi probati & qui non.* My Lord, I thought fit thus to * *acquent* your Grace, that you may not ſo much as mention his Name with any due Reſpect; his factious Anceſtors will make him notorious enough, if no Treaſon were objected and laid to his Charge. But, ſeeing what I have in Part * *acquented* your Grace with, will, next Aſſizes, be ſworn againſt him by three Evidences, and the King likewiſe * *acquented* therewith; and the ſaid *John Pannell* a great Finatick. I humbly have ſent your Grace, (out of that Love and Affection I bear to my King and to the Clergy) this Caution of the ſaid *John Pannell*. So I take Leave, deſiring to remain

your Graces moſt humble Servant,

Robert Youngs.

Seventhly, Here is the true Hand and Seal of Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, which *Robert Young* having

ving torn off from a real Inſtrument of his Grace's that he had caſually lighted on, prefixed a falſe Licence to it to beg in three other Dioceſes; and that dated even after the former Letters to the Archbiſhop, and after he had been pilloried at *Bury* for the Firſt Forgery.

Numb. VII.

WE recommend the Petitioner to the Dioceſſe of *Oxford*, *Lincoln* and *Sarum*, humbly beſeeching the Clergy of all Cities and Corporations (within the aforeſaid Dioceſſes) to go from Houſe to Houſe to receive the Benevolence of all charitable Chriſtians, towards the Relief of a poor diſtreſſed Clergyman.

Given under our Hand and Seal, at Lambeth-Houſe, Jan. 2. Ann. Dom. 1685. Locus Sigilli. *W. Cant.*

Two Papers relating to a falſe Plot in King *James*'s Time, which *Robert Young* offered to diſcover at *Bury*, when he was Priſoner there, in the Year 1685. Both which Papers are written with his own Hand, and were taken out of his Pocket when he was ſearched for Inſtruments, wherewith he deſigned to break Priſon there.

The Firſt Paper, which ſeems to be a Letter to ſome Lord at Court, concerning *Robert Young*'s Plot in 1685, but is not ſuperſcribed.

Numb. VIII.

Bury-Goale, June 13, 85.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

ALthough I have been, and alſo am unwilling to truble you with my Letters, yet, notwithſtanding, the treacherous Speeches and intended Actions of wicked Rebels forceth me thereunto at Preſent. I leatly a Petition to the King and Parliament ſent, which Petition (declaring in part the Purport of what I have to ſay) I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip, for the Love of a gracious King, to take care of, and ſo far, that King and Parliament may therewith be acquainted. Nothing is therein delivered, but what I, by ſufficient Evidence, can make appear to be Truth: Juſtice will in no wiſe for the King here be done; the Reaſons, when removed, I'll produce, but here I dare not; I humbly deſier, before his Royal Majeſty, and his high honorable Court of Parliament, to be, as ſoon as may be, called up, where with Juſtice, and not with Partiality, I may be heard to ſpeak.

[And here follows ſome of his former Sort of *Latin*, which I ſet down as I find it in his own Hand.]

De his rebus omnibus obſecro & ſuppliciter imploro te mihi reſcribere literam, inquâ ſi indixeris mihi uſ ſingula delatem non recuſabo, paratus ſemper oſtendere, qui ſunt probati, ſubditi & qui non. Nihill jam ſupereſt aliud ſcribendum, niſi quod ſupplex orem ut omnes actiones ſecundat Deus optimus maximuſque. Et ex toto Corde Vale.

Ex Carcere 13° *die menſis*, Junij *Ann. Dom.* 85. Tuæ ſalutis & amplitudinis, Cupidiſſimus, *&c.* R. Y.

The Second Paper, which is the Original Petition that *Robert Young* ſent up to be preſented to the King and Parliament in *May* 1685, wherein he promiſes to make out the Diſcovery of his Plot, if he might have his Liberty, and be brought up to *London* to be the King's Evidence. This is alſo recommended to the Reading of the Preſbyterians.

A full Diſcovery of Treaſon by *Robert Youngs*, Clerk.

To the moſt High and Mighty Prince, James *the Second, by the Grace of God, King of* Great-Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, &c. and to His Moſt Honourable and High Court of Parliament.*

The Humble Petition of *Robert Youngs*, Clark, now a Priſoner in *Bury St. Edmunds*, in the County of *Suffolk.*

In moſt humble and lamentable wiſe complaineth unto your Majeſty and your High Court of Parliament,

THAT whereas your moſt obedient Subjecte, living under the Laws of God and your Majeſty's Realms, in the Days of the late gracious King *Charles the Second*, of ever bleſſed Memory, did in all things ſhow himſelf a true, faithful, and obedient Subject,

according to his Function, as well as in the ſincere Adminiſtration (according to the Church of *England*) of Gods holy Word, as in due Obedience to the higher Powers. Your ſaid Suppliant, notwithſtanding, contrary to all Laws of Juſtice and Equity, was notwithſtanding, in very extream Manner, not only caſt into Priſon (where he, being altogether a Stranger, have theſe eight Months by paſt continued) but likewiſe (laſt Aſſizes nothing being objected againſt him) bound over to his good Behaviour, where he will (through Malice, and for Fear of diſcovering their rebellious and clandeſtine Actions) periſh inevitably; for ſuch is the Malignity of your Majeſties Enemies againſt your poor Subject, that they keep him cloſe lock't up, not ſuffering his Wife to come to him, giving Order likewiſe, that all Pen, Ink, and Paper ſhould not be permitted to be carried to him, leaſt he make Complaint. And the more Severity they ſhow, becauſe your obedient Subject did diſcover one *John Pannel*, who like a Rebel and a Traiter, did call your Sacred Majeſty a Popiſh Dog and Rogue; and ſaid, that he, againſt your Sacred Majeſty, would fight for the Duke of *Monmouth* ſo long as he had Blud in his Body. Moreover, *Feb.* 7, 84, about Three of Clock in the Afternoon, he ſwore, That now he would accompliſh his long deſign'd and intended Purpoſe. *Now*, ſaid he (News being brought a little before that the late King was realy dead) *I will have that Popiſh Rogues Head*, &c. Now by the Diſcovery hereof, your poor Subject have to himſelf Enemies innumerable created, and yet will (ſo long as Life continues) ſtand firm and unſhaken, notwithſtanding all the vain Attempts and impetuous Aſſaults made againſt him, by ſuch Men as are given to Change, and have always diſcovered a greater Regard to their own treacherous and rebellious Spirits, than to that Duty and Legality which they owe unto your moſt Sacred Majeſty. All theſe things, and much more ſhal againſt *John Pannel*, and others (whom to diſcover here, were to no Purpoſe) be confirmed by three Witneſſes. Many are the Conſpiracies and Conſpirators, who have plotted and contrived how to bring their wicked Enterprizes to an Head. In order hereunto (as in Conſcience obliged, and as a faithful Subject to your Majeſty) can, and will make a full Diſcovery of *Ten Presbyterian Miniſters*, *One Lord*, *Two Eſquires*, *A Colonel*, *A Captain*, *A Cornet*, *A Gentleman*, *who having long ſince Plotted and Contrived the Death of your moſt Sacred Majeſty*, *and the Subverſion of the Government now eſtabliſhed amongſt us*, and ſtill continues their Helliſh Devices, who (if in time not prevented) will (with a ſad *Memento*) make known what your faithful Subject doth now in part relate, they having promiſed, vowed, and proteſted, that, if ever your Majeſty came to the Crown, enjoy it you ſhould not one Year to an End. Such Evidence againſt them ſingularly ſhall be produced, as to the Conſciences of all loving Subjects ſhall ſeem reaſonable and ſufficient; and, if your poor Subject does not prove by ſufficient Evidence what he now affirms, your ſaid Subject offers himſelf then to the moſt heavy Puniſhment that it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to appoint.

In Conſideration whereof, may it pleaſe your moſt Sacred Majeſty and this your High Court of Parliament, graciouſly to take the Premiſes ſo far into your tender Conſideration, as to call up to *London* before your Princely Majeſty your poor Subject, who will in full diſcover all thoſe Clandeſtine Actions and Helliſh Stratagems of Rebellious and Treacherous Rebles, who intends no Goodneſſe towards your Royal Perſon, whom God preſerve, *&c.* which thing being granted, your ſaid Subject doubts not but that it ſhal plainly appear de unde by ſufficient Evidence, who are Faithful Subjects and who not. Wherefore for the tender Mercy of God, your ſaid Subjecte in Bonds and Irons, moſt humbly Beſeecheth your Majeſty, and this High Court of Parliament, Benignly and Graciouſly to grant this Petition, tending ſo Graciouſly to the Preſervation of your Majeſty and the Goverment now Eſtabliſh'd amongſt us, *&c.*

And your Petitioner as in Duty bound will ever Pray, &c.

In this laſt, and in ſeveral of the foregoing Papers, my Reader finds Mention of one *John Pannel*. Upon this there depends a Story which muſt not be omitted, becauſe it is ſent me from *Bury*, atteſted under Hand and Seal by Perſons of known Credit and Repute: And with this I ſhall end all *Robert Young*'s Tranſactions at *Bury*.

It appears, that this *John Pannel* had not only fallen into *Robert Young*'s Diſpleaſure by his having been one of the Witneſſes of his

Menaces againſt the Archbiſhop's Life, but alſo for having prevented *Robert*'s deſigned Eſcape out of the common Gaol there.

Robert Young, in Revenge of all this, not only wrote to the Archbiſhop againſt him in the venomous Manner, as appears in his ſecond Letter to his Grace, That there ſhould be High-Treaſon ſworn againſt the ſaid *John* the next Aſſizes, and not only alſo named him as Guilty in the foregoing Petition to the King and Parliament, mentioning in both the particular Treaſons, but effectually made good his Word; and the very next Aſſizes at *Ipſwich*, for the County of *Suffolk* in the ſame Year 1685, proſecuted *John Pannell* for his Life before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Jones*.

Nay, when it was objected by the Judge, that this was but a ſingle Witneſs, *Robert* immediately took care to ſupply that Defect, and out of Hand produced *Mary* to ſwear the very ſame Words, and the very ſame Time, and Place, as her Foreman had ſworn before her.

So that had not the Lord Chief Juſtice been ſeaſonably informed of the profligate Reputation of *Robert* and *Mary*; and had not the Deputy Gaoler of *Bury* proferred voluntary to take his Oath, That *Mary* was really abſent from *Robert*, and had been ſo for a good Space, both before and after the Time, when the Treaſonable Words were pretended by *Robert* to have been ſpoken by *John Pannell*, the poor innocent Man had been in Danger of being hanged for a Traitor to King *James*, by the Perjury of theſe two wretched Gaol-Birds.

But thus much for *Robert* and *Mary Green*, *&c.*

Next we ſhall behold the ſame Farce acted over again by the ſame Perſons, under the diſguiſed Names of *Robert* and *Mary Jones*; *John* and *Mary Smith*: She the Wives of him the Rectors of the ſame *Aſhford* in *Kent*, and both at the ſame Time.

Nay (to ſhew how neceſſary it is that great Lyars ſhould have great Memories) we ſhall ſee, that two of theſe pretended Recommendations, from Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, do very unhappily bear Date the very ſame Day, *September* the Third, of the very ſame Year, 1687, for the ſame Woman, under different Names.

Firſt, Here are the forged Recommendations, pretended to be from Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, of *Mary Hutt*, both as *Mary Jones* and *Mary Smith*, to the Lords Biſhops of *Chicheſter*, *Norwich*, and *St. Aſaph*: The Body of theſe Letters being an Imitation of his Grace's own Hand, but all the Subſcriptions counterfeited to Admiration.

Numb. I.

My Lord,

THIS is to *acquent* your Lordſhip, that one Mr. *Robert Jones*, Rector of *Aſhford* in my *Dioceſſe*, is a Priſoner for Debt, occaſioned by Suretyſhip; He is a Perſon well known to me, and deſerves our Aſſiſtance. I hope you will therefore give his Wife (who will ſuddenly attend your Lordſhip) Licence to Aſk and Receive the Charity of your Dean and Chapter, towards her Huſbands Freedome, as we in our *Dioceſſe* have done. I am,

Lambeth, *June* 11. 1687. *Your loving Friend and Brother*, W. Cant.

To the Lord Biſhop of Chicheſter.

My Lord,

THIS is to *acquent* your Lordſhip, that one Mr. *John Smith*, Rector of *Aſhford* in my *Dioceſſe*, is a Priſoner for Debt, occaſioned by Suretyſhip; He is a Perſon well known to me; and deſerves our Aſſiſtance: I hope you will therefore (as other of our Brethren have done) extend your Charity toward his Freedome; and likewiſe Recommend his Diſtreſſed Condition to your Dean and Chapter, or in his Abſence to the Subdean. I am,

Lambeth, *Sept.* 3. 1687. *My Lord*, *Your loving Friend and Brother*, W. Cant.

To the Lord Biſhop of Norwich.

My Lord,

THIS is to *acquent* your Lordſhip, that one Mr. *Robert Jones*, Rector of *Aſhford* in my *Dioceſſe*, is a Priſoner for Debt, occaſioned by Suretyſhip; He is a Perſon well known to me, and deſerves our Aſſiſtance. I hope you will therefore extend your Charity toward his Freedome, as we in our *Dioceſſe* have done: And likewiſe give his Wife (who will

will ſuddenly attend your Lordſhip) Licence to Aſk and Receive the Charity of your Dean and Chapter. I am,

My Lord,

Lambeth,
Sept. 3. 1687. *Your loving Friend and Brother,*

W. Cant.

This Letter was ſealed with a Biſhop's Seal and a Wafer; and the Stamp under-marked on the Back of it, to ſignify what Part of the Town it came from.

To the Lord Biſhop of St. Aſaph. (IV)

Secondly, Here is a forged Letter from Dr. *Fauconberge*, Secretary to my Lord Archbiſhop, accompanying that Letter to the Lord Biſhop of *Norwich*; wherein is a falſe Liſt of what Sums other Churches and Church-Men had given, to excite his Lordſhip and his Church and Dioceſe by thoſe Examples.

Numb. II.

Sept. 3, 87.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

I Am commanded by my Lords Grace of *Canterbury* to ſend this as a Cover to the Enclosed; and to let your Lordſhip know, that Mr. *Robert Smith* (Brother to the Priſoner) is appointed as the Receiver. Therefore your Lordſhip is humbly deſired to tranſmit, by Bill of Exchange, your Lordſhips Charity, together with the Dean's and Chapters, to the aforeſaid *Robert Smith*, living in *Maiden-lane*, in *Weſtminſter*, and ſo ſoon as your Lordſhip poſſibly can.

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Hen. Fauconberge.

I am likewiſe commanded to tranſmit you the Names of thoſe that have already given.

By the	LORD Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*	20	00	00
	Dean and Chapter of *Canterbury*	45	00	00
	Biſhop of *London*	10	00	00
	Biſhop of *Ely*	10	00	00
	Dean and Chapter of *Ely*	8	00	00
	Biſhop of *Rocheſter*	4	00	00
	Dean and Chapter thereof	7	00	00
	Biſhop of *Wincheſter*	12	Guinnys.	
	Dean and Chapter thereof	9	00	00
	Biſhop of *Sarum*	5	00	00
	Dean and Chapter thereof	12	00	00
	Biſhop of *Chicheſter*	4	00	00
	Dean and Chapter thereof	5	00	00
	Biſhop of *Exon*	4	00	00
	Dean and Chapter of *Exon*	10	00	00
	Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*	5	00	00
	Dean and Chapter thereof	5	00	00
	Univerſity of *Oxford*	25	00	00

Thirdly, Here are the Letters of thoſe three Biſhops written at that Time, acknowledging that they were every one deceived by an Impoſture ſo well managed; though they were ſome of the Archbiſhop's moſt familiar Friends, and perfectly acquainted with his Grace's Hand.

Numb. III.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

I Have returned the Letter which came to me in your Grace's Name on the Behalf of Mr. *Jones*, pretended to be of your Dioceſe; and now find enough in it to have made me ſuſpect the Cheat: But your Grace's Name (too well counterfeited) and the great Deference I make to it, ſuperſeded all further Conſideration. And, although I communicated it to the Dean and Chapter (who are not unacquainted with your Grace's Hand) yet none of them ſaw through it. It is much to be feared, that the Cheat is ſtill carried on, and too ſucceſsfully: For he muſt be more ſagacious than I am, whom ſuch a Letter coming by the Poſt, then followed within two or three Days by the Woman herſelf, would not impoſe upon. After all, I am much more concerned for the Abuſe that is put upon your Grace, than for that little which I ſuffered by it; and heartily wiſh the Cheat detected and diſcovered, that your Grace's Name may be no longer proſtituted to ſo vile a Purpoſe, whilſt ſo great a Veneration is paid to it by all good Men. I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

To my Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury's *Grace.* John Ciceſtr.

Nor-

Norwich, Sept. 29, 87.

May it please your Grace,

IN Pursuance of the inclosed Recommendation, I applied myself to Mr. Dean, and the Prebends of this Church, for their Charity, towards the Relief of Mr. *John Smith*, Rector of *Ashford* in your Grace's Diocese, as the Letter sets forth. Mr. Dean, and the Prebends, allotted five Pounds to Mr. *Smith*, which Sum, with my own Mite, would have made up ten Pounds, and this Sum was to be paid by Mr. Dean at his Arrival in *London*; and of this I gave a Hint to Dr. *Paman* in my Letter to him: But since we learn from the *Gazette*, That the whole Contrivance was a Cheat and a Forgery; and, for the further Discovery of it, I have sent the Inclosed to your Grace. I am

To my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury *his Grace.*

Your Grace's, &c.

William Norwich.

Sept. 6, 87.

May it please your Grace,

I Have received your Grace's Letter of the 3d Instant by this Post; the Effect of it is, to bespeak the Charity of this Church for one Mr. *Robert Jones*, Rector of *Ashford*, who is a Prisoner on the Account of Suretiship; the Cause for which he suffers, does not at all commend his Suit; but that which follows does very much: That he is known to your Grace; and that you judge him to be one that deserves our Assistance: On that Account he shall have it from me in such Proportion, as your Grace shall think fit; and of that your Grace shall judge at my Coming up to *London*, which will be about six Weeks hence, if God permit; or, if you will not judge, I will tax myself as I would do any other Man in my Condition, and so much beyond, as I ought to be stricter to myself than any other. I am, my good Lord,

To my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury *his Grace.*

Your Grace's, &c.

Will. Asaph.

Sept. 13, 87.

My most honoured Lord,

I Send your Grace, here inclosed, that Piece of Forgery which came this Day Se'nnight, as a Letter from your Grace. I saw your Name to it so well counterfeited, that I did not examine the Hand in the rest of the Letter; nor took Notice of the false Spelling in the Word *acquent*, and twice *Dioceſſe*; which I should have boggled at otherwise. But your Name, which I doubted not to be of your Grace's own Hand, was enough to assure me the whole Letter was yours. And whether you writ it in Haste, or had an *Amanuensis* to write it, I was not curious to examine; or whether it was forged, which I now understand was the Case. The Woman Rogue, by whom, or for whom it was forged, having thus made ready the Bait, and hanged me upon it, came and drew up her Line the next Day; there she had five Pounds upon her Hook; and with it she got a Subscription into her Paper, which she carried forward to *Bangor*; and there, I doubt not, having baited the Water with a Letter from your Grace, and having a Subscription to second it, she hooked as much more between the Bishop and the Dean. I am, my good Lord,

To my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury *his Grace.*

Your Grace's, &c.

Will. Asaph.

Having now followed *Robert Young*, and his pretended Wife, to the End of the first great Turn of their Affairs in *England*, it is but reasonable, that I should use the same Exactness as I have done in that Part of their Story which was acted in *Ireland*, that I should declare by what Means I have had the certain Information, which inabled me to trace them so narrowly also in this Part of their Adventures.

It was soon after my Deliverance from them, on *June* the 13th, that I desired Mr. *Needham*, Chaplain to Archbishop *Sancroft*, to let him know what Danger he had escaped, together with myself and others. Immediately thereupon, his Grace gave him Notice of his own former Rencounters with the same *Robert Young*; and withal ordered him to let me have a Sight of most of the foregoing Papers.

Having

Having perused them, and perceiving they would effectually contribute to the farther Confusion of the Wretch, I intreated his Grace to resign them to my Disposal, and to recollect what he could farther remember on this Subject.

To which Request, I received these following Answers from that excellent Prelate: Whose Name alone would be sufficient Authority in Matters of far greater Concernment than this; there being no good Man that I know of, who has him not in the highest Esteem for his Integrity and Piety.

A Letter from Archbishop Sancroft *to me, dated* July 13, 1692.

Fresingfield, July 13.

My good Lord and Brother,

I Have just received your's of *July* the 5th, and, having read it over, immediately take up my Pen to tell you, That, in Compliance with your earnest Desires, I give up, and consign into your Lordship's Hands, all the Papers concerning *Young* the *Falsary*, which I sent to Mr. *Needham*, to be made Use of, and disposed, as your Lordship, in your Discretion, shall think fit; with this Caution, notwithstanding, That, whereas there are amongst them some Letters of my old dear Friends, Bishop *Lloyd* of *Norwich*, and Bishop *Lloyd* of St. *Asaph* (who are both at present, in or about *London*) no Use be made of them, without their Privity, nor any further than they shall allow.

As for the Narrative you desire, you shall certainly have it, as well as my old leaking Memory will inable me to form it: But, though I must take the longer Time for that; yet, because you tell me you long (with some Impatience) for my Answer to the rest; I have hastened to give it (and my kindest Respects) with that Readiness and Heartiness, which becomes,

My Lord,

For the Lord Bishop of Rochester. *Your Lordship's*, &c.

A Second Letter from Archbishop Sancroft *to me, dated* August 24, 1692.

My Lord,

I Remember well what I wrote to you in a former Letter, concerning the Narrative you desired, of what passed heretofore between me and *Robert Young*. But, when I sat down to make it, I found two Things lying directly in my Way. First, I was credibly informed, that you had wholly laid by your Design; and, Secondly, Many Years having passed since those Things happened, and I having lately cursorily read over the Papers I sent you; my Memory did not serve me, without them, to judge where they were defective, or how any Incoherence in them might be supplied.

But now that I am assured, that you are, in good Earnest, going on with what you intended; and understand what are the Particulars that remain still obscure to you in those Papers; I will not only endeavour to clear those, but the rest of the Story, as far as I can remember it.

He was twice with me at *Lambeth*; the first Time, within a Month after he was degraded at *Dublin*, to desire some Employment in the Church; in Order to which, he produced Letters of Orders, which I very much suspected. For besides, that they were not, as I remember, in Form, and in the usual Style; there was fixed to them, with a Label, a great Episcopal Seal, such as we put to our Leases; which, upon my Objecting it, he affirmed to be the Custom of the Bishops in *Ireland*. And, when I told him I had no Employment void in my Gift, he was very earnest with me to recommend him to the Bishop of *London*; with a Design, I suppose, that he might have a Copy to write by in his intended Forgeries; but I refused.

Some Time after, he came again, since when I never saw him, to desire me to recommend him to be a Chaplain to a Ship, or in some of the Plantations; which I again refused (for, in Truth, I never liked him from the Beginning) telling him, that it was a Part of the Bishop of *London's* Province.

In the mean Time, having Acquaintance with Dr. *Foley*, the Archbishop of *Dublin's* Chaplain, who was then in *England*; I sent to him for some better Information concerning this

this importunate bold Man; which produced thoſe Letters which are in your Hands.

About this Time he ſent his Woman to *Windſor*, with a Petition to the King, pretending, That her Huſband, going to be Miniſter at one of the Foreign Plantations, was taken by the *Turkiſh* Pirates; and begging a Share in the Money collected for the Redemption of Captives. His Majeſty referred the Petition to me and my Lord of *London*; which yet I never ſaw, nor heard of, till a good While after. In the mean While, they had forged a Report upon the Reference, under both our Hands and Seals, to bring them into a Share of the Redemption-money.

By this Time, or before, he had gotten, I know not how, one of thoſe Inſtruments by which we grant Places in our Hoſpitals of *Croydon* and *Canterbury*; they are written in an expanded Sheet of Paper, with a Margin broad enough to receive the Seal which we uſe on thoſe Occaſions, and which was uſually placed about the Middle of the Inſtrument. This Margin he tore off, with my Subſcription under it, finding Room enough above it to croud in a Licence to beg in three Dioceſes, which I wonder any Man ſhould take to be mine; both becauſe I had upon all Occaſions refuſed to give, even worthy Perſons, Licence to beg; and becauſe I could not (mean as I am) be reaſonably thought ſo ſilly as to beſpeak three Dioceſes in ſo wretched a Stile, and in ſuch a wretched Scroll of Paper.

However, this groſs Sham, improbable as it was, prevailed with many of my Friends, and he drained a great deal of Money from them, till ſome one (I have forgot who) ſeized that miſerable, pitiful Slip of torn Paper (the moſt contemptible that ever had the Impudence to ſet up for a Metropolitical Reſcript, ſince the Order came firſt into the World) and ſent it to me, which was the firſt Notice I ever had of his Practices.

After this, for ſeveral Years I heard not one Word of *Robert Young*, nor knew what was become of him, till at length enter Mrs. *Jones* (in Truth, as it proved *Young*'s Wife, or worſe) pretending to be the Wife of a Clergyman in my Dioceſe, then a Priſoner for a vaſt Debt, carrying in her Hand a Letter of mine, wholly forged, to deſire the Contributions of the Biſhops and Clergy for his Enlargement. I knew I had no ſuch Clerk in *Kent*, and though ſhe changed the Name to *Smith*, I think of *Aſhford* in *Kent*, yet ſtill about ſhe went with forged Letters, applying herſelf to my particular Friends, who, with their Clergy, were very bountiful to her. When I had Notice of it, I diſavowed the Letters, as I had Reaſon, there being manifeſt Characters of Forgery upon them; and ſent to the Biſhop of *St. Aſaph* to lay Hold of her, and ſend her up to *London*, but ſhe eſcaped us.

Whilſt ſhe was at Work ſo far off, *Young* himſelf was playing the like Pranks in my native Country, where he got a great deal of Money; but, coming to *Bury St. Edmonds*, Dr. *Battely*'s Brother, a Magiſtrate there, obſerving his Impudence, ſent for a Conſtable, and brought him and his Quean, who by this Time was come to him, before the Recorder, *&c.* by whom, upon Examination, they were impriſoned there. You have the Copies of the Examinations, and his original Letters and Confeſſions to me; and alſo Copies of the Informations againſt him, that he ſwore in Priſon he would have my Blood; but how he got out of Priſon (unleſs it were becauſe no Body proſecuted him) Dr. *Battely* can better inform you than I, to whom therefore I refer you.

My Lord, thus far I have gone, out of my Deſire to ſerve you, and ſhall be ready in any Particular to give Satisfaction, as my old weak Memory will inable me; for I confeſs I moſt earneſtly long to ſee this foul Impoſtor detected, and Right done to ſo many innocent Perſons, whoſe Ruin he hath ſought in the baſeſt Manner. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Freſingfield, Aug. 24, 1692.

To the Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter.

As far as my Intelligence goes, the only Puniſhment which the Authors of all theſe laſt groſs Cheats ſuſtained, after they had found them ſo long a Time ſucceſsful, was, that they were purſued through *England* by theſe two Advertiſements in the printed *Gazettes* of the Year 1687.

Advertiſement in the *Gazette*, *Sept.* 22, 1687.

WHereas a Woman, pretending to be the Wife of *R. Jones*, Rector of *Aſhford* in *Kent*, hath gone about *England* and *Wales*, begging the Charity of ſeveral Perſons, for the Relief of her ſaid Huſband, whom ſhe pretended to be in Priſon for Debt; and hath both forged ſeveral Letters, as from his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to ſeveral Biſhops, and received ſeveral Sums of Money. Theſe are to give Notice, That there is no ſuch Perſon as *R. Jones* Rector of *Aſhford*, and that his Grace never wrote any ſuch Letters. It is therefore deſired, that, if the ſaid Woman can be met with, ſhe be apprehended, and dealt with according to Law.

Advertiſement in the *Gazette*, *Oct.* 6. 1687.

WHereas a Woman, pretending to be the Wife of *R. Jones*, Vicar of *Aſhford* in *Kent*, and now in Priſon for Debt, and one who calls himſelf *Smith*, and pretends alſo to be Vicar of *Aſhford*, have forged ſeveral Letters as from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and, begging up and down in ſeveral Parts of *England* and *Wales*, have received ſeveral Sums of Money. Theſe are to give Notice, that neither of theſe Men is Vicar of *Aſhford*, and that the Archbiſhop never wrote any ſuch Letters. It is therefore deſired, that, if the ſaid Perſons can be met with, they be apprehended, and be dealt with according to Law.

But how they got clear of this ill Affair, whether they ſuffered any corporal Puniſhment for their going under the Names of *Jones* and *Smith*, as they had done for thoſe of *Green*, I am not yet certainly informed. For the preſent I am rather inclined to believe that they eſcaped unpuniſhed, becauſe the meek Archbiſhop *Sancroft* would not permit them to be proſecuted in his Name; for which they have ſince well rewarded him.

But this I only ſpeak upon Conjecture; and the Truth is, it is impoſſible that the World ſhould ever have an exact Account of Mr. *Robert Young*'s whole Life, unleſs he himſelf would be pleaſed to write the Counter-part of his Story.

But it was not long after this, that *Robert Young* and *Mary* took the ſhort Turn they had at *Bromley*; which was indeed ſo ſhort, that they were vaniſhed thence before I knew of their being there. Only as to the Man's ill Character, during that Time, and his frequent Boaſting of his Abilities in Forgery, I am furniſhed by a worthy Gentleman, my Neighbour, with the enſuing Certificate:

THeſe are to certify, that, during the ſhort Time of Mr. *Robert Young*'s Officiating at *Bromley-College*, which, as I remember, was about ſix Weeks, he went under an ill Character of his wicked Living; particularly I have heard him brag, before Mr. *Roman* and others, that he could counterfeit any Man's Hand in *England*.

Witneſs my Hand the 1ſt of *Sept.* 1692.

Walſingham King.

Now, becauſe this is the proper Place, I have here ready for my Reader, as I promiſed him, the intire Letter which *Robert Young* wrote out of *Newgate*, to the Widows of the College at *Bromley*; whereof I cited before ſome honeſt Truths, and quaint Expreſſions:

Madam,

BEgging your Pardon for this my rude Attempt, I humbly crave Leave thus to ſet forth my preſent miſerable Condition unto you, and all the reſt of the worthy Gentlewomen belonging to that College, to whom, I hope, you will communicate this. I have been almoſt twelve Months a Priſoner, confined, deſtitute of Friends, Money, *&c.* ſo that it hath been purely the Providence of God that hath hitherto ſupported me. I thank God my Confinement was not occaſioned either by Murder or Felony, or any ill Thing; but an *Iriſhman*, (whom I pray God forgive) ſwore againſt me, that, by Vertue of Bills, I raiſed Money for the Uſe of King *James*. Now, to make you ſenſible that I never acted any ſuch Thing, and that thoſe Things, which were laid to my Charge, were as falſe as Hell; you may remember, that, during my Abode among you, and amidſt the worſt of Times, I was one who ſtood up for the Vindication of the Church of *England*, and altogether againſt the *Roman* Catholicks; whereas, if I had not a Member of the Church of *England* been, then was the Time (when Authority was on my Side) to lift up my Head; yet,

at

at the ſame Time, as you can all bear me Witneſs, I ſtood in the Gap againſt their Doctrine and clandeſtine Actions: All which, methinks, is ſufficiently demonſtrable, that they have laid to my Charge Things that I know not of; yet for the ſame a Fine was laid upon me, under which I now labour, to the great Diſquiet of my Soul, and the Starving of my natural Body, which, if not ſupported, will ſuddenly (being not able to ſubſiſt any longer) be transformed into its firſt Matter. May it therefore pleaſe you, and all the vertuous Gentlewomen of that College, ſo far to caſt a compaſſionate Eye on my moſt miſerable and deſpicable Condition, as to extend your charitable Benevolence toward my Enlargement here hence, and ſend it me this Week by a truſty Hand. The Reaſon why I begg it this Week, is becauſe I have employed one to remove me to the *Kings-bench*, where I expect my Freedom, and, in the mean Time, ſome Employ, whereby to keep Soul and Body together; but, if continued here, I ſhal periſh out of pure Want: Therefore I hope you will putt on Bowels which are human, and lend your helping Hand to a fallen Brother. I pray God incline your Hearts to do Things for God's Glory and the Good of the Church; and I beg Leave to remain

Your moſt humble Servant,
and affectionate Brother in the Lord,

Robert Young.

My moſt humble Service to you all in general, whom I pray God keep and ſupport now and for ever.

I have lately given me 30*s.* toward my Removal to the *King's-bench*, but it will coſt 4 *l.* Direct for me at the Maſters Side Debtors, in *Newgate*, *London*.

For Mrs. *Young*, or Mrs. *Craige*, Widows, or any other Widows of the College in *Bromley* in *Kent*.

I am now attending *Robert Young* in his next Stages to *St. Albans* and *Litchfield*, where he managed his Buſineſs for a Time without *Mary Hutt*, and ſome Time in Concert with her, and both Times like himſelf.

The Seaſon, indeed, of his Coming to, and Acting in theſe Places was, of all others, moſt proper to conceal the impudent Knaveries he practiſed there, and in the Parts thereabout, it being towards the latter End of the Year 1688, and the Beginning of 1689 (the very Time when all Men's Minds were amuſed with greater Matters, and intent upon the Revolution of the Government, which happened during that Interval) for, as it is uſually found, that the little mean Thieves and Pickpurſes are wont to have the greateſt Harveſt in Places where there is the greateſt Buſtle and Croud, and where they find moſt Quarrels and Frays; ſo this great Rogue could not wiſh for a fitter Occaſion to eſcape unperceived in his Cheats, than when there was ſuch an univerſal Combuſtion in all Parts of the Nation, and when Men were generally more ſollicitous to ſave their Lives, than their Pockets.

And, accordingly, he made Uſe of this Opportunity, both at *St. Albans* and *Litchfield*, to the beſt Advantage for his Deſigns; ſo that I find a World of new Matter riſing up before me, both that City, and that Town, and all thoſe Countries reſounding, to this Day, with the Noiſe of his and his pretended Wife's Forgeries, and other their lewd Pranks.

But, out of mere Compaſſion to my Reader, and, indeed, Wearineſs in myſelf, I will reduce, into as narrow a Compaſs as I can, that Part of their Hiſtory, which elſe, perhaps, would have proved more copious, than any of the reſt.

It may therefore ſuffice, that I only give ſome few undoubted Proofs, to juſtify what I have already affirmed of his Behaviour at *St. Albans*, and at *Litchfield*. *Firſt*, Here are two Letters to give an Account of his general Converſation at *Litchfield*; and then ſeveral other Letters and Informations concerning the notorious Forgeries, which he practiſed on Mr. *Clark* of *Northampton*, Mr. *Mathew* of *Daventry*, and Mr. *Olds* of *Coventry*; and alſo the Depoſitions of *Robert Young*'s own Servant, and *Mary Young* herſelf at *Litchfield*; and, *laſtly*, the forged Bills and Letters of Advice, by which they accompliſhed all theſe Cheats.

Firſt, A Letter to me, concerning *Robert Younge*'s Life, during his Stay at *Litchfield*, from a reverend Clergyman of that Cathedral.

My Lord, Litchfield, July 23, 1692.

I Received this Morning your Lordſhip's of the Twentieth Inſtant, and have here incloſed as much, as the Shortneſs of Time would permit, of *Young*'s Carriage in this Place. I ſhall be glad, if this may help to clear the Innocent, and detect the Fraud of Villains.

Robert Young, who pretended to be an *Iriſh* Clergyman, and to have good Church-preferment in *Ireland*, and a conſiderable Temporal Eſtate, lived for ſome Time in *Litchfield*, and lodged with one *Morton*, who kept a publick Houſe.

During his Being here, he was obſerved to have Store of Gold and Silver, and ſome Plate.

He kept his Man and two Horſes, and rode often Abroad, but, as many obſerved, more like a Highwayman, than a Divine. Before he left this Place, he went to lodge at a private Houſe, where the Gentlewoman's Maid was debauched, and, ſome ſay, by him.

He made Love to a Gentleman's Daughter in *Tamworth*, and, in all Likelihood, had married her, if a Woman had not come hither, whom he owned to be his Wife.

It is ſaid, he would have given his Man Money to have killed this Woman, whom he owned to be his Wife; which when the Man refuſed to do, he attempted to kill him.

He was arreſted here firſt for Debt, and afterwards for Taking Bills of Exchange out of the Mail, and, from this Priſon, was removed to *Newgate*. There is one Mr. *Mathew* at *Daventry*, who, as I hear, can give more Account of *Young*'s Rogueries. I am

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

L. A.

Secondly, The Subſtance of a Letter to Sir *R. R.* from a Perſon of Worth and Credit at *Litchfield*, to the ſame Purpoſe as the former:

S I R,

I Have made the utmoſt Inquiry I can into *Young*'s Behaviour, while he was at *Litchfield*, which was not above a Quarter of a Year, or thereabouts. When he came firſt hither, he was very full of Money and Plate; pretended to be a Dean in *Ireland*, and to have a plentiful Eſtate there, and to have brought the Money and Plate thence. So ſoon as he became a little acquainted, he began to inquire out for a fit Perſon to make him a Wife, and preſently fell in League with a Woman at *Tamworth* (who was to have a Thouſand Pounds to her Portion) and had prevailed with her to marry him, as he himſelf boaſted; but, while it was *in fieri*, there came a Woman hither, who ſaid ſhe was was his Wife, and who, doubtleſs, was ſo; and the Villain, as his Man reported, would have hired him to have killed her, and, upon his Refuſal, endeavoured to kill him. Before he came to *Litchfield*, it ſeems, he had been for ſome Time at *St. Albans*, where, by courting the Poſt-maſter's Daughter, he obtained the Privilege of looking into the Pacquets, and by that Means got divers Letters into his Cuſtody, which had Bills for Return of Money incloſed in them; with which he poſted his Wife to *London*, who there received a good Part of the Money. This we know by the Relation of Mr. *Olds*, a Mercer in *Coventry*, and of another Mercer in *Daventry*; the Former of which, coming hither and ſurpriſing him, while he had Money and Plate left, got as much in Value, as ſatisfied his Bill; and the Latter, being ſent hither by him, in two or three Days after, ſeized his Perſon, and got him committed to the Town-gaol, and thence removed him to *London*, where he was tried, and convicted of theſe and ſome other ſuch roguiſh Practices, and pilloried for them.

Sir, I am, &c.

Thirdly, A Letter to me from Mr. *Alleſtree*, Miniſter of *Daventry*, touching *Robert Young*'s Demeanor at *Litchfield*, and particularly his Forging Bills of Exchange, under the Names of Mr. *Olds* and Mr. *Mathew*.

My Lord, *Daventry*, *Sept.* 20, 1692.

I Have, in Obedience to your Lordſhip's Deſires, inquired concerning the Villainies that *Robert Young* has perpetrated here, and made this Place the Stage thereof, and I am furniſhed with ſuch unqueſtionable Intelligence, and ſuch Abundance of Matter of this Kind, that does ſufficiently diſcover the Diſpoſition of the Man, and the Pravity of his Mind, that he is prepared by Nature, Cuſtom, or Indigence, for any Sort of Wickedneſs: So that knowing certainly the many Cheats he has

has acted here, and in our Neighbourhood, without Compunction or Remorse, it is no Wonder to me, that, by Degrees, he is risen at last to attempt the Life of others, by the Trade of Forgery, and Swearing Men into Treasonable Acts and Associations.

About the latter End of the Year 1688, we were alarmed with the News of a notorious Cheat that had been practised upon Mr. *Shipton* in *Friday-street*, by a Villain who had forged the Hand of Mr. Justice *Mathew*, of this Town, and copied his Letters so exactly, that he himself could not discover the Difference by the Strokes of the Pen, or disown the Writing upon View, but only by being conscious to himself that he had never written, or set his Hand to any Paper of that Moment and Importance; so that Mr. *Shipton*, who was his Correspondent in *London*, was easily imposed upon by the Similitude of Hands, and paid two-hundred Pounds upon a pretended Bill drawn upon him from Mr. *Mathew*. When the following Post gave Notice of the Payment of the Money, and also of the Order that was followed therein, all Endeavours were speedily used to apprehend and discover the Impostor, and many Journies were undertaken into several Countries, in Pursuit of him; but all Inquiry and Search for the Detection of the Theft, and of the Author, were fruitless and unsuccessful, till it happened, after some considerable Distance of Time, that, the News of this Cheat spreading far and wide, one Mr. *Olds* of *Coventry* sent Word to Mr. *Mathew*, that he had been formerly cheated of fourteen Pounds, that he had discovered the Rogue that had forged his Hand, and that he had given him Satisfaction for his Money. He did not know but this might be the Man that had put the like Trick upon him in a greater Sum, and referred it to his Consideration, whether it would be worth his while to go so far as *Litchfield* for Enquiry and Satisfaction. It will not be improper in this Place, my Lord, to trace Things from the Beginning, and examine how Mr. *Olds* came by this Intelligence, that helped him to the Recovery of his Money; the Cheat that was put upon him was of an ancient Standing, and he had been a long Time under the Sense of the Loss of his Money, without any Expectation ever to retrieve it. Now this *Young*, who had practised these Rogueries upon him, and divers others, and by these Frauds had lined his Pockets with a competent Sum, both of Gold and Silver, repairs to *Litchfield* in a decent Habit; pretends himself an *Irish* Protestant and Refugee, one that was persecuted for Righteousness, and had lost all for the Sake of the Gospel. The Dean and Prebendaries believe him, and receive him with a great deal of Civility, Charity, and Humanity, permitting him to preach in their several Courses, that so their Benevolence to him might be greater, and seem like an Act of Justice, and the Discharging of a Debt.

In this Pomp, with all Manner of Accommodation, he resides a long Time among them at *Litchfield*, and follows the Sports that were suitable to the Season, whilst his Wife, by his Instructions, is carrying on her usual Cheats at *London*. Now having represented himself a Batchelor, he made his Court to a young Woman, and had advanced far in her Esteem; but the Detection of his Rogueries broke off the Intrigue. For, his Wife sending him Word that she was coming down to him, he went forth one Morning with his Servant (who carried his Gun after him) a Shooting, and there proposed to him the Killing of her, offering him a great Reward for his Pains. But, the Motion being rejected with Abhorrence, he threatened to be revenged of him, and cut his Throat.

The Man, believing his Master was very serious in his Threatenings, and that he would accomplish his Malice, when Privacy and Night favoured him, run away from his Service; and knowing the Cheat, that had been acted upon Mr. *Olds*, repaired as fast as he was able to *Coventry*, to give him Notice of it; and he accordingly went down to *Litchfield*, charged Mr. *Young* with the Forgery, who, rather than he would hazard the Losing of his Credit and his Station with the Prebends, gave him Satisfaction immediately.

And now, my Lord, I am arrived at the Point of Time, which made Way for the Discovery of Mr. *Mathew*'s Cheat; the Account of which I will choose to give you in his own Words, and insert in the Body of this Letter:

'About the latter End of *February*, 1688, 'one *Mary Young* had a Bill of nine Pounds 'on Mr. *Shipton*, which said Sum she received 'the Fourth of *March* following, of him, at 'the *Seven Stars* in *Friday-street*. On the 'Nineteenth,

'Nineteenth, and on the Twenty-firſt of the 'ſaid *March*, both my Letters of Caſh Con-'cerns were opened, tranſcribed, and coun-'terfeited; and Advice given of a two-hun-'dred Pounds Bill, which was alſo counter-'feited; upon which Mr. *Shipton* paid to the 'ſaid *Mary Young* two-hundred Pounds, the 'Twenty-ſecond of *March* following. *Robert* 'Young lay at *St. Albans*, as was ſuppoſed, 'and, by corrupting the Poſt-maſter there, had 'Opportunity of counterfeiting my Letters: 'Some Time after, the ſaid *Mary Young* was 'taken at the *Maiden-head* and *Three Kings* in *Cheapſide*, with a counterfeit Bill on Mr. *Billers*, pretended to be drawn by Mr. *Joſeph Olds* of *Coventry*: She was then charged 'with the Cheat ſhe had put upon Mr. *Ship-'ton*, and was committed to *Woodſtreet Comp-'ter*, from whence ſhe removed herſelf to the *King's-Bench*, in *Southwark*, and, when the 'Fire broke out there, made her Eſcape.

'About the Tenth of *December* following 'I heard of their being at *Litchfield*, and im-'mediately went down Poſt; came thither 'about Twelve at Night, and in the Morn-'ing beſet the Houſe where *Robert Young* 'lodged; and, after above an Hour's Search, 'found him in the Cellar hidden under a Stack 'of Furze. At his firſt Apprehenſion he 'owned the Cheat, and offered his Globes 'and Books for Satisfaction; but, they being 'refuſed, he denied all. His Wife alſo ſaid, 'before the Magiſtrate, that was the firſt 'Time ever he had ſeen her, though his Ser-'vant ſwore that they had lived Years toge-'ther, and that ſhe had borne him ſeveral 'Children. From *Litchfield* they were brought 'to *London*, and tried the Fifteenth of *Janu-'ary*, 1689, where, upon full Evidence, they 'were found guilty of Cheating and Forgery; 'and were ſentenced to ſtand in the Pillory in '*Cheapſide*, and at the *Royal-Exchange*, and 'fined one-hundred Marks; the firſt Day of 'the Term following to ſtand in the Pillory 'in *Weſtminſter*, and fined one-hundred Marks 'more: His Wife the ſame Puniſhment, but 'her Fine was but twenty Marks.

My Lord, I ſhould be very glad, *&c.* as being

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

Charles Alleſtree.

Fourthly, A Letter from Mr. *Mathew*, a Juſtice of the Peace, confirming the former Relation as to his Part in it:

Mr. *Alleſtree*,

I Have given my Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter* as full an Account of that Raſcal *Young*, as Time will permit; but, if required, can get more Particulars againſt him from *Northampton* and *Coventry*. I ſhall be very glad if I can be inſtrumental to clear my Lord from the Imputation this Villain has laid him under. Knowing how ready a great Part of the World is to ſpeak Evil (eſpecially of their Sort) of Dignities. Pray when you write to his Lordſhip, aſſure him that I am

Daventry, *Sept.* 12, 1692. *His Lordſhip's*, &c.

Benj. Mathew.

Fifthly, The Information of *Joſeph Olds* of *Coventry*, Mercer:

THE ſaid Informant maketh Oath, that Mr. *Robert Young*, the Perſon now preſent, having cheated and defrauded him of a conſiderable Sum of Money (*viz.* in *May* or *June*, 1683, by Receipt of ten Pounds, Part of a forged Bill of Exchange of one-hundred Pounds, pretended to be drawn by this Deponent upon Mr. *John Billers* of *London*; and in *Auguſt* laſt, by Receipt of thirty-four Pounds, ten Shillings, ſurreptitiouſly received by the ſaid Mr. *Young*, or Order, by intercepting two Bills of Exchange; one drawn upon Mr. *Wootton* in the *Strand*, for twenty Pounds, and the other upon *Joſeph Toovey* Cheeſemonger, for fourteen Pounds, ten Shillings) the ſaid Mr. *Olds* did take out a *Capias* out of the Court of Record in the City of *Litchfield*, and the ſaid Mr. *Young*, being privy to it, owned the Fraud, and made him Satisfaction thereof; and drew out a Letter or Note, importing an Order, directed, as this Deponent remembers, to his Wife, and thereby required her to pay a certain Number of Pieces of Gold, to the Value of about ſeven Pounds; and that the Woman now preſent, *Mary Young*, did, purſuant thereto, bring the Number of Pieces of Gold, and delivered them to the ſaid Mr. *Young*, and that the ſaid Mr. *Young* delivered them to this Deponent. This Deponent further ſaith, That Mr. *Billers* (this Deponent's Correſpondent at *London*)

London) in his Letter to him, informed this Deponent, that he had received his Letter, or rather a Copy of it, with the Advice of drawing a Bill upon him for Payment of two-hundred Pounds, at Sight, to *Sarah Harris*, which Money he had not paid, but that the Perſon that brought it was ſecured, and proved to be the ſame that cheated Mr. *Shipton* of two-hundred Pounds, under the Name of *Mary Young*, or Words to that *Effect*.

Capt. apud Civit. Litchfield ſuper Sacram. præd' Joſephi Olds, 9° die Decembr. 1689, *coram* — Joſeph Olds.

Thomas Marſhall.
Will. Marſhall.

Sixthly, The Examination and Confeſſion of *Mary*, the Wife of *Robert Young*, Clerk, late of *Wapping*, near the *Hermitage-ſtairs*, at the Sign of the *Tobacco-Preſs*. Taken the ninth Day of *December*, 1689:

City of Litchfield, *ſſ.*

THE ſaid Examinate upon Oath ſaith, That ſhe was married by Dean *Dixy* in *Ireland*, at County *Cavan*, to the ſaid *Robert Young* about nine Years in *July* laſt; and that the ſaid Mr. *Young* then kept a Grammar-ſchool there; and ſaith, That he was beneficed under the Biſhop of *Kilmore*'s Chaplain, Mr. *Crew*, in *Ireland*, and had thereby thirty Pounds *per Annum*. That ſhe hath had five Children by him, and that they are all dead. That ſhe did go, by Order from her Huſband, the ſaid *Robert Young*, with a Bill upon Mr. *Richard Shipton*, a Linnen-draper, at the *Seven-ſtars* in *Friday-ſtreet*, *London*, and drawn, in the Name of Mr. *Mathew* of *Daventry*, for two-hundred Pounds; and did thereupon demand, and receive the ſaid two-hundred Pounds, from the ſaid Mr. *Shipton*, about *February*, *March*, or *April* laſt; which Bill was delivered her by her ſaid Huſband, and the Money to him delivered by her. That her Huſband told her, he gave the Poſt-maſter of *St. Albans* ten or fifteen Guineas to open the Pacquet, and to take out ſome Letters; but the Truth of this ſhe knows not, otherwiſe than by the Information of the ſaid *Robert Young*, her Huſband. That her Huſband and ſhe came out of *Ireland* in *May* was twelve Months; but whether he was, or is in Holy Orders, ſhe knows not, but believes he is; and ſays, that her Maiden Name was *Mary Hutt*, of County *Cavan* aforeſaid.

Capt. apud Civit. Litchfield, 3 die Decembr. 1689, *coram* — *Mary Young.*

Thom. Marſhall.
Will. Marſhall.

THeſe are true Copies of the Informations taken upon Oath, at the City of *Litchfield*, before the Juſtices of the Peace of the ſaid City, againſt *Robert Young*, the Day and Year aboveſaid; which original Informations remain in the Cuſtody of me

5 *Octob.* 1692. — *R. Wakefield*, Town-clerk of the ſaid City.

THE aforementioned *Robert Young* and his Wife, being in the Cuſtody of the Sheriff of the City and County of *Litchfield*, were delivered to a Meſſenger eſpecially ſent for them, in Obedience to a Warrant under the Hand and Seal of the Right Honourable *Charles* Earl of *Shrewſbury*, *Waterford*, and *Wexford*, then principal Secretary of State; bearing Date the ſixteenth Day of *December*, 1689, by the then Sheriff of the ſaid City, about the Twentieth of the ſaid Month.

Witneſs my Hand, the 5th of *October*, 1692.

R. Wakefield,
Town-clerk of *Litchfield*.

Seventhly, The Information of *James Young*, of the City of *Litchfield*, Vintner:

THE ſaid Informant maketh Oath, That he knows Mr. *Robert Young*, Clerk, now preſent, and *Mary Young* now preſent; and that he believes her to be the ſaid Mr. *Robert Young*'s Wife, and hath known them live at *Wapping* a Quarter of a Year together, and dine together, and lie together; and that they formerly lived together in *Dublin*; and that ſhe had two Children by him there, and he owned her for his Wife, and the Children to be his; and that, ſince he came over into *England*, this Deponent lived with them, in *Wapping*, a Quarter of a Year; and that the ſaid Mr. *Robert Young* frequented the Poſthouſe in

St.

St. Albans, and that he courted the Poſtmaſter's Daughter; and that he hath heard him ſay, the Oſtler at the Poſt-houſe (called *John*) brought him up the Bags out of the Pacquet, and he opened and took what Letters he pleaſed, and hath ſent this Deponent, being then his Servant, to receive Monies upon Bills of Exchange, that he had fetched from *St. Albans*; namely, 14 *l.* 5 *s.* from a Cheeſemonger, near the *Cock* in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, *London*, and allowed 5 *s.* for the ſpeedy Payment of it; and 20 *l.* from a Man at the *Sword* and *Helmet* in the *Strand*, by another Bill, intercepted by Mr. *Young* as aforeſaid; which Bill this Deponent received by the ſaid Mr. *Young*'s Order, and delivered the Sum of 20 *l.* thereof to him. But, this Deponent having not delivered the 14 *l.* 5 *s.* to the ſaid Mr. *Young*, he ſearched this Deponent, and the ſaid Deponent hid nine Guineas, but never could find it ſince; and for that this Deponent would not go to *London* upon a Meſſage to the ſaid Mrs. *Young*, to bring her down into the Country, and hang, or drown her coming down (for which he offered this Deponent 6 *l.*) the ſaid Mr. *Young*, near *Cannoſt-Wood*, or *Weeford-Park*, charged a Gun, and attempted to ſhoot this Deponent; but, the Gun not going off upon twice Cocking, and his own Horſe ſtarting at the Snapping of the Gun, this Deponent wreſted it from his Hand, and rode away with it, till he came to *Litchfield*, and then diſcharged it, and carried it home to the *Talbot* in *Litchfield*.

Capt. & jurat. apud Civit. Litchfield, 9° *Decembr.* 1689, *coram* — *James Young*.

Thom. Marſhall.
Will. Marſhall.

Eighthly, The further Examination and Information of *James Young*; taken at *Litchfield* aforeſaid, the 14th Day of *December*, 1689:

THE ſaid *James Young* confeſſeth, that he hath heard the aforementioned Mr. *Robert Young* (during the Time that he lived with the ſaid *Robert Young*) confeſs, that the aforementioned *Mary Young* had received above 500 *l.* for him in *London* within a Twelvemonth, by Bills of Exchange, forged, and ſurreptitiouſly obtained by him, namely, 200 *l.* from Mr. *Shipton*, and 150 *l.* from ſome other Perſons, whoſe Names this Examinate hath now forgot; and that he received 30 *l.* himſelf from a Shopkeeper, and ſeveral other Sums of Money, which this Informant hath now forgot; and that he blamed this Examinate for not Receiving two other Bills, which the ſaid *Robert Young* would have had this Informant to have gone with, and demanded, and to have received. And then boaſted, that he had himſelf received the 30 *l.* abovementioned, and that he had given the Poſt-miſtreſs's Son of *St. Albans* 50 *l.* by ſeveral Times, to let him be privy to the Poſt bags and Pacquet, and that he had made Uſe of them, on theſe like Occaſions, all this laſt Summer; and that he went by the Name of *Robert Kendall* in *St. Albans*, and uſed to be there ſometimes a Week, ſometimes a Fortnight together, though his Habitation was at *Wapping*. And ſays, That when this Informant refuſed to go with the Bills, as abovementioned, the ſaid *Robert Young* called him Fool, and told him, if he were apprehended, it was but Standing in the Pillory an Hour or two; and that it was Nothing, he had ſtood in the Pillory himſelf, and had been impriſoned and laid in Bolts at *Suffolk* for a conſiderable Time.

Taken at Lichfield, *the* 14*th Day of* December, 1689, before Thom. Marſhall. — *James Young*.

THESE are true Copies of the Informations taken at the City of *Litchfield*, before the Juſtices of Peace of the ſaid City, againſt *Robert Young*, the Day and Year aboveſaid; which Original Informations remain in the Cuſtody of

R. Wakefield,
Town-Clerk of the ſaid City.

5 *Octobr.* 1692.

Ninthly, The true and the falſe Bills of Exchange, and falſe Letters of Advice, by which the ſeveral Forgeries upon Mr. *Clarke*, Mr. *Mathew*, and Mr. *Olds* were tranſacted.

Firſt, The forged Bill to Mr. *Kendall*, to pay *Robert Young* twenty Pounds, under the Name of *Robert Smith*:

Northampton,

Northampton, 10 *July*, 1688.

MR. *Kendall*, pray pay one *Thirſday* next the Sume of twenty Pounds to Mr. *John Philips*, or Order, for the Uſe of Mr. *Robert Smith* for like Valew hear receivd, and plaſe to Accounte of your reall Friend — 20--00--00

John Clarke.

This to Mr. Jonathan Kendall, *at the* 3 Pigens *in* Milke-Street, London.

The Indorſement.

REceived, the 16th of *July*, 1688, the full Contents of this Bill, being twenty Pounds, I ſay received *Per Rob. Smith.* — 20*l.*-00*s.*-00*d.*

Secondly, The true Bill of Mr. *Clarke* to Mr. *Kendall* for the ſame Sum, upon which the firſt was forged:

Northampton, *July* 10th, 1688.

MR. *Kendall*, pray pay one *Thirſday* next the Sume of twenty Pounds to Mr. *John Philips*, or Order, for the Uſe of Mr. *Robert Smith* for like Vallew hear receivd, and plaſe to Accounte of your reall Friend — 20*l.*- 00*s.*- 00*d.*

John Clarke.

This for Mr. Jonathan Kendall, *at the* 3 Pigens, *in* Milke-ſtreet, London.

The Indorſement.

July 17, 1688.

PAID Mr. *Robert Smith* the twenty Pounds back again at *Northampton*,

John Clarke.

Thirdly, The forged Bill from Mr. *Clarke* to Mr. *Kendall*, for one-hundred fifty Pounds, which *Mary Young* received under the Name of *Mary Clarke*:

Northampton, the 5th of *Octob.* 1688.

MR. *Kendall*, I pray you pay one *Tueſday* next to Mrs. *Mary Clarke* the Sume of one-hundred and fifty Pounds for like Vallew hear receiv'd, and place to the Account of your reall Freind, — 150*l.*-00*s.*-00*d.*

John Clarke.

To Mr. Jonathan Kendall, *at the* 3 Pigens *in* Milke-ſtreet, London.

The Indorſement.

REceived, the 9th of *Octob.* 1688, the full Contents of this Bill, being one-hundred and Fifty Pounds, I ſay received — 150*l.*-00*s.*-00*d.*

The Mark of
Mary | | | *Clarke.*

Fourthly, The forged Letter of Advice from Mr. *Clarke* to Mr. *Kendall*, where Notice of the one-hundred fifty Pounds Bill is inſerted:

Mr. Kendall,

I Am not a littel trubled to hear Mr. *Ridly* has not paid you as yet any Moneys; pray, if you have not yet herd from him, ſend by the ſaid Poſt, and, if that will not doe, pray let ſume Perſon attend the Concern, and what it coſts, charg to Account. Pray alſo preſ for the Bill of 5 *l.* lent Sr *Symon* —— alſo the Bill laſt ſent of Mr. *Willames* for 4 *l.* 8 *s.* I hope all will ſuddenly be paid; the Bill of 20 *l.* dew to *Will. Oldam*, as I ſent laſt *Munday*, is promiſed to be broyt to your Shop in a littel Time. I pray you ſend 3 or 4 Lines under ritt to Marchant *Porter*, if the Bill is not accepted; but my Freind gives me all Aſſurance it will be paid at the Time. My Lord is a very ſwet Youth to take up 40 *l.* of me in ſuch Sort, and now to deall ſo by me; he owes me at leſt 150 *l.* and promiſed I ſhould have Part of that ſuddenly, and now to ſerve me thus I take it ill from him, but I will right to him, and I pray you ſend me down that Note he gave me; if my old Lord ſhould know he

ſhould deal ſo by me, he would be very angery. [*I have given a Bill to Mrs.* Clarke *for* 150*l. to be paid at Sight; I intreat you to pay when ſhe comes for it.*] Alſo I have given a Bill to Mr. *Bateman* for 40*l.* to be paid Alderman *Mauſſon* in 6 Days after Sight, alſo a Bill for 25*l.* to one Mr. *Ray* in a Day or two after, or at Sight. I am your reall Freind,

John Clarke.

This for Mr. Jonathan Kendall, *at the* three Pigens *in* Milke-ſtreet, London.

Northampton, 7th of *Octob.* 1688.

SIR, this is to deſire you to ſend a Letter next Poſt to Mr. *Swan* at *Hatſon* in *Eſſecks* 5 Miles from *Braintery* of whom I had the Bill of 100*l.* payable the 14th Inſtant to Mr. *Kendall* for Uſe of Mr. *John Whittorne*, for, if you ſhould fail my Freind Mr. *Kendall* of the Moneyes about that Time, it might be a great Prejudiſh to me. Sir, I am your Freind and Sarvant,

John Clarke.

This for Marchant Porter.

Next follows the Cheat upon Mr. *Mathew* and Mr. *Shipton*, in the ſame Order.

Firſt, A true Bill from Mr. *Mathew* to Mr. *Shipton*, to pay *Mary Young* nine Pounds:

Februar 21. 88.

Mr. Shipton,

PAYE at Sight of this my Bill to Mrs. *Marey Young*, or to her Aſſines, nine Pounds for the ſame Summ receivd at the *Wheat Sheaf* at *Dentrey*, bey

Your Freind and Sarvant;

Jonathan Mathew.

At the 7 Stares *in* Fryday-ſtreet: *This.*

The Indorſement.

REceived, the 4th of *March*, 1688, nine Pounds in full of this Bill. } 09*l.* 00*s.* 00*d.*

per *Mary Young.*

Secondly, The forged Bill for two-hundred Pounds, payable to *Mary Young*:

March 18, 1688.

Mr. Shipton,

PAYE at Sight of this my Bill to Mrs. *Marey Young*, or to her Aſſines, 200*l.* for the ſame Summ receivd of her at the *Wheat Sheafe* at *Dentry*, by

Your Freind and Sarvant,

Jonathan Mathew.

At the 7 Stares *in* Friday-ſtreet, *This.*

The Indorſement.

REceiv'd, the 21th of *March*, 1688, two-Hundred Pound in full of this Bill, } 200*l.* 00*s.* 00*d.*

per *Mary Young.*

Thirdly, The forged Letter of Advice, in which, Notice of the two-hundred Pounds is inſerted:

SIR,

I Have drawne a Bill on you to pay Mr. *Sam. Bird*, or Order, 30*l.* [*and a Bill likewiſe on you to pay Mrs.* Mary Young 200*l. which pray pay her on Demand.*] Mr. *Woodward* will pay you 200*l.* at leaſt this Week or the next following. Mr. *Compton* for *Dev Wall* 100 and od Pounds for

Your humble Sarvant,

Daintry, 9 *March* 1688.

Benj. Mathew.

To Mr. Richard Shipton *at the* 7 Stares *in* Friday-ſtreet, London.

Fourthly, A true Letter of Mr. *Mathew*, in the Poſtſcript whereof forged Notice is given of the two-hundred Pounds Bill:

SIR,

BE pleaſed to pay to *William Peytue* Eſq; or Order, 66*l.* and place 7*l.* 10*s.* to Accompt of *Thomas Lucas* that I have received of him for your Uſe; who am

Your humble Servant,

Benj. Mathew.

I hope you have paid Mrs. *Mary Young* 200*l.* and Mr. *Sam. Bird* 30*l.*

Daintry, *March* 21, 1688.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Mr. *Mathew*'s Letter to Mr. *Shipton*, upon Notice of the Cheat:

Mr. Shipton,

I Have juſt now received a Letter from you, wherein you ſay you have paid 200 *l.* to *Mary Young*. I never receiv'd any ſuch Summ, nor drew any ſuch Bill, therefore have ſent *Tom* away Poſt to let you know it, that if poſſible you might retrieve it;

Your Servant,

Benj. Mathew.

My Father ſaith he never drew any ſuch Bill, and *Tom* will ſatisfy you he hath not.

Daintrey, 8 *of the Clock* Friday *Night.*

Sixthly, *Mary Young*'s Letter to Mr. *Mathew*, after ſhe had cheated him of two-hundred Pounds:

SIR,

THIS is to give you Notice, That I have borrowed on your Credit from Mr. *Shipton* 200 Ponds, and when I am able I will pay you again: The Way I got your Letter out of the Poſt-Office in *London*, was by Feeing one of the Men that carried the Letters about: And by that Letter of Advice I procured another to be write, ſo that you need not trouble yourſelf any more; I reſt,

M. Young alias *Brown*, alias *Stewart*, alias *Forbus*, alias *Boner*, *&c.*

For Mr. *Jonathan Mathew* at *Daintrey*, near *Coventary*.

Theſe at the *Wheat Sheaſe*.

Laſtly, Here are the Cheats upon Mr. *Olds* and Mr. *Billers*, all but the Bill of 20 *l.* which I have not ſeen.

Firſt, The forged Bill of 100 *l.* from Mr. *Olds* to Mr. *Billers*, *June* 12, 1683, whereof *Robert Young* only got 10 *l.*

Coventry, *June* 12, 1683.

Brother Billers,

AT Sight of my Bill, bearing Date *June* 12, be pleaſed to pay unto Mr. *Robert Young* the Sume of a Hundred Pounds, which I have received from him: I have nothing elſe at preſent, but this Letter of Advice from him, who is

Your loving Brother and Servant,

To Mr. Billers, *at the three Kings in* Cheapſide, London. *Joſeph Olds.*

June 13*th*, 1683.

REceived from Mr. *John Billers* the Sume of ten Pounds. Sir, I ſay received by me.

Rob. Young.

Secondly, A true Bill of *Samuel Croxal*, upon *Joſeph Young* to *John Billers*, for Uſe of Mr. *Olds* for 14 *l.* 10 *s. Aug.* 5, 1689. But received by *Robert Young*'s Man, upon account of a forged Indorſement:

The 5th of *Aug.* 1689.

Friend *Joſeph Young*,

AT Site of this my Bill, or ten Days after, I pray pay to *John Billers*, or Order, the Sume of fourteen Pounds ten Shillings, for the Uſe of *Joſeph Olds*: Make good Payment, and plaſe it to the Accompt of thy Friend,

At *Long-lane* End, in *Alderſgate Streate*, *London*. *Sam. Croxall.*

Indorſed thus,

PRay pay to my Man, *James Moorten*, the within Bill. As Witneſs my Hand, *Aug.* 14, 1689.

John Billers.

REceived, the 14th *Auguſt* 89, fourteen Pounds ten Shillings, being the full Contents of this Bill for my Mr. *John Billers*.

14---10---00

Per James Morton.

Thirdly, A true Bill of Mr. *Olds*, for 10 *l.* to Mr. *Billers*, *Feb.* 21, 88, for *Sarah Harris*:

For 10--00--00 *Coventry*, 21 *Feb.* 1688.

AT Sight pray pay unto Mrs. *Sarah Harris* the Summe of ten Pounds Value received of her as *per* Advice from

To Mr *John* and *Benj. Billers*, at the 3 *Kings* in *Cheapſide*, *Lond.*

Your loving Brother and Servant,

Joſeph Olds.

The Indorſement.

REceived *February* 28th, 1688-9, ten Pounds in full of this Bill.

Per Sarah S H Harris.
Her Mark.

Fourthly, A falſe Bill for 200 *l.* from Mr. *Olds*, *Aug.* 10, 1689, by which *Sarah Harris.* alias *Mary Young*, was diſcovered:

For 200--00--00, *Coventry*, 10th *Aug.* 1689.

AT Sight, pray pay unto Mrs. *Sarah Harris* the Summe of two-hundred Pounds Value, received of her as *per* Advice from

Your loving Brother and Servant,

Joſeph Olds.

Fifthly, A falſe Letter from Mr. *Olds*, wherein Advice of the 200 *l.* Bill is inſerted. *Aug.* 11, 89.

Loving Brother,

YOurs of the 6th Inſtant received-- and mind the Contents-- my Dear Wife is but poorly-- and much as was when at *Coventry*-- ſhe does continue uſing the Means went for-- the Lord ſanctify them for her Good--Pray accept and pay my 200 *l.* Bill at Sight to Mrs. *Sarah Harris*, or Order, Nº 78. Value of herſelf. Mr. *Watſon* does not as yet accept the 15 *l.* Bill--ſays muſt firſt write to *London*, where has Money lays, and, if can get it paid there, ſhall know next Week, with kind Reſpects and Service to you and my Siſter. Reſt, in ſome Haſt,

For Mr. *Benj. Billers.* at the 3 *Kings* in *Cheapſide.* *Yours*, Joſeph Olds.

Coventry Aug. 11, 1680.

Perhaps, my Reader may wonder why I have been ſo accurate in ſetting down at large all theſe true and forged Bills of Exchange, and Letters of Advice. But the Reaſon is, I have had, for ſome Time, and have now at this preſent all the Originals of them in my Keeping: I have ſhewn them to very many Perſons of great Sagacity, both of the Nobility and Clergy, both of Scholars and Merchants: And, after an exact View and Compariſon of them diſtinctly, Line by Line, Word by Word, Letter by Letter, I muſt ſay, all that have ſeen them were ſtrangely aſtoniſhed at the ſurpriſing Similitude between the falſe Writings and the true: And they have done *Robert Young* this Juſtice, as to pronounce them all to be great Maſter-pieces of Forgery.

For my Part I will only add, That, ſince he could perform all this only with two Hands, how many Names ſoever he had, moſt certainly Woe would have been to all the Citizens and Traders of *England* by falſe Bills of Exchange; Woe to all the Noblemen, Biſhops, and Gentlemen, by falſe Plots and Aſſociations, if once *Robert Young* could have had his Wiſh, and been another *Briareus* with an hundred Hands, which I aſſure my Reader is no Flight of mine, but his own in his Letter from *Bury* to Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, Page 227.

My Reader having, by this Time, found that *Robert Young* had ſo often deſerved *Newgate*, will now, I ſuppoſe, be glad to ſee him brought thither to his own Home.

But firſt (according to the Courſe of my Method) I muſt ſhew that he was ſent for up from *Litchfield* for treaſonable Practices againſt the Government, which was done by this following Warrant from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*:

Charles *Earl of* Shrewsbury, Waterford, *and* Wexford, &c. *One of the Lords of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council, and Principal Secretary of State.*

THeſe are, in his Majeſty's Name, to authoriſe and require you (taking a Conſtable to your Aſſiſtance) to ſearch for, ſeize, and apprehend the Perſons of *Robert Young*, *Mary Young*, and *James Young*, for dangerous and treaſonable Practices againſt the Government, and them to bring before me, to anſwer to ſuch Matters as ſhall on his Majeſty's Behalf be objected againſt them: And, for ſo doing, this ſhall be your Warrant. And herein all Mayors, Juſtices of the Peace, Conſtables, and other his Majeſty's Officers Civil and Military, are to be aſſiſting to you. Given at the Court at *Whitehall* the 16th Day of *December*, 1689.

To *Henry Legat*, one of the Meſſengers of his Majeſty's Chamber in Ordinary. *Shrewsbury.*

Robert Young, and *James Young*, } Left in Cuſtody, the 30th of *December*, 89, by Mr. *Legat.*

By

By Vertue of this Warrant we find Mr. *Legat*, the Meſſenger, brought *Robert* from the Gaol at *Litchfield*, to the *Gate-houſe* in *Weſtminſter*; whither, as ſoon as he came to Town, he procured his Priſoner to be removed. For, being more cautious than ſome other Meſſengers ſince, he would not charge himſelf with the ſafe Keeping of ſo dangerous a Gueſt, as he ſoon perceived him to be.

By the Way, Mr. *Legat* himſelf has told me of one Paſſage, in their Journey up, which, I believe, my Reader will thank him for. It is, That *Robert Young* deſired him to ſtop and call at a little Alehouſe upon the Road, where they found a very old mean Fellow, who (as *Robert* declared) was his Father; and, which is yet more ſtrange, the old Fellow owned him to be his Son.

And, ſince that Time, Mr. *Legat*, being in *Ireland*, met by Chance the ſame old Man in the Streets of *Limerick*, after it was delivered up to the *Engliſh*. Whereupon, taking Acquaintance again with him, by Inquiry, he found that he went about in that Country, getting a poor Livelihood by profeſſing himſelf to be a Fortune-teller and a Conjurer. So that thus far we have a pretty Account of *Robert Young*'s Genealogy, down from the Duke of *Lenox* to the *Iriſh* Conjurer.

From the *Gate-houſe* (as I have already ſaid) he was removed by the Lord Chief Juſtice's Order to *Newgate*: Where, if my Reader, and I myſelf, were not quite tired with him, I have Plenty of Inſtances to prove that he was always the ſame. One I will give:

During his being Priſoner there, whilſt none queſtioned but he was in Holy Orders, he clandeſtinely married a Fellow Gaol-bird of his to a young Heireſs. For which vile Fact, ſo eſteemed even in *Newgate*, being more ſeverely treated than before, he wrote Captain *Richardſon* a Letter under his own Hand, which I have ſeen; wherein he tries to excuſe himſelf for ſo great a Crime, by an Argument that is ſomewhat ſingular, and may be reckoned as one of his moſt ingenious Shifts.

It is to this Senſe, 'Do not you (ſays he) 'Noble Captain, allow any Artificer and 'Handicrafts-man, that you have here in 'Priſon, to work at his own Trade, to keep 'himſelf from Starving? And why then ſhould 'I be denied to get Bread for me, and my 'Wife, by making Uſe of my Function?'

But, to return to that which is more pertinent to my Purpoſe, in *Newgate Robert* and *Mary* were kept, till they were tried, and condemned, for the Forgeries above-mentioned; as the Records here enſuing will ſhew, though I produce but one a-piece for each of them, for Brevity's Sake.

London. ſſ. *Deliber. Gaol. Domin. Regis & Regin. de Newgate tent pro civitat. Lond. apud Juſtice Hall in le Old Bayly, London. die Mercur. (ſcilt.) 5° decimo die Januarii An. Regni Dom. noſt. Will. & Mar. nunc Regis & Regin. Angliæ, &c. Primo.*

ROBERT Young *, alias Smith, fin. Cent. & committitur, *&c.* & ponatur ſtare, in & ſup. Pillor. uno die Cornhill prope Excambium London. & al. die in Cheapſide, London. ab hora undecima ante merid. uſq; hor. prim. poſt merid. in utroq; eorund. ſeparat. dier. cum Papir. ſcript. ſupra caput ſu. oſtenſ. offenſ. ejus, & tunc reducatur ad Newgate in ea ſalv. Cuſtod. quouſq; fin. ſu. prædict. ſolverit.

MARY Young †, fin. xx^{li} & committitur, *&c.* & ponatur ſtare ſup. ſedile ante & prope Pillor. uno die in Cornhill prope Excambium London. & al. die in Cheapſide London. ab hor. undecima ante merid. uſq; hor. prim. poſt merid. in utroq; eorund. ſeparat. dier. cum Papir. ſcript. ſupra Caput ſu. oſtenſ. offenſ. ejus, & tunc reducatur ad Newgate in ea ſalv. Cuſtod. quouſq; fin. ſu. ſolverit.

Thus *Robert Young* and his Wife again paſſed their well-known Road of the Pillory. But being brought back to *Newgate* for Want of paying their Fines; to inable them thereunto, he fell at laſt upon this damnable Contrivance

* For Cheating Mr. *Kendal* of twenty Pounds, by a counterfeit Bill of Exchange, by him forged in the Name of Mr. *Clark*. † For Cheating Mr. *Shipton* of two-hundred Pounds, by a counterfeit Bill of Exchange, in the Name of Mr. *Mathew*.

of

of an Aſſociation, as the Conſummation of all his Villainies.

I have already told by what Means he came to be ſo skilful in Archbiſhop *Sancroft*'s Hand, and mine; how he got a Pattern whereby to forge my Lord *Cornbury*'s, his Lordſhip cannot remember. But my Lord *Salisbury*'s, and my Lord *Marlborough*'s, he obtained partly by the ſame Craft as he did mine: That is, by writing to my Lord *Marlborough* under his true Name of *Robert Young*; to my Lord *Salisbury* under the Name of *Robert Yates*, to inquire of the Character of ſome Servants they never had: To which falſe Letters they alſo unawares returned true Anſwers, under their own Hands; which he thereupon falſified.

In the ſame Manner he procured Sir *Baſil Firebrace*'s Hand, by ſending him a civil Letter, under the feigned Name of *Robert Varner*, a Juſtice of Peace at *Marlow* in *Buckinghamſhire*, and earneſtly recommending to him a wild Son of his for an Apprentice; profeſſing he would not ſtick at any Money, if Sir *Baſil* would take him under his Care: Withal 'deſiring an Anſwer from him under his Hand 'by the Bearer, his Man;' which he had: And thereupon Sir *Baſil* was entered into the Aſſociation.

But, leſt my Reader ſhould think that the ſingle Framing of one Aſſociation was Employment enough in Matters of State, for ſo fertile a Brain, and ſo artificial a Hand as *Robert Young*'s, during the whole two Years and four Months that he lay Priſoner in *Newgate*; I have one Story more to tell of him, and then I ſhall have done: As indeed I well may; for after this Aſſociation, and this other Story of the like Nature I am going to relate, I think it may juſtly be concluded, That ſcarce ever any mortal Man has reached to a deeper Pitch of Infernal Wickedneſs.

The Story is this: Shortly after my being cleared at *Whitehall*, I went to *Lambeth*, to viſit my ancient moſt honoured Friend, my Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and to thank him for the very kind Offices he had done me at Court during my Affliction. That being over, I told him, I was going to my Lord *Nottingham*, to requeſt, that my two falſe Witneſſes might be brought to Trial, and undergo the Juſtice of the Government. His Grace encouraged me to do ſo, and withal bid me tell my Lord *Nottingham*, as from himſelf, this Story, which I will ſet down, as near as I can remember, in his own Words: Near ſix Months ago, about *Chriſtmas* laſt, ſays my Lord Archbiſhop, I received a Letter from this *Robert Young* out of *Newgate*, to let me know there was a pernicious Plot going on againſt their Majeſties, which was laid as deep as Hell; and he had had the good Luck to diſcover it; deſiring me ſpeedily to acquaint the King with it. At firſt, the Information coming from ſuch a Place, I took little Notice of it. But he ſhortly wrote me other Letters to the ſame Purpoſe; and at laſt ſent me Letters full of Treaſon, pretended to be written by ſome of the greateſt Men in *England*. The Hands I did not know; but then I thought it concerned me, as a Privy-Counſellor, to acquaint his Majeſty with the whole Matter. I did ſo. The King read over *Young*'s Letters to me, and thoſe treaſonable ones that he had ſent me; and then his Majeſty very generouſly ſaid, Really, my Lord, theſe Papers may reſemble ſome of theſe Perſons Hands, but I do not in the leaſt diſtruſt them; I am confident they are innocent, and this is a Villainy; and therefore I will not have them diſturbed upon this Account. And ſo, ſaid my Lord Archbiſhop, I carried Home my Bundle of Intelligence again, and, ſealing the Papers, laid them up in my Cloſet, where they ſtill remain; and I pray tell my Lord *Nottingham*, that, when their Majeſties ſhall command, I am ready to produce them, with the very Inſcription I put upon them at that ſame Time: *Letters and Papers from* Robert Young, *who is a very Rogue*.

And here indeed I had reſolved to give the Rogue over. But, when I was juſt concluding, there happened a new Diſcovery, relating ſtill to my Share in this Buſineſs; ſo very remarkable, that I cannot, without manifeſt Injury to myſelf and my Reader, deprive him of the Knowledge of it: I mean *Robert Young*'s freſh Attempt to ſuborn one *Holland*, in order to revive the fallen Credit of his forged Aſſociation.

I ſhould be very loth, by what I am going to ſay, to foreſtal or miſreport the King's Evidence againſt him. But the Reality of this groſs Subornation having been ſworn to at *Hicks*'s Hall, where I myſelf was an Ear-witneſs, as well as many worthy Gentlemen, and great Numbers of other Perſons, I know not how it were poſſible for me to make a Se-

cret

eret of it, if I would: And, the Story ſo much conducing to ſhew the extreme Madneſs and implacable Rage of the Villain, when he was brought to his laſt Shifts, I think I have great Obligation upon me to make it publick.

Now the Evidence, in this Matter, conſiſting partly in the Diſcourſe *Young* himſelf had with *Holland*, to draw him in to be a perjured Witneſs in this profligate Cauſe; and partly in the Inſtructions *Young* ſent him in Writing to ſwear by. I will ſet down, as near as I can, a very brief, but faithful Abſtract of the Subſtance of both; it being to both that *Holland* publickly took his Oath. And to the Truth of the Inſtructions, being written in *Young*'s own Hand, Mr. *Aaron Smith* alſo ſwore at the ſame Time, and unqueſtionably proved it, by comparing that Paper with a whole Handful of Letters he had received from *Young* himſelf out of *Newgate*.

It ſeems, then, that, during the long Time of *Young*'s being in *Newgate*, he became acquainted with one *Holland*, a Priſoner likewiſe there; *Young* for Forgery, *Holland* for Debt.

Some Time after *Blackhead* had confeſſed before the Lords of the Council, *Young* ſent for this *Holland* to the Meſſenger's Houſe, where he lay confined: And knowing him to be very poor, and thence judging, by himſelf, that he was the more likely to embrace any wicked Deſign, broke the Buſineſs to him in this Manner:

Mr. *Holland*, ſays he, it is moſt certain there is a helliſh Plot againſt the Government: The Story you may have heard, of the Aſſociation, is true to a Tittle: I ſhould have clearly made it out, had not the cowardly Rogue *Blackhead* forſaken me, being bribed by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and frighted by ſome great Men at Court, who are alſo themſelves as deeply engaged in the Deſign. Now, if you will come in to aſſiſt me in the Proof of it, we ſhall be made for ever; I ſhall have a thouſand Pounds (ſo the lying Knave boaſted) and you ſhall have half of it. And I think, Mr. *Holland*, 500 *l.* will do no Hurt to a Man in your Circumſtances.

By my Faith you ſay true, Mr. *Young*, replied *Holland*, ſuch a Sum would come very ſeaſonably to me at this Time. But what Work am I to do for it?

It ſhall be only your Part, anſwered *Young*, to ſwear, that you ſaw the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, ſign the Aſſociation.

But, ſaid *Holland*, How can I make a probable Story of it? Seeing I never ſaw the Aſſociation, I know none of the three Lords you ſpeak of, nor can I imagine where to fix the Place or Time of ſigning it, or any of the other neceſſary Circumſtances.

As for all that, ſaid *Young*, I will ſend you Inſtructions by my Wife, of the Particulars you are to ſwear to. For, Mr. *Holland*, I would not have you come hither yourſelf often to me. I have here divers Spies upon me: And beſides, this damned *Blackhead*, who has deſerted me, lies juſt over Head, in this ſame Meſſenger's Houſe.

But, as for the Aſſociation itſelf, I will now deſcribe you the exact Shape of it. Then, calling for a Sheet of Paper, he folded it into the ſame Faſhion: Only, ſays he, you muſt remember that the Aſſociation is written in great thick Paper.

Next, he repeated to him the Heads and principal Matter of it: Then ſhewed him in what Order the Names were ſubſcribed. Here, ſays he, is the late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Hand uppermoſt, towards the Right Side: Next under that, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s: Under his the Lord *Cornbury*'s: Over-againſt the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s to the Left, is firſt the Earl *Salisbury*'s, then ſtill to the Left the Earl of *Marlborough*'s, and ſo of the reſt; pointing to the Place of every particular Name very expertly.

I alſo well remember, That, in the Inſtructions, there was a Liſt of ſeveral other Names, that were not in the original forged Aſſociation; which, no Doubt, were put in, towards the Framing of more new falſe Aſſociations; as, before I intimated, moſt certainly was his Intention, if this had gained Credit.

But, for the Perſons, added *Young*, you muſt get a View of them as ſoon as you can. And (as far as I can recollect, all that follows was in his Paper of written Inſtructions) The Earl of *Saliſbury*, when in Town, is at his Houſe in the *Strand*; when in the Country, at *Hatfield* in *Hartfordſhire* beyond *Barnet*. The Earl of *Marlborough* is ſo well known about *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s, that you will eaſily find where he dwells. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* is to be ſeen either at his Houſe at *Bromley* in *Kent*, or at *Weſtminſter*, where he is Dean.

And

And as for the Place, and Time, and Company; you muſt ſwear, That you ſaw theſe three Lords, on ſuch a Day (mentioning a particular Day, which I have forgot) come to the *Lobſter* Ale-houſe in *Southwark*: That they came in white Camblet Cloaks, with Cravats about their Necks: That the Sign was, their Inquiring for the Number THREE: That then they were conducted up Stairs into a back Room; and there, in the Preſence of you, and me, and Captain *Lawe* (I think alſo he named one or two more) they ſigned the Aſſociation: Then, delivering it to Captain *Lawe*, they ſaid, Captain, We pray, make Haſte about to get this Paper ſpeedily ſubſcribed by the reſt, who, you know, are concerned; and that then theſe three Lords threw down their Twelvepence a piece, and ſo went their Ways.

I know my Reader, upon Sight of all this ſtrange Stuff, cannot forbear Smiling: Which, perhaps, it is not decent for me to make him do, ſo near the End of this Tragedy.

But it is none of my Fault: I only, as near as I am able, relate the ſimple Truth. Moſt certainly it was ſworn, That *Holland* communicated all this to the Secretary of State: And, being examined by ſome Lords of the Council, affirmed it all upon Oath: And I am ſure, that, upon Oath alſo, he repeated it all, before the Juſtices of the Seſſions, and the Grand Jury of *Middleſex*, on the Day that the Bill of Forgery and Subornation of Perjury was found againſt *Blackhead* and *Young*.

And beſides, that, which to me confirms the Truth of *Holland*'s Teſtimony beyond Contradiction, is, That every Word of the Inſtructions was undeniably written by *Young*'s own Hand; which, by this Time, I hope my Reader will take me to be a competent Judge of.

For, ſince I begun my Knowledge of him, on the 13th of *June* laſt, I have ſeen ſo very many Papers of his own Hand-writing, (I mean his true Hand, not his falſe) that, now I may preſume to ſay, I think myſelf as well ſkilled in knowing his Hand, as he is in counterfeiting mine.

I cannot, therefore, ſee how he can poſſibly be excuſed from ridiculous Folly, as well as ſhameleſs Subornation, in this laſt ſo very ſubtle an Intrigue.

I muſt therefore, upon this Occaſion, crave his Leave to apply one certain general Obſervation to *Robert Young* in particular, That there was never yet a very great Knave, but he proved, ſome Time or other, as great a Fool.

I have now, in good Earneſt, done with *Robert Young*. But, when I reflect on what I have been doing all this While, I am almoſt out of Countenance at it. It vexes me, that, whilſt my happy Deliverance might have ſuggeſted to me ſo many better and more uſeful Thoughts, both in regard to the Publick, and my own private Part in it, I ſhould be ſo long diverted another Way, to follow this impious Wretch, through one Kingdom to another, from Gaol to Gaol, from Pillory to Pillory.

Nor could I have ſubmitted to ſo mean a Taſk, had not ſome good and great Men thought it neceſſary, not ſo much for my own Vindication, much leſs for my own Revenge, the Thoughts of which are far below me as a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop; as for the Security of other innocent Perſons: And that this might be ſome Warning to my Country, in Time to come, againſt the like wicked Forgeries, Subornations, and falſe Plots.

It is indeed ſomewhat ſtrange, that when the Laws of *England* are ſo watchful, and jealous (perhaps more than the Laws of any other Kingdom) in defending the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, from all Injuſtice, Fraud, and Oppreſſion; yet they may ſeem not to have been equally careful, not ſo much as the Laws of moſt of our neighbouring Nations, in providing ſeverely enough againſt that worſt Sort of Perjury, which reaches to the Taking away of Men's Lives.

For my Part, I can aſſign no other Reaſon of this Defect, but the ſame for which the *Romans* had for ſome Ages no Laws againſt Parricides; that is, That the ancient Simplicity and Generoſity of the *Engliſh* Nation did never imagine any *Engliſh* Men could poſſibly be guilty of ſuch diabolical Wickedneſs, as to turn Accuſers for the Sake of Accuſing, and in cold Blood, by Perjury, to deſtroy innocent Men, to whom they were utter Strangers, and who had never in the leaſt provoked them.

I am inclined to believe, That this was the Cauſe why our Country has been hitherto deficient in Laws of this Kind, at leaſt ſince the Conqueſt.

But if we conſider the different Degrees of the Offences themſelves, How can it poſſibly

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be thought a Crime of the ſame Magnitude, to ſwear a Man falſely out of a Part (a ſmall Part perhaps) of his Goods and Eſtate, as to ſwear him falſely out of his Life, his Honour, his very Name, as well as his whole Eſtate; as in the Caſe of High Treaſon? Yet, by all our Laws now in Being, if I am not miſinformed, the Penalties of theſe greateſt of Perjuries are not much heavier than thoſe which are inflicted for the leaſt.

And what Temptation muſt this be to Forſwearers, in Matters of State eſpecially, when the Reward is like to be conſiderable, if they carry their Point ſo far as to have their falſe Plots believed to be real; and on the other Hand, the Penalties cannot by Law be very grievous, ſhould they be detected of Swearing to Plots moſt impudently falſe? Eſpecially conſidering, that ſuch infamous Perſons, knowing they are ſafe from extraordinary Puniſhment, particularly from Puniſhment by Death, have uſually no great Dread of the Shame, or Pain of the ordinary Ones, ſuch as Pilloring and the like; as having, perhaps, been often inured to them before.

To prove what I ſay, I need alledge no other Example but this of *Robert Young*. My Reader finds he has ſtood in the Pillory more than once for ſeveral petty Forgeries: Petty I call them, only in Compariſon to this. And what a mighty Buſineſs were it now, if for Contriving the final Ruin of ſo many guiltleſs Perſons, and their Poſterity, by the baſeſt Means, *Robert Young* ſhould be adjudged once more to ſtand in the Pillory?

Or what would it have availed me, or my Family, in this World at leaſt, ſhould I have died, as guilty of Treaſon, by this Villain's falſe Teſtimony, if afterwards, upon the Detection of his Perjury (as I am perſuaded God would not have ſuffered ſo horrid a Villainy to proſper, or remain long undiſcovered) I ſay, what great Comfort or Compenſation had it been to my Family, and my Friends, if, after my unjuſt Execution, they had heard that the wicked Author of it had ſtood once more in the Pillory, and, perhaps, loſt the Tip of his Ear?

Wherefore may it not well become the Prudence of our Lawgivers, upon Occaſion of ſo notorious an Inſtance, together with ſome others within our Memories, to review, once for all, the Laws now in Force againſt Forgery and Perjury? And then to adjuſt the diſtinct Puniſhments a little more proportionably to the different Guilt, and the ſeveral Degrees of theſe Crimes; for the Future, I mean: God forbid I ſhould propoſe, that any ſuch Law ſhould have a Retroſpect, even upon *Blackhead* or *Young*.

But I preſume to urge this the rather, at this Time, becauſe of the common Saying, 'That ill Manners make good Laws;' that is, as I underſtand the Proverb, they render the Making of them to be neceſſary: And, if this be true, perhaps, there was never yet any one Age, ſince the *Engliſh* were a Nation, when the ill Manners of falſe Witneſſes, their frequent Subornations, Perjuries, and Forgeries have more deſerved to be reſtrained by ſome good new Laws, than this very Age, wherein we live.

I could heartily wiſh ſo great a Benefit might accrue to the Publick, by the happy Diſcovery of this inhuman Deſign, ſo as to deter ill Men from Attempting any more ſuch; then I ſhould think my own Troubles more than enough recompenſed, I ſhould even rejoice in the extreme Peril, to which I myſelf was thereby expoſed.

But, however that ſhall happen, I am ſure there is another Uſe of this ſignal Providence, which, by God's Grace, it is in my own Power to make, and, if I do not, I ought to be eſteemed as the moſt ungrateful of Men to the Heavenly Goodneſs; that is, if I do not render it the chief Buſineſs of my whole Life to return ſome ſuitable Thanks to Heaven for it.

I hope I may ſay, without Vanity, That, perhaps, it is hard to meet, in ſome whole Ages, with many Examples, wherein the Divine Favour has ſnatched any private Perſon out of ſuch imminent Danger, with a more viſible Hand, than it has done me out of this.

Why may I not be allowed, in all Humility, to ſay thus much? Since it is ſo manifeſt, that the Deſtruction, or Preſervation of me and mine, did depend upon the Clerk of the Council's Turning to the Right-hand, or to the Left, when he entered to ſearch my Houſe at *Bromley*.

By God's Mercy and Direction, he turned to the Left; there examined all Places ſo curiouſly, as to paſs by no Corner unobſerved, yet he found nothing on that Side worthy the Obſervation of one that came on ſuch an Errand.

Whereas,

Whereas, had he chanced to turn, *chanced* do I ſay? I cannot believe, that any Thing fell out by Chance, in this whole Buſineſs; but, had God permitted him to turn on the Right hand, the firſt Room he had entered was that very Parlour, wherein was depoſited the fatal Inſtrument of my Death; nor could he have miſſed it, but muſt have immediately lighted upon it, conſidering the punctual Inſtructions, he had received, to ſearch all the Chimnies, and the Flower-pots in them.

And, had he once found it, the Writing itſelf, ſo nearly reſembling my own Hand, and taken in my Dwelling-houſe, had ſoon overwhelmed me with ſuppoſed Guilt, without any farther Need of *Blackhead*'s, or *Young*'s Aſſiſtance.

For, in ſo great a Surprize, and Conſciouſneſs of my own Innocency, Whom had I to accuſe, or ſuſpect, but only Mr. *Dyve* and Mr. *Knight* themſelves, for having put the Aſſociation into the ſame Flower-pot, whence I had ſeen them take it out? And this, indeed, had been another Aggravation of my Misfortune, That I ſhould have been forced to impute ſo vile a Treachery to Perſons as innocent in this, as I myſelf was in the Aſſociation.

Moreover, let my Reader but recollect the particular Time, when all this happened, and I need mention no other Proof, or Circumſtance of the marvellous Greatneſs of my Danger, and Eſcape.

It was in the Beginning of *May* laſt, a Time when, perhaps, there was as great a Conſternation, both in Town and Country, as was ever known in *England*; the *Engliſh* Fleet was ſcarce yet out of the River; the *Dutch*, for the moſt Part, at Home; the *French* in the Mouth of the Channel, and only kept back by contrary Winds; a terrible Invaſion hourly expected from *France*; the Army beyond Sea, that ſhould have defended us; a real Plot and Confederacy by many whiſpered about, by the common People believed; many Perſons of great Quality impriſoned upon that Suſpicion; all Men's Minds prepared to hear of ſome ſudden Riſing, or Diſcovery.

In ſuch a critical Time of publick Terror and Diſtraction, How very little Evidence would have ſufficed to ruin any Man, that had been accuſed with the leaſt Probability of Truth? And how, then, had it been poſſible for me to have ſtood the Torrent of common Fame and Paſſion againſt ſo great a Notoriety of Fact, had that Paper of a pretended Aſſociation been really found in my Houſe?

What Tumult and Rage had been on all Sides of me, upon ſuch a Diſcovery! How fitly had ſuch a Story ſerved to inflame the Generality of Men againſt me! How long a Time muſt it have been, before the ſtill Voice of Innocency could be heard!

Would it not have been ſaid, 'Can he deny 'it to be his own Hand? Are not the Hands 'of the reſt well known? Was it not found 'in his Houſe? In ſo ſecret a Place there? 'Who could have laid it there, but himſelf?' This, certainly, had been the univerſal Clamour.

But, above all, What a miſchievous Advantage had this given, to the Enemies of the Church of *England*, to inſult and triumph over it, on my Account! And that, in Truth, had more ſenſibly and deeply wounded me, than any Thing elſe, which could have befallen myſelf.

But God prevented all this, by covering, if I may ſo ſay, the *Hand-writing* againſt me in my Chimney, as long as the Finding of it there might have been to my Deſtruction; and then, by ſuffering my Accuſers to fetch it thence, and produce it in ſuch a Time, and in ſuch a Way, as could only tend to their own Confuſion.

To God, therefore, my only Deliverer, be the Praiſe: And, as I doubt not, but all good and innocent Men, for the common Sake of Innocency vindicated, will receive this Account of my Deliverance with Kindneſs and Good-will, ſo I do moſt ſolemnly oblige myſelf, and all mine, to keep the grateful Remembrance of it perpetual and ſacred.

The

The Biſhop's Potion: Or, A Dialogue, between the Biſhop of *Canterbury* and his Phyſician; wherein he deſireth the Doctor to have a Care of his Body, and to preſerve him from being let Blood in the Neck, when the Sign is in *Taurus*. Printed in the Year 1641. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

Canterbury.

WElcome, good Mr. Doctor?

Doctor. I underſtand, by one of your Gentlemen, your Grace was pleaſed to ſend for me?

Cant. Not without Cauſe, good Mr. Doctor, for I find myſelf diſeaſed in all Parts, inſomuch that, without ſome ſpeedy Remedy, I cannot long continue; I have a great Deſire to take Phyſick, in Caſe the Time of the Year be ſeaſonable?

Doct. Yes, the Time of the Year may be ſeaſonable, but we muſt have a Care of the Conſtitution of your Lordſhip's Body, the Nature of the Diſeaſe, and the Quality of the Medicine. Our Cordials, Potions, Electuaries, Syrups, Plaiſters, Unguents, Clyſters, Vomits, Baths, Suppoſitories, and the like, muſt be duly regarded, with a due Care what Planet is predominant.

Cant. I approve your learned Skill, good Mr. Doctor, in having Reſpect to the Conſtellations, for I am of Opinion, which the Brethren, forſooth, call Superſtition, if I be let Blood in the Neck, when the Sign is in *Taurus*, I ſhall certainly bleed to Death.

Doct. That may very well be, unleſs your Surgeon have a more ſaving Skill than my Lord Deputy's had: But I pray, my Lord, let me ſee your Grace's Water, for by it I ſhall eaſily perceive the State of your Body?

Cant. Reach that Urinal there: Look you, Mr. Doctor, this Water I made laſt Night, after my firſt Sleep; What do you think by it?

Doct. My Lord, your Water is a moſt thick, denſe, ſolid, heavy, almoſt ragged, putrid, ſtinking, and rotten Urine; your Grace hath kept a very bad Diet; there are certain raw Crudities, that lie heavy and undigeſted upon your Stomach, which will, without Remedy, and that ſpeedily, aſcend ſo high, until it ſtifle and ſuffocate your Grace.

Cant. I pray, good Mr. Doctor, uſe your Skill, in Removing them; I muſt confeſs I owe a Death, which I would be loth to pay, before it be due; wherefore, if it be within your Power to prolong my Life, ſpare no Coſt for the effecting it.

Doct. My Lord, it is within the Power of my Art to prolong your Life, in Caſe it be not cut off untimely. I have here prepared a Vomit for your Grace, which, I doubt not, but will have a ſpeedy Operation; down with it, my Lord, fear not, it will bring ſomething up by and by, and ſee, it begins to work already.

Cant. Hold my Head, good Mr. Doctor, Oh, Oh!

Doct. Well done, up with it, my Lord: What is here? A great Piece of Parchment, with a yellow Seal to it, the Writing is obſcure, I cannot read it: But what is this that comes next? A Root of Tobacco; I proteſt it is pure *Spaniſh*; How comes this to paſs, Had your Grace any Hand in the Tobacco-Patent?

Cant. Yes, it hath ſtuck on my Stomach theſe four Years at leaſt, and I could never digeſt it before. Hold the Baſon.

Doct. What is this? A Book, *Whoſoever hath been at Church may exerciſe lawful Recreations on the* Sunday; What is the Meaning of this?

Cant. It is the Book for Paſtimes on the *Sunday*, which I cauſed to be made: But hold, here comes ſomething, What is it?

Doct. It is another Book, the Title is, *Sunday no Sabbath*; Did you cauſe this to be made alſo?

Cant. No, Dr. *Pocklington* made it, but I licenſed it.

Doct. What, he that looks ſo like a Necromancer; he that was, for his Pains, preferred beſides his Benefices? But what is this? A Paper. It is, if I be not miſtaken, a *Star-Chamber* Order made againſt Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton*, and Dr. *Baſtwicke*; Had you any Hand in that?

Cant. I had, I had, all *England* knoweth it: But, Oh! here comes ſomething that makes my very Back ach; Oh! that it were up once; now it is up, I thank Heaven; What is it?

Doct. It is a great Bundle of Papers, of Preſentations, and Suſpenſions; theſe were the Inſtruments, my Lord, wherewith you created the tongue-tied Doctors, and gave them great Benefices in the Country, to preach ſome twice a Year at the leaſt, and, in their Place, to hire ſome Journeyman Curate, who will only read a Sermon in the Forenoon, and in the Afternoon be drunk with his Pariſhioners for Company; and, with others, you ſilenced the long-winded Miniſters.

Cant. I muſt confeſs, it is true: But here is ſomething that pains me extremely; Oh! that it were up, this troubles me more than all the reſt; ſee what it is, good Doctor, for it is up.

Doct. Why, my Lord, the Book of Canons, charged with the horrible Monſter.

Cant. Now I am pretty well at Eaſe: But I pray, Mr. Doctor, What was this made of?

Doct. Why, my Lord, three Ounces of Tobacco, three Scruples of Pillory-powder, one Scruple of his Brains that looked over *London Bridge*, and three Handfuls of the Herbs gathered by the Apprentices, wrapped up in a high Commiſſion Roll, and boiled in a Pottle of Holy-Water, to the third Part, and ſtrained through a Pair of Lawn Sleeves.

Cant. Nay, if this be your Phyſick, I will take no more of it: Oh! there comes ſomething elſe; I proteſt, the Mitre; alas! I had almoſt broke my Lungs.

Doct. Nay, if the Mitre be come, the Devil is not far off: Farewell, good my Lord.

A Speech ſpoken in the Houſe of Commons, by the Reverend Father in God, *Robert*, Lord Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. Being brought to the Bar to anſwer for himſelf. *London*, Printed by *R. B.* for *Richard Lownds*, and are to be ſold at his Shop without *Ludgate*. 1641. *Quarto*, containing ſix Pages.

Maſter Speaker,

AS it hath been ever my Faſhion (and, in Truth, it is my Diſpoſition) to endeavour, at the leaſt, to give Satisfaction to every Man, even to the Meaneſt, that hath had any ſiniſter Conceptions of me, be it *ſcandalum datum*, or *acceptum*; ſo hath it been my Ambition, and I have ſought it with Affection (as to all Men) ſo much more to this honourable Aſſembly, eſpecially concerning the late Petition and Proteſtation exhibited unto his ſacred Majeſty, and the Lords and Peers in Parliament. But, in the firſt Place, Maſter Speaker, I am, as it becomes me, to give moſt hearty and condign Thanks to the noble Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of this honourable Houſe of Commons, for that they have been pleaſed, by a general Vote, and, I hope, unanimous, to give me Leave to ſpeak for myſelf, and to lay open the Truth of my Cauſe, concerning the ſaid Petition and Proteſtation before them.

And now, Maſter Speaker, to addreſs myſelf to the Buſineſs, whereof I ſhall not ſpeak as a Lawyer, for I have no Head for Law, neither ſhall I need to touch upon any Point thereof; nor as a flouriſhing Orator, as deſirous to hear himſelf ſpeak, I have long ſince laid aſide my Books of Rhethorick: My Deſire is, Maſter Speaker, to tread in the Steps of an old Divine, of whom *Sozomen* writes in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, who, groaning under the like heavy Burthen and Accuſation as I do, choſe rather to vent his own Senſe, and expreſs the Truth of his Cauſe in plain Language,

guage, than to colour or cloak Falſhood, and to extenuate his Offence, by forced, trapped, and new varniſhed Eloquence: And to that Purpoſe, my Conceptions and Narration ſhall ſtand only upon two Feet, Negation and Affirmation. There are ſome Things that I muſt deny, and, yet juſtly, ſomewhat I muſt affirm, and that I ſhall do ingenuouſly and fully. Firſt, for the Negative: I never framed, made, nor contrived, compiled, or preferred, any ſuch Petition or Proteſtation; I never was at any Meeting, Conſultation, or Conference, about any ſuch Buſineſs; nay, I never heard of any Intention, much leſs Execution of any ſuch Thing, until it was the *Wedneſday* in *Chriſtmas*, being the 29th of *December*, at which Time it was brought unto my Houſe in *Covent-Garden*, being betwixt Six or Seven at Night (ſubſcribed by Eleven of my Brethren) with a Requeſt, that I would ſubſcribe ſuddenly alſo. And for the Affirmation, preſuming that ſo many learned, grave, and wiſe Men, well verſed in Matters of that Nature, would not have attempted any ſuch Thing, without good Counſel, to the Endangering of themſelves, and their Brethren, and to the Diſtaſte of the Lords, and that all the reſt of the Biſhops, in or about the Cities of *London* or *Weſtminſter*, ſhould ſubſcribe thereunto, and that it ſhould not be preferred, without the Approbation, and mature Deliberation of good Counſel, and of us all: I made the Twelfth, and ſet to my Hand, which I do now acknowledge, and never denied; nay, the firſt Time that I came to the Bar in the Lords Houſe, I acknowledged that my Hand was to it, and divers of this honourable Preſence heard it ſo read unto them, out of the Journal of the Lords Houſe.

Now, Maſter Speaker, if theſe my deceived and deceiving Thoughts (to uſe St. *Bernard*'s Phraſe) have led me into an Error, the Error is either *Ex ignoraptia juris*, an Unskilfulneſs in the Law, or *Debilitate judicii*, a Weakneſs of my Apprehenſion, or elſe *Ex nimia credulitate*, out of the too much Confidence in others, not of any prepenſed Malice, or out of a Spirit of Contradiction, as the Lord knoweth. The Schoolmen tell me, that *Duo ſunt in omni peccato*, there is *actio*, & *malitia actionis*; I own the Action, the Subſcription is mine; but, that there was any Malice in the Action (to croſs any Vote, at which I was not preſent, nor never heard of) I utterly diſavow.

And therefore, Maſter Speaker, I ſhall become an humble Suitor, that I may recommend three moſt humble Requeſts, or Motions, to this Honourable Houſe.

The firſt Motion is, That you would be pleaſed to tread in the Steps of *Conſtantine*, the Chriſtian Emperor, who had ever this Reſolution, That, if he ſhould ſee *Sacerdotem peccantem*, an offending Divine, he would rather caſt his purple Garment upon him, than reveal the Offence, for the Goſpel's Sake of Chriſt.

My ſecond Motion is, That, if my Subſcription ſhall make me a Delinquent and worthy of any Cenſure, then the Cenſure may not exceed, but, at the higheſt, be proportionable to the Offence.

The third and laſt Motion is, That that of *Plautus* (after my fifty-eight Years painful, conſtant, and ſucceſsful Preaching of the Goſpel of Chriſt in the Kingdom of *England*, and in Foreign Parts) may not be verified of me: *Si quid bene feceris, levior pluma gratia eſt; ſi quid mali feceris, plumbeas iras gerunt.* And now, Maſter Speaker, I might here tender divers Motions to the Conſideration of this honourable Houſe, for favourable Conſtruction of my raſh Subſcription; I may ſay Commiſeration, but all without Oſtentation; that is far from me; but rather for the Conſolation of my perplexed Soul, for the great Affliction, Reſtraint, and Diſgrace, which I have long ſuſtained (which is far greater, than ever I endured before, and tranſcends the Dangers and Jeopardies of the Seas, and the Miſeries of the Wars, whereof I have had my Share) and partly for the Vindication of my former Reputation, Calling, and Profeſſion, which is now ſo clouded, eclipſed, and blacked in the Eyes of the World, and ſcandaliſed in the Mouths of the vulgar Multitude, that, without Reparation, and Reſtoration to my former Eſteem, I ſhall never have Heart to ſhew my Face in a Pulpit any more, wherein I have wiſhed to end my Days. But I wave them all, becauſe I will not detain you from other Occaſions of greater Importance, and deſire my Ways may be made known unto you rather by Inquiſition, than my own Relation: Only I ſhall appeal to the noble Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Dio-

ceſe

ceſe where I now live, and of the other, wherein formerly I did live, as, namely, the honourable City of *Briſtol*; which I can never name without that Title, not only in Reſpect of their Piety, Unity, and Conformity, but alſo in Reſpect of their Love, Kindneſs, and extraordinary Bounty unto me: I appeal to them for their Teſtimonies, and Knowledge of my Courſes amongſt them; nay, I appeal to the Records of the honourable Houſe, where, I am confident, after ſixteen Months Sitting, there is nothing found, that can trench upon me; neither, I hope, will, or may be.

And therefore my humble Suit is for Expedition, if you intend Accuſation; or rather for your Mediation, that I may ſpeedily return to my own Home and Cure, *to redeem the Time, becauſe the Days are evil,* as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, and to regain the Eſteem and Reputation, which I was long in getting, and long enjoyed, but loſt in a Moment; for, if I ſhould out-live (I ſay not my Biſhoprick, but) my Credit, my grey Hairs and many Years would ſoon be brought with Sorrow to the Grave.

I have done, Maſter Speaker, and there remains nothing now, but that I become a Petitioner unto Almighty God, That he will be pleaſed to beſtow upon you all the Patriarch's Bleſſing, even the Dew of Heaven, and Fatneſs of the Earth; and I end with that of St. *Jude, Mercy, Peace, and Love be multiplied unto you*; I ſay again, with a religious and affectionate Heart, *Mercy, Peace, and Love be multiplied unto you.*

The * Examination and Trial of *Margaret Fell* and *George Fox* (at the ſeveral Aſſizes held at *Lancaſter*, the fourteenth and ſixteenth Days of the firſt Month, 1663-4; and the Twenty-ninth of the ſixth Month 1664) for their Obedience to Chriſt's Command, who ſaith, *Swear not at all*: Alſo ſomething in Anſwer to Biſhop *Lancelot Andrew*'s Sermon concerning Swearing.

Thus have you made the Commandment of God of none Effect by your Tradition, Matt. xv. 6.

Printed in the Year 1664. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages.

I.

SHE was called to the Bar, and when ſhe was at the Bar, Order was given to the Gaoler, by the Judge, to ſet a Stool and a Cuſhion for her to ſit upon; and ſhe had four of her Daughters with her at the Bar, and the Judge ſaid, Let not Mrs. *Fell*'s Daughters ſtand at the Bar, but let them come up hither, they ſhall not ſtand at the Bar; ſo they plucked them up, and ſet them near where the Judge ſat: Then, after a While, the *Mittimus* was read, and the Judge ſpoke to her, and ſhe ſtood up to the Bar, and he began to ſpeak to her as followeth:

Judge. He ſaid, Mrs. *Fell*, you are committed by the Juſtices of Peace for refuſing to take the Oath of Obedience; and I am commanded, or ſent by the King, to tender it to any that ſhall refuſe it.

Margaret

* This is the 480th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Margaret Fell. I was ſent for from my own Houſe and Family, but for what Cauſe or Tranſgreſſion I do not know.

Judge. I am informed by the Juſtices of Peace in this County, that you keep Multitudes of People at your Houſe, in a Pretence of worſhiping God; and, it may be, you worſhip him in Part, but we are not to diſpute that.

Marg. Fell. I have the King's Word from his own Mouth, That he would not hinder me of my Religion. God forbid, ſaid he, that I ſhould hinder you of your Religion, you may keep it in your own Houſe: And I appeal to all the Country, Whether thoſe People that met at my Houſe be not a peaceable, a quiet, and a godly honeſt People? And whether there hath been any juſt Occaſion of Offence given by the Meeting that was kept in my Houſe?

Judge. If you will give Security that you will have no more Meetings, I will not tender the Oath to you: You think if there be no Fighting nor Quarrelling amongſt you, that you keep the Peace, and break no Law; but I tell you, That you are a Breaker of the Law, by keeping of unlawful Meetings; and again, you break the Law, in that you will not take the Oath of Allegiance.

Marg. Fell. I deſire that I may have the Liberty to anſwer to thoſe two Things that are charged againſt me: And, Firſt, For that which is looked upon to be Matter of Fact, which is concerning our Meetings; there are ſeveral of my Neighbours that are of the ſame Faith, Principle, and Spirit, and Judgment that I am of; and theſe are they that meet at my Houſe, and I cannot ſhut my Door againſt them.

Judge. Miſtreſs, you begin at the wrong End, for the firſt is the Oath.

Marg. Fell. I ſuppoſe, that the firſt Occaſion of tendering to me the Oath, was, becauſe of Meeting; but, as for that, if I have begun at the wrong End, I ſhall begin at the other: And, Firſt, Then as to the Oath, the Subſtance of which is Allegiance to the King; and this I ſhall ſay, as for my Allegiance, I love, own, and honour the King, and deſire his Peace and Welfare, and that we may live a peaceable, a quiet, and godly Life under his Government according to the Scriptures, and this is my Allegiance to the King; and as for the Oath itſelf, *Chriſt Jeſus*, the King of Kings, hath commanded me not to ſwear at all, neither by Heaven, nor by Earth, nor by any other Oath.

Judge. He called for the Statute-book, and the Grand-Jury to be preſent: Then one of the Juſtices, that committed her, ſaid, Mrs. *Fell*, You know, that, before the Oath was tendered to you, we offered, that, if you would put in Security to have no more Meetings at your Houſe, we would not tender the Oath to you.

Marg. Fell. I ſhall not deny that.

Judge. If you will yet put in Security that you will have no more Meetings, I will not tender it to you.

Marg. Fell. Spoke to the Judge, and the Court, and the reſt of the People: You all profeſs here to be Chriſtians, and likewiſe you profeſs the Scriptures; ſo, in Anſwer to thoſe Things that are laid againſt me:

Firſt (*John* iv.) *Chriſt Jeſus* hath left upon Record in the Scriptures, that God is a Spirit, and that his Worſhip is in the Spirit and Truth; and that he is ſeeking of ſuch Worſhipers to worſhip him, in which Spirit, I and thoſe that meet, in my Houſe, meet and worſhip God, in Obedience to his Doctrine and Command.

Secondly, *Mat.* iv. The ſame *Chriſt Jeſus* hath commanded, in plain Words, That I ſhould not ſwear at all; and, for Obedience to Chriſt's Doctrine and Command, am I here arraigned this Day; and ſo, you being Chriſtians, and profeſſing the ſame Things in Words, judge of thoſe Things according to that of God in your Conſciences, and I appeal to all the Country, Whether ever any Prejudice, or Hurt, thoſe Meetings did?

So, after ſhe had ſpoken of the Worſhip of God in Spirit, and Obedience to Chriſt's Doctrine and Command, *&c.*

Judge. You are not here for Obedience to Chriſt's Commands, but for keeping of unlawful Meetings; and you think, that if you do do not fight, or quarrel, or break the Peace, that you break no Law, but there is a Law againſt unlawful Meetings.

Marg. Fell. What Law have I broken for Worſhiping God in my own Houſe?

Judge. What Law?

Marg. Fell. Aye, What Law have I broken for Worſhiping God in my own Houſe?

Judge. The Common Law.

Marg.

Marg. Fell. I thought you had proceeded by a Statute. Then the Sheriff whiſpered to him, and mentioned the Statute of the 35th of *Eliz.*

Judge. I could tell you of a Law, but it is too penal for you, for it might coſt you your Life.

Marg. Fell. I muſt offer and tender my Life and all for my Teſtimony, if it be required of me. Then the latter Part of the Statute was read to the Jury for the Oath of Obedience; and the Judge informed the Jury and the Priſoner, concerning the Penalty of the Statute upon Refuſal, for it would be to the Forfeiture of all her Eſtate, Real and Perſonal, and Impriſonment during Life.

Marg. Fell. I am a Widow, and my Eſtate is a Dowry, and I have five Children unpreferred; and, if the King's Pleaſure be to take my Eſtate from me, upon the Account of my Conſcience, and not for any Evil or Wrong done; let him do as he pleaſes; and further, I deſire that I may ſpeak to the Jury of the Occaſion of my being here.

Judge. The Jury is to hear Nothing, but me to tender you the Oath, and you to refuſe it or take it.

Marg. Fell. You will let me have the Liberty that other Priſoners have, and then ſhe turned to the Jury, and ſaid —— Friends, I am here this Day upon the Account of my Conſcience, and not for any Evil or Wrong done to any Man, but for obeying Chriſt's Doctrine and Command, who hath ſaid in the Scripture, That God is a Spirit, and that his Worſhip is in the Spirit and Truth, and for keeping Meetings in the Unity of his Spirit, and for obeying Chriſt's Command and Doctrine, who hath ſaid, Swear not at all; am I here arraigned this Day: Now you profeſs yourſelves to be Chriſtians, and you own the Scriptures to be true, and, for the Obedience of the plain Words of Scripture, and for the Teſtimony of my Conſcience, am I here; ſo I now appeal to the Witneſs of God in all your Conſciences to judge of me according to that.

Secondly, You are to conſider this Statute what it was made for, and for whom it was made, for Papiſts; and the Oath was Allegiance to the King. Now, let your Conſciences judge, Whether we be the People it was made for, who cannot ſwear any Oath at all, only for Conſcience Sake, becauſe Chriſt commands not to ſwear at all.

Judge. Then the Judge ſeemed to be angry, and ſaid, She was not there upon the Account of her Conſcience; and ſaid, She had an everlaſting Tongue, you draw the whole Court after you, and ſhe continued ſpeaking on, and he ſtill crying, Will you take the Oath or no?

Marg. Fell. It is upon the Account of my Conſcience, for, if I could have ſworn, I had not been here.

Secondly, If I would not have Meetings in my Houſe, I need not to have the Oath tendered to me, and ſo I deſire the Jury to take Notice, that it is only for thoſe two Things that I am here arraigned; which are only upon the Account of my Conſcience, and not for any Evil done againſt any Man: Then the Judge was angry again, and bid them tender her the Oath, and hold her the Book.

Judge. Will you take the Oath of Allegiance?

Marg. Fell. I have ſaid already, that I own Allegiance and Obedience to the King at his juſt and lawful Commands; and I do alſo owe Allegiance and Obedience to the King of Kings, *Chriſt Jeſus*, who hath commanded me not to ſwear at all.

Judge. That is no Anſwer: Will you take the Oath, or will you not take it?

Marg. Fell. I ſay, I owe Allegiance and Obedience unto *Chriſt Jeſus*, who commands me not to ſwear.

Judge. I ſay unto you, That is no Anſwer: Will you take it, or will you not take it?

Marg. Fell. If you ſhould aſk me never ſo often, I muſt anſwer to you: The Reaſon, why I cannot take it, is, becauſe *Chriſt Jeſus* hath commanded me not to ſwear at all; I owe my Allegiance and Obedience unto him.

Then one of the Juſtices, that committed her, ſaid: Mrs. *Fell*, you may with a good Conſcience, if you cannot take the Oath, put in Security, that you may not have any more Meetings at your Houſe.

Marg. Fell. Wilt thou make that good, That I may, with a ſafe Conſcience, make an Engagement to forbear Meetings, for Fear of loſing my Liberty and Eſtate? Wilt not thou, and you all here, judge of me, That it was for Saving my Eſtate and Liberty that I did it? And do I not in this deny my Teſtimony? And would not this defile my Conſcience?

Judge. This is no Anſwer: Will you take the Oath? We muſt not ſpend Time.

Marg.

Marg. Fell. I never took an Oath in my Life; I have ſpent my Days thus far, and I never took an Oath; I own Allegiance to the King, as he is King of *England*, but *Chriſt Jeſus* is King of my Conſcience. —— Then the Clerk held out the Book, and bid her pull off her Glove, and lay her Hand on the Book.

Marg. Fell. I never laid my Hand on the Book to ſwear, in all my Life, and I never was at this Aſſize before; I was bred and born in this County, and have led my Life in it, and I was never at an Aſſize before this Time, and I bleſs the Lord, that I am here this Day upon this Account, to bear Teſtimony to the Truth.——Then they aſked her if ſhe would have the Oath read. She anſwered: I do not care, if I never hear an Oath read; for the Land mourns, becauſe of Oaths.

Judge. Then the Judge cried, Take her away.——Then they took her civilly away; and aſked her if ſhe would give Security, That ſhe would have no more Meetings.

Marg. Fell. Nay, I can give no ſuch Security, I have ſpoken enough for that.

Then *George Fox* was called before Judge *Twiſden*; being a Priſoner, the Gaoler brought him in.

Judge. What, do you come into the Court with your Hat on? — And then the Gaoler took it off.

George Fox. Peace be amongſt you all. —— And ſaid, The Hat was not the Honour that came down from God.

Judge. Will you take the Oath of Allegiance, *George Fox*?

Geo. Fox. I never took Oath in my Life.

Judge. Will you ſwear, or no?

Geo. Fox. Chriſt commands we muſt not ſwear at all; and the Apoſtle: And, whether muſt I obey God, or Man, judge thee, I put it to thee.

Judge. I will not diſpute with thee, *George Fox*. Come, read the Oath to him. And ſo the Oath was read, and, when it was read, Give him the Book, ſaid they; and ſo a Man, that ſtood by him, held up the Book, and ſaid, Lay your Hand on the Book.

Geo. Fox. Give me the Book in my Hand. Which ſet them all a Gazing, and as in Hope he would have ſworn. Then, when he got the Book in his Hand, he held up the Book, and ſaid: This Book commands me not to ſwear, if it be a Bible, I will prove it; and he ſaw it was a Bible, and he held it up; and then they plucked it forth of his Hand again, and cried, Will you ſwear? Will you take the Oath of Allegiance, yea, or nay?

Geo. Fox. My Allegiance lies not in Oaths, but in Truth and Faithfulneſs; for I honour all Men, much more the King: But Chriſt ſaith I muſt not ſwear, the great Prophet, the Saviour of the World, and the Judge of the World; and thou ſayeſt I muſt ſwear: Whether muſt I obey Chriſt, or thee? For it is in Tenderneſs of Conſcience that I do not ſwear, in Obedience to the Command of Chriſt and the Apoſtle; and for his Sake I ſuffer, and in Obedience to his Command do I ſtand this Day; and we have the Word of a King for tender Conſciences, beſides his Speeches and Declarations at *Breda*: And doſt thou own the King?

Judge. Yes, I own the King.

Geo. Fox. Then why doſt not thou own his Speeches and Declarations concerning tender Conſciences? To the which he replied nothing; but *George* ſaid, It is in Obedience to Chriſt, the Saviour of the World, the Judge of the World, before whoſe Judgment-ſeat all Men muſt be brought, that I do not ſwear, and am a Man of a tender Conſcience. And then the Judge ſtood up.

Judge. I will not be afraid of thee, thou ſpeaks ſo loud, thy Voice drowns mine and the Court's, I muſt call for three or four Cryers to drown thy Voice, thou haſt good Lungs.

Geo. Fox. I am a Priſoner here, this Day, for the Lord *Jeſus*, that made Heaven and Earth, and for his Sake do we ſuffer, and for him do I ſtand this Day; and, if my Voice was five Times louder, yet ſhould I ſound it out, and lift it up for Chriſt's Sake, for whoſe Cauſe I ſtand this Day before your Judgment-Seat, in Obedience to Chriſt's Commands, who commands not to ſwear, before whoſe Judgment-Seat you muſt all be brought, and give an Account.

Judge. Sirrah, will you take the Oath?

Geo. Fox. I am none of thy Sirrah, I am no Sirrah, I am a Chriſtian: Art thou a Judge, and ſits there to give Names to Priſoners? Thou ought not to give Names to Priſoners.

Judge. I am a Chriſtian too.

Geo. Fox. Then, do Chriſtian Works.

Judge. Sirrah, thou thinkeſt to frighten me with thy Words, and looked aſide, I am ſaying ſo again.

Geo. Fox. I ſpeak in Love to thee, that doth not become a Judge, thou oughteſt to inſtruct a Priſoner of the Law and Scriptures, if he be ignorant and out of the Way.

Judge. George Fox, I ſpeak in Love to thee.

Geo. Fox. Love gives no Names.

Judge. Wilt thou ſwear, wilt thou take the Oath, yea or nay?

Geo. Fox. As I ſaid before, whether muſt I obey God or Man, judge ye. Chriſt commands not to ſwear, and if thou, or ye, or any Miniſter, or Prieſt here will prove that ever Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, after they had forbidden Swearing, commanded Men ſhould ſwear, I will ſwear, and, ſeveral Prieſts being there, yet not one did appear.

Judge. George Fox, will you ſwear or no?

Geo. Fox. It is in Obedience to Chriſt's Commands I do not ſwear, and for his Sake we ſuffer, and you are ſenſible enough of Swearers, how they firſt ſwear one Way, then another; and if I could ſwear any Oath at all, upon any Occaſion, I ſhould take that, but it is not Denying Oaths upon ſome Occaſion, but all Oaths, according to Chriſt's Doctrine.

Judge. I am a Servant to the King, and the King ſent me not to diſpute, but he ſent me, to put his Laws in Execution, wilt thou ſwear? Tender the Oath of Allegiance to him.

Geo. Fox. If thou love the King, why doſt thou break his Word, and not own his Declarations and Speeches to tender Conſciences, from *Breda*, for I am a Man of a tender Conſcience, for in Obedience to Chriſt's Command I am not to ſwear.

Judge. Then you will not ſwear, take him Gaoler.

Geo. Fox. It is for Chriſt's Sake, I cannot ſwear, in Obedience to his Commands I ſuffer, and ſo the Lord forgive you all.

And ſo the mighty Power of the Lord God was over all.

The Appearance of *Margaret Fell* the ſecond Time, being the Sixteenth Day of the aforementioned Month, 1663-4.

Judge. 1. Mrs. *Fell*, you ſtand here indicted by the Statute, becauſe you will not take the Oath of Allegiance, and I am here to inform you, what the Law provides for you in ſuch a Caſe, *viz.*

Firſt, If you confeſs to the Indictment, the Judgment of a *Premunire* is to paſs upon you.

Secondly, If you plead, you have Liberty to traverſe.

Thirdly, If you ſtand mute and ſay Nothing at all, Judgment will be paſſed againſt you, to ſee what you will chuſe, of thoſe three Ways.

Marg. Fell. I am altogether ignorant of theſe Things, for I had never the like Occaſion, ſo I deſire to be informed by thee, which of them is the beſt for me, for I do not know; and ſo ſeveral about the Court cried, Traverſe, Traverſe.

Judge. If you will be adviſed by me, put in your Traverſe, and ſo you have Liberty, until the next Aſſizes, to anſwer your Indictment.

Marg. Fell. I had rather according to thy own Propoſal have a Proceſs, that I might have Liberty until the next Aſſizes, and then to put in a Traverſe.

Judge. Your Traverſe is a Proceſs.

Marg. Fell. May not I have a Proceſs, and put in my Traverſe the next Aſſizes, I am informed, that was the Thing that thou intended that I ſhould have.

Judge. You ſhall have it.

Marg. Fell. That is all I deſire.— Then, a Clerk of the Crown Office ſtood up and whiſpered to the Judge, and ſaid it was contrary to Law, and ſaid I muſt put in my Traverſe now.

Judge. I would do you all the Favour I can, but you muſt enter your Traverſe now.

Marg. Fell. I acknowledge thy Favour and Mercy, for thou haſt ſhewn more Mercy than my Neighbours have done, and I ſee what thou haſt done for me, and what my Neighbours have done againſt me; and I know very well, how to make a Diſtinction, for they who have done this againſt me, they have no Reaſon for it.

Judge. I have done you no Wrong, I found you here.

Marg. Fell. I had not been here but by my Neighbours.

Judge. What ſay you, are you willing to traverſe?

Marg. Fell. If I may not be permitted to have that which I deſire, that is, longer Time, I muſt be willing to traverſe, till the next Aſſizes; and that upon this Account, that I have

have ſomething to inform thee of, which I did not ſpeak on the laſt Time, when I was brought before thee: The Juſtices which committed me, they told me they had expreſs Order from Above; but they did not ſhew me the Order, neither indeed did I aſk them for it, but I heard ſince, that they have given it out in the Country, that they had an Order from the Council, others ſaid they had an Order from the King.—The Sheriff ſaid there was expreſs Order; and alſo Juſtice *Fleming* ſaid, there was an Order from the King and the Council; ſo the Country is incenſed, that I am ſome great Enemy to the King, ſo I deſire that I may have this Order read, that I may know what my Offence is, that I may clear myſelf.

Judge. I will tell you what that Order is, we have expreſs Order from the King, to put all Statutes and Laws in Execution, not only againſt you, but all other People, and againſt Papiſts, if they be complained of.

Marg. Fell. Will that Order give the Juſtices of Peace Power to fetch me from my own Houſe, to tender me the Oath?

Judge. Miſtreſs, we are all in Love, if they had an Order, believe they had one.

Marg. Fell. If they have one, let them ſhew it, and then I can believe it.

Judge. Come, come, enter the Traverſe.

Marg. Fell. I had rather have had more Time, that I might have informed the King, concerning theſe Things.

Judge. You may inform the King in half a Year's Time, ſo now let us have your Friend called up.

Then, after ſhe was gone down, the Judge called her back again and ſaid, if you will put in Bail, you may go Home, and have your Liberty till the next Aſſizes, but you muſt not have ſuch frequent Meetings.

Marg. Fell. I will rather lie where I am, for as I told you before, I muſt keep my Conſcience clear, for that I ſuffer.

The Sixteenth Day of the ſame Month, *George Fox* was brought before the Judge, the ſecond Time, where he was a little offended at his Hat, being the laſt Morning, before he was to depart away, and not many People.

Judge. The Judge he read a Paper to him, which was, whether he would ſubmit, ſtand mute, or traverſe, and ſo have Judgment paſt; he ſpake theſe and many more Words ſo very ſoftly, and in Haſte, that *George Fox* could not tell what he ſaid.

Geo. Fox. Deſired it might be traverſed and tried.

Judge. Take him away, then I will have no more with him, take him away.

Geo. Fox. Well, live in the Fear of God, and do Juſtice.

Judge. Why, have I not done you Juſtice?

Geo. Fox. That which thou haſt done hath been againſt the Command of Chriſt.

This with much more was ſpoken, which could not be collected.

And then *George Fox* was called up, the Twenty-ninth Day of the ſixth Month in the Year 1664.

At the Aſſizes holden at *Lancaſter*, *Margaret Fell* brought to the Bar, the Indictment read to the Judge, come will you take the Oath?

Marg. Fell. There is a Clauſe in the Indictment, that the Church-Wardens informed of ſomething which ſeemeth, that that ſhould be the Ground or firſt Occaſion of this Indictment, I deſire to know what that Information was, and what the Tranſgreſſion was, by which I come under this Law.

Judge. Miſtreſs, we are not to diſpute that, you are here indicted, and you are here to anſwer, and to plead to your Indictment.

Marg. Fell. I am firſt to ſeek out the Ground and the Cauſe wherefore I am indicted; you have no Law againſt me, except I be a Tranſgreſſor; the Law is made for the Lawleſs and Tranſgreſſors; and except I be a Tranſgreſſor, ye have no Law againſt me, neither ought you to have indicted me, for being that the Church-Wardens did inform, my Queſtion is, what Matter of Fact they did inform of, for I was ſent for from my own Houſe, from amongſt my Children and Family, when I was about my outward Occaſions, when I was in no Meeting, neither was it a Meeting Day; therefore I deſire to know what this firſt Foundation or Matter of Fact was, for there is no Law againſt the Innocent and Righteous, and, if I be a Tranſgreſſor, let me know wherein.

Judge. You ſay well, the Law is made for Tranſgreſſors, but, Miſtreſs, do you go to Church?

Marg. Fell. I do go to Church.

Judge. What Church?

Marg. Fell. To the Church of Chriſt.

Judge. But do you go to Church amongſt other People, ye know what I mean.

Marg. Fell. What doſt thou call a Church, the Houſe or the People? The Houſe ye all know is Wood and Stone; but if thou call the People a Church, to that I ſhall anſwer: As for the Church of *England* that now is, I was gathered unto the Lord's Truth, unto which I now ſtand a Witneſs, before this Church was a Church. I was ſeparated from the general Worſhip of the Nation, when there was another ſet up than that which is now, and was perſecuted by that Power that then was, and ſuffered much Hardſhip; and would you have us now to deny our Faith and our Principles, which we have ſuffered for ſo many Years; and would you now have us to turn from that which we have born Witneſs of ſo many Years, and turn to your Church contrary to our Conſcience?

Judge. We ſpend Time about thoſe Things, come to the Matter in Hand, What ſay you to the Oath and to the Indictment?

Marg. Fell. I ſay this to the Oath, as I have ſaid in this Place before now, *Chriſt Jeſus* hath commanded me not to ſwear at all, and that is the only Cauſe and no other; the righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth knoweth, before whoſe Throne and Juſtice ye muſt all appear one Day, and his Eyes ſees us all and beholds us all at this Preſent, and he hears and ſees all our Words and Actions; and therefore every one ought to be ſerious, for the Place of Judgment is weighty; and this I do teſtify unto you here, where the Lord's Eye beholds us all, that for the Matter or Subſtance of the Oath, and the End for which it was intended, I do own one Part, and deny the other; that is to ſay, I do own Truth and Faithfulneſs and Obedience to the King, and all his juſt and lawful Demands and Commands; I do alſo deny all Plotting, Contrivings againſt the King, and all *Popiſh* Supremacy and Conſpiracy, and I can no more tranſgreſs againſt King *Charles* in theſe Things, than I can diſobey *Chriſt Jeſus* his Commands; and by the ſame Power and Vertue of the ſame Word, which hath commanded me not to ſwear at all, the ſame doth bind me in my Conſcience, that I can neither plot nor contrive againſt the King, nor do him nor no Man upon the Earth any Wrong; and I do not deny this Oath, only becauſe it is the Oath of Allegiance, but I deny it, becauſe it is an Oath, becauſe *Chriſt Jeſus* hath ſaid I ſhall not ſwear at all, neither by Heaven, nor by Earth, nor any other Oath; and, if I might gain the whole World for Swearing an Oath, I could not, and what ever I have to loſe this Day, for not Swearing of an Oath, I am willing to offer it up.

Judge. What ſay you to the Indictment?

Marg. Fell. What ſhould I ſay, I am clear and innocent of the Wronging any Man upon the Earth as my little Child that ſtands by me here, and, if any here have any Thing to lay to my Charge, let them come down and teſtify it here before you all; and, if I be clear and innocent, you have no Law againſt me: Then Colonel *Kirby* and the Sheriff whiſpered to the Judge, and I looked up and ſpoke to Colonel *Kirby*, and ſaid let us have no Whiſpering, I will not have ſo many Judges one of one Side, and another of another, here is one Judge that is to be Judge; and the Judge ſaid No, No, I will not hear them; and then I called to Colonel *Kirby*, and ſaid if thou have any Thing to lay to my Charge, or to ſpeak againſt me, come, come down here, and teſtify againſt me; and I ſaid, the Judge repreſents the King's Perſon and his Power, and I own that.

Judge. Jury, take Notice ſhe doth not take the Oath.

Marg. Fell. This Matter is weighty to me, whatſoever it is to you, upon many Accounts, and I would have the Jury to take Notice of it, and to conſider ſeriouſly what they are going to do; for I ſtand here before you upon the Account of the Loſs of my Liberty and my Eſtate.

Secondly, I ſtand in obeying Chriſt's Commands, and ſo keeping my Conſcience clear, which if I obey this Law and King *Charles*'s Commands, I defile my Conſcience and tranſgreſſeth againſt *Chriſt Jeſus*, who is the King of my Conſcience, and the Cauſe and Controverſy in this Matter, that you all are here to judge of this Day, is betwixt *Chriſt Jeſus* and King *Charles*; and I am his Servant and Witneſs this Day, and this is his Cauſe, and whatſoever I ſuffer it is for him, and ſo let him plead my Cauſe when he pleaſeth.

And the Judge ſaid to the Jury, Are ye all agreed, have ye found it? And they ſaid, For the King.

Margaret Fell then ſpoke to the Judge, and ſaid, I have Council to plead to my Indictment; and he ſaid he would hear them afterwards

wards in Arreſt of Judgment; ſo the Court broke up for that Time; and, after Dinner when they came again, they intended to have called us at the Firſt, and they had called *George Fox* out, and was calling me; and I ſtepped up to the Bar, and deſired the Judge that he would give us Time till the next Morning to bring in our Arreſt of Judgment; and the Judge ſaid at the Firſt we ſhould, and I was ſtepping down to go my Way; and the Judge called me back again, and ſaid, Miſtreſs *Fell*, you wrote to me concerning your Priſons, that they are bad and rains in, and are not fit for People to lie in; and I anſwered, The Sheriff doth know and hath been told of it ſeveral Times; and now it is raining if you will ſend to ſee, at this preſent, you may ſee whether they be fit for People to lie in or no; and Colonel *Kirby* ſtood up and ſpoke to the Judge to excuſe the Sheriff, and the Badneſs of the Room; and I ſpoke to him, and ſaid, If you were to lie in it yourſelves, you would think it hard, but your Minds is only in Cruelty to commit others, as *William Kirby* here hath done, who hath committed ten of our Friends, and put them into a cold Room, where there was nothing but bare Boards to lie on, where they have laid ſeveral Nights, ſome of them old ancient Men above threeſcore Years of Age, and known to be honeſt Men in their Country where they live; and when *William Kirby* was aſked, Why they might not have Liberty to ſhift for themſelves for Beds? He anſwered and ſaid, They were to commit them to Priſon, but not to provide Priſons for them: And we aſked him who ſhould do it then? And he ſaid, The King. And then the Judge ſpoke to him and ſaid, They ſhould not do ſo, they ſhould let them have Priſons fit for Men, with ſeveral more ſuch like Words; and then at that Time we were returned to our Chambers again; the next Day we were called about the tenth Hour, and I ſtood up to the Bar, and ſaid I had Council there, and named them, that the Judge might aſſign them to ſpeak; and I ſaid I had two or three Words to ſpeak before them, and I ſaid, I did ſee all Sorts of Priſoners that did appear before the Judge received Mercy, what the Law would afford them; but we deſired only to receive Juſtice and Law, and the Judge ſaid what are we here for elſe? So I ſtepped down, and the Lawyers ſpoke and ſhewed the Judge ſeveral Errors, and Defects, and Places of Contradiction, and Confuſion in the Indictment; at which the Judge ſeemed to give Ear to ſome of them, others he ſeemed to wave; but he made a Pauſe and a Stop, and ſeemed diſſatisfied, and then called *George Fox*; and ſo then when he came to plead, and bringing that by which his Indictment was quite quenched; and then they put the Oath to *George Fox*. Again the Judge ſpoke to the Lawyers, and ſaid, he would conſider of thoſe Particulars they had ſpoken to, and he would ſpeak to his Brother *Twiſden* before he paſſed Judgment upon me; but, if I do paſs Judgment, you may have a Writ of Error; and the Lawyers anſwered him again, Will you paſs an erroneous Judgment, my Lord? So after they had called the Grand Jury, and tendered *George Fox* the Oath again, they returned us to our Chambers; and when they had drawn another Indictment of *George Fox*, and found it, they called us again in the Afternoon, and *George Fox* pleaded to his Indictment and entered his Traverſe; when he had done, the Judge ſpoke to me, and ſaid, If ſuch a Word had been in, which was not in mine, but it was in *George Fox*'s (and yet it was neither of thoſe Words, by which his Indictment was quaſhed) but, if that had been in mine, he ſaid he would not have paſſed Sentence, but, being that it was not there, he paſſed Sentence of *Premunire*; then I ſtood up and told him that he had ſaid to my Council, that I might have a Writ of Error to reverſe it; he ſaid I ſhould have what the Law would afford me; ſo I ſaid the Lord forgive thee for what thou haſt done, and this Law was made for Popiſh Recuſants, but ye paſs Sentence but on few of them.

Margaret Fell.

The laſt Aſſizes holden at Lancaſter, *the Twenty-ninth of the ſixth Month*, 1664.

I *George Fox*, being called before the Judge, was put amongſt the Felons and Murtherers, and there ſtood amongſt them above two Hours, the People and the Juſtices, and the Judge gazing upon me; and they tried many Things before the Judge, and they called me to the Bar, and then the Judge cauſed me to be brought, and he then cauſed the Jury to be called, and then he aſked the Juſtices whether they had tendered me the Oath at the Seſſions, and

and they ſaid they had; and the Judge cauſed the Book to be given to the Juſtices for them to ſwear, they tendered me the Oath according to the Indictment; and ſome of them would have refuſed, and the Judge ſaid he would do it to take away Occaſion, that there might be no Occaſion; and, when the Juſtices and Jury was ſworn, the Judge aſked me whether I had not refuſed to take the Oath the laſt Aſſize? And I ſaid I never took an Oath in my Life, and Chriſt the Saviour and Judge of the World ſaith, *Swear not at all*; and the Judge asked me whether or no I had not refuſed to take the Oath the laſt Aſſizes? And I anſwered, the Words that I ſaid to them was, That if they could prove either Prieſt or Teacher, or Juſtices, that, after Chriſt and the Apoſtles had forbidden Swearing, that afterwards they commanded that Men ſhould ſwear, I would ſwear.

The Judge ſaid he was not at that Time to diſpute whether it was lawful to ſwear, but to enquire whether or no I did refuſe to take the Oath.

George. Thoſe Things as concerning Plotting, and the Pope's foreign Powers, *&c.* contained in that Oath, I utterly deny.

The Judge ſaid, I ſaid well in that.

George. I ſaid to them again as before, that, if they could prove, that, after Chriſt and the Apoſtle forbad Swearing, that again they commanded to ſwear, I would ſwear; but Chriſt and the Apoſtle commanded not to ſwear, therefore I ſhould ſhew forth Chriſtianity, for I am a Chriſtian.

The Judge aſked me again, whether I denied the Oath, what did I ſay?

George. What would thou have me to ſay? I have told thee before what I have ſaid.

The Judge asked me if I would have thoſe Men to ſwear that I had taken the Oath?

George. Would thou have thoſe Men to ſwear that I have refuſed to take the Oath? At which the Court burſt out into Laughter: I aſked them if this Court was a Play-houſe: Where is Gravity and Sobriety, for that did not become them? And ſo the Indictment being read, I told the Judge I had ſomething to ſpeak to it; and I aſked him whether all the Oath was not to be put into the Indictment, and he ſaid yes; why, then, ſaid I, here is (pretended to be derived and his Heirs and Succeſſors) left out; and I aſked him whether the Oath was to be put to the King's Subjects, and he ſaid yes.

I anſwered, Why am not I put in as a Subject? But the Word (Subject) is left out of the Indictment, which is in the Oath, and ſo makes it not the ſame Oath. Jury, take Notice of it; but the Judge ſaid, I muſt ſpeak to the Jury; at which Words the Judge read the Oath, and found it was as I had ſaid; ſo he ſtood up, and ſaid he could put the Oath to me, or any Man in the Court, and ſo they began to be diſturbed in themſelves; alſo the Juſtices. And there began to be a Murmuring againſt the Clerks; and the Judge he got up, and began to cover the Error; ſo I aſked whether the laſt eleventh Day of *January* the Seſſions were kept at *Lancaſter*, which they call *Monday*, and whether or no the Seſſions was not on that they call *Tueſday*, the Twelfth of *January*; all People take your Almanacks, and ſee whether any Oath was tendered *G. F.* the Eleventh of *January*, whether the Seſſions was not upon the Twelfth; and the Clerks and People looked their Almanacks, and ſaw it was the Twelfth; and the Judge aſked whether the eleventh was not the firſt of the Seſſions, and they anſwered there was but one Day, and it was the Twelfth; and the Judge ſaid then it was a great Miſtake; and then all the Juſtices was ſtruck, and ſome of them could have found in their Hearts to have gone off, and ſaid they had done it on Purpoſe, and ſaid, what Clerk did it? And a great Stir was amongſt them; and then I ſpoke to the Jury, how that they could not bring me in guilty according to that Indictment; and the Judge ſaid I muſt not ſpeak to the Jury, but he would ſpeak to them, and ſaid they might bring me in guilty, I denying the Oath; then I ſaid what ſhould you do with a Form then, and do not go according to it? Then you may throw the Form away, and then I told the Jury that it lay upon their Conſciences, as they would anſwer the Lord God before his Judgment-ſeat, before whom all muſt be brought; and ſo the Judge ſpoke to me, and ſaid he would hear me afterwards any Reaſons I could alledge, wherefore he ſhould not give Judgment againſt me, and ſo he ſpoke to the Jury; and I bid him do me Juſtice, and do Juſtice, and ſo the Jury brought in for the King guilty.

And I told them then that the Juſtices had forſworn themſelves and the Jury both, and ſo they had ſmall Cauſe to laugh as they did a little before, and to ſay I was mad; and, before I had brought forth my Reaſons, I ſtood a

little While, and the Judge ſaid he cannot diſpute; but then the People ſaid, he is too cunning for them all, after I had brought forth my Reaſons, how contrary to their own Indictment they had done and ſworn, and brought me in guilty: Oh, the Envy and Rage, and Malice that was among them againſt me, and Lightneſs, but the Lord confounded it all, that Abundance of it was ſlain; and ſo I told them I was no Lawyer, and the Judge ſaid he would hear me what I could alledge before he did give Judgment; and ſo I cried all People might ſee how they had forſworn themſelves, and gone contrary to their own Indictment, and ſo their Envy and Malice was wonderfully ſtopt, and ſo preſently *Margaret Fell* was called, who had a great deal of good Service amongſt them; and ſo the Court broke up near the ſecond Hour: Many more Words was ſpoken concerning the Truth.

And ſo in the Afternoon we were brought up to have Sentence paſſed upon us, and ſo *Margaret Fell* deſired that Judgment and Sentence might be deferred till the next Morning; and we deſired nothing but Law and Juſtice at his Hands, for Thieves had Mercy; and I deſired the Judge to ſend ſome to ſee my Priſon, being ſo bad, they would put no Creature they had in it, it was ſo windy and rainy; and I told him that Colonel *Kirby*, who was then on the Bench, ſaid I ſhould be locked up, and no Fleſh alive ſhould come at me; and moſt of the Gentry of the Country being gathered together, expecting to hear the Sentence, but they were croſt that Time; ſo I was had away to my Priſon, and ſome Juſtices, with Colonel *Kirby*, went up to ſee it; and when they came up in it they durſt ſcarcely go in it, it was ſo bad, rainy, and windy, and the Badneſs of the Floor; and others that came up ſaid it was a Jakes Houſe, I being removed out of the Priſon which I was in formerly; and ſo Colonel *Kirby* ſaid I ſhould be removed from that Place 'ere long, that I ſhould be ſent unto ſome ſecurer Place; for he ſpoke to the Judge in the Court, ſaying, that he knew that the Juſtices would join with him; but the Judge ſaid, after I have paſt Sentence I will leave him to the Jailor; and how I was not a fit Man to be converſt with, none ſhould converſe with me; and all the Noiſe among the People was that I ſhould be tranſported; and ſo the next Day, towards the eleventh Hour, we was called forth again to hear the Sentence and Judgment; but *Margaret Fell* was called firſt before me to the Bar, and there was ſome Counſellors pleaded, and found many Errors in her Indictment, and ſo ſhe was taken by, after the Judge had acknowledged them, and then the Judge aſked what they could ſay to mine; and I was willing to let no Man plead for me, but to ſpeak to it myſelf; and, though *Margaret Fell* had ſome that pleaded for her, yet ſhe ſpoke as much herſelf as ſhe would; and though they had the moſt Envy againſt me, yet the moſt groſs Errors was found in mine; and before I came to the Bar I was moved to pray, that the Lord would confound their Wickedneſs and Envy, and ſet his Truth over all, and exalt his Seed; the thundering Voice anſwered, I have glorified thee, and will glorify thee again; and I was ſo filled full of Glory, that my Head and Ears was filled full of it; and that when the Trumpets ſounded, and the Judges came up again, they all appeared as dead Men under me; and ſo when I was to anſwer to the Errors of the Indictment, ſeeing that all the Oath, as he ſaid himſelf, was to be in, I told him there was many Words of the Oath left out, which was (pretended to be derived, and his Heirs and Succeſſors) and I bid them look the Oath, and look the Indictment, and they might ſee it, and they did, and found it according to my Words; and I aſked them whether the laſt Aſſizes holden at *Lancaſter* was in the fifteenth Year of the King, which was the tenth Day of *March*, and they ſaid, nay, it was the ſixteenth Year; then, ſaid I, look your Indictment, and ſee whether or no it is not the fifteenth Year, and then they were all of a Fret both Judge and Juſtices, for it was the fifteenth in the Indictment; then the Judge bid them look whether *Margaret Fell*'s was ſo or no, and it was not ſo: I told them I had ſomething elſe to ſpeak concerning the Indictment, but they ſaid Nay, I had ſpoken enough, ſo the Indictment was thrown out; ſo I told them that they had ſmall Cauſe to laugh as they had done a little before, for they might ſee how the Juſtices and the Jury were forſworn Men, and ſo I bid him do me Juſtice, and he ſaid, I ſhould have Law; and the Judge ſaid I was clear from all the former, and he ſtarted up in a Rage and ſaid, but he would proffer the Oath to me again; I told him they had Example enough for Swearers and falſe Swearers, both Juſtices and Jury, Yeſterday before

their

their Faces, for I ſaw before mine Eyes both Juſtices and Jury had forſworn themſelves, who heard the Indictment; and ſo he aſked me, whether I would take the Oath? I bid him do me Juſtice for my falſe Impriſonment, all this While; for what had I been Priſoner all this While for, for I ought to be at Liberty? Then he ſaid I was at Liberty, but I will put the Oath to you again: Then I turned me about, and cried, all People, take Notice this is a Snare, and all was mighty quiet, and all People was ſtruck and aſtoniſhed; and he cauſed the Grand Jury to be called, for he had called them before, when I was there, when he ſaw they would be overthrown, and the Jury would fain have been diſmiſſed; but he told them, he could not diſmiſs them, for he had Buſineſs for them, and they might be ready, when he called them, and I felt his Intent, that if I was freed he would come on again; ſo I looked him in the Face, and he was judged in himſelf, for he ſaw that I ſaw him; ſo he cauſed the Oath to be read to me again, and cauſed the Jury to be called, and then when the Oath was read, he aſked me whether I would take the Oath, or No; and, the Jury ſtanding by, I told him, I never took Oath in my Life, and he bid them give me the Book, and I bid them give it me in my Hand and I opened it; and he bid me ſwear, and I told him the Book bid ſwear not at all; again he bid me ſwear, and I told him, the Book ſaid I ſhould not ſwear, and held it open to them, and ſaid by the Book, I would prove that Men ſhould not ſwear.

And if they would prove, after Chriſt and the Apoſtle had forbidden Swearing, that afterwards they commanded to ſwear, then I would ſwear, for I was a Man of a tender Conſcience; and, if they had any Senſe of a tender Conſcience, they would conſider this; and the Judge aſked me, Whether I would take the Oath? And bid them give me the Book again: I told them, ye give me the Book to ſwear, and the Book ſaith I ſhould not ſwear at all; and ſo you may priſon the Book: The Judge ſaid, he would impriſon *George Fox*; I anſwered, nay, you may priſon the Book, which ſaith ſwear not at all; and the Sheriff and the Judge ſaid, the Angel ſwore in the *Revelations*: I anſwered, I bring forth my firſt begotten Son into the World, ſaith God, let all the Angels in Heaven worſhip him, who ſaith ſwear not at all; and the Judge ſaid often, he would not diſpute; and ſo then I ſpoke much to the Jury, how that it was for Chriſt's Sake, that which I did; and therefore none of them to act contrary to that of God in their Conſciences, for before his Judgment-ſeat they muſt all be brought; and for all thoſe Things contained in the Oath, as Plots, and Perſecuting about Religion, and the Pope's Power, *&c.* I denied them in my Heart, and I am a Chriſtian, and ſhall ſhew forth Chriſtianity this Day, and it is for Chriſt's Sake that I ſtand, for it is *Lotiſh ſhabim de Col dabor*; and they all gazed, and there was a great Calm, and they took me away; but there were many more Words, both to the Jury and to them.

Then, in the Afternoon, we was called again, where I ſtood among the Thieves a pretty While, with my Hat on, at the laſt the Gaoler took it off; and when I was called to the Bar, the Jury brought in *Guilty* for the King, and the Judge aſked me, What I could ſay for myſelf; I bid them read the Indictment, I would not anſwer to that I did not hear; and, as they read, the Judge bid them take Heed it was not falſe again; and they read it ſo amazedly, that, when they ſpoke to me, I did ſcarcely underſtand what they ſaid, and the Judge aſked me, What I would plead? I told them, I deſired to have a Copy of that Indictment, and to have ſome Time to anſwer to it, for the laſt I had but lately, and never heard it read but once, and then in the Court, and ſo the Judge aſked me, What Time I would have? And I ſaid till the next Aſſizes, and the Judge ſaid I ſhould: Then he aſked again, What I would plead? I told him I was not guilty at all of denying Swearing, Swearing obſtinately and wilfully, and thoſe Things contained in the Oath, as Jeſuitical Plots, and Foreign Powers, *&c.* I utterly denied them; and he ſaid, I ſaid well in that: And the Judge ſaid, the King was ſworn, the Parliament was ſworn, and the Juſtices and he was ſworn, and the Law was upheld by Oaths: I told them, they had ſufficient Experience of Men's Swearing; Had not the Juſtices and Jury forſworn themſelves? And had they not read the Book of Martyrs, how many of the Martyrs ſuffered, becauſe they could not ſwear, both in the Ten Perſecutions, and in *Bonner*'s Days? And the Judge ſaid, I would the Laws were otherwiſe: Then I ſaid, our Yea is Yea, and our Nay Nay, all along; and if we tranſgreſs our Yea and Nay,

let

let us ſuffer as they do that break an Oath, and ſo to deny Swearing is not a new Thing in Obedience to Chriſt's Command; and I ſaid this we had ſent to the King, who ſaid it was reaſonable: And ſo, after ſeveral more Words, I was had away to my Chamber, being, as I was before, to anſwer to the Indictment; and ſo the Truth and Power of the Lord God was glorious over all, and many Spirits was croſt grievouſly in their Envy and Malice.

There was many Things ſpoken both to Judge, Jury, and People, which were too large to mention.

And ſo the Judge told *Margaret Fell* her Sentence, and I lie upon a new Indictment.

G. F.

Something in Anſwer to Biſhop Lancelot Andrews's *Sermon concerning Swearing, being one of his Sermons upon the Third Commandment; the Place that he treats upon is in* Jer. *the* ivth, *the Words are theſe:* And thou ſhalt ſwear, The Lord liveth, in Truth, in Judgment, and in Righteouſneſs.

AND further, to prove the Lawfulneſs of Swearing, he brings *Deut.* vi. 13. *Iſa.* xlv. 23.—*Pſal.* lxiii. and laſt Ver. and how *Abraham* ſware, *Gen.* xxi. 24. and *Iſaac* ſware, *Gen.* xxvi. 31. and *Jacob* ſware xxxi. 33. and *Abraham*'s Servant ſware, *Gen.* xxi. 24. and *Gen.* xxiv. 3. and *Numb.* xxx. 3. Which, ſaith he, an Oath is to the Liſting up of a Burthen, as to the Entering of a Bond.

Firſt, He ſaith an Oath is to be uſed in ſolemn Matters, and he brings theſe Scriptures following out of the Old Teſtament to prove it, *Pſal.* cxliv. 8. *Numb.* xxx. 3. *Pſal.* cxix. 106. *Pſal.* xv. 4. 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 13. *Ezek.* xvii. 12. *Pſal.* cx. 4. *Pſal.* lxxxix. 35. 1 *Kings* xxii. 16. *Lev.* v. 1. 1 *Chron.* xv. 15. *Gen.* xxiv. 3. and xlvii. 29.

Secondly, For the Nature of an Oath, he quotes cxix. *Pſal.* 9. Ver. and *Numb.* x. and laſt Ver.

Thirdly, He ſpeaks of the Manner of an Oath, and produceth for Confirmation theſe Scriptures following, *Deut.* xii. 8. *Numb.* v. 18. *Dan.* xii. 7. *Rev.* x. 5. 1 *Kings* viii. 31. *Exod.* xxii. 8.—*Neh.* v. 12. *Numb.* v. 19. *Prov.* xxix. 24. *Judg.* xvii. 2. *Lev.* v. 1. 1 *Sam.* iii. 27. 1 *Kings* xxii. 16. *Gen.* xxv. 33. 1 *Kings* i. 13. *Jer.* xviii. 8.

Firſt, As for all the above-mentioned Scriptures which he hath quoted in the Time of the Law, and before the Law, and the Angels Swearing in the *Revelations*, do not prove that Chriſtians may ſwear; and we do grant ye the Time before the Law Men did ſwear, and alſo the Angel ſwore, *But Chriſt is come, the firſt Begotten, whom God hath brought forth into the World*, and ſaith, *Let all the Angels worſhip him: And this is my beloved Son, hear ye him*, ſaith God. And Chriſt ſaith, how that, in the old Time, Men was to perform their Oaths to the Lord; theſe were their true Oaths, which they were to perform, and they were not to ſwear falſely, but to perform their Oath to the Lord: So here Chriſt, in his Doctrines, lets them ſee the falſe Oaths and the true Oaths in the old Time; and that was the true Oath to ſwear by the Lord, and to ſwear, *The Lord liveth*; and every Tongue ſhould ſwear; and *Abraham*, and *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and *Joſeph*, and the Prophets ſware; but Chriſt is the End of the Prophets, and doth fulfil the Law, and reigns over the Houſe of *Jacob* and *Joſeph*; and, *Before* Abraham *was, I am*, ſaith Chriſt. And ſo, though they ſware before before the Law, and under the Law, and the Angel in the *Revelations* ſware, and the Angel that ſware by the Lord, as the Oath was in the Time of the Law, and before the Law; and this was the Oath that Chriſt minds them on in his Doctrine here, that they were to perform to the Lord; yet now mark his Doctrine, which he himſelf lays down and commands: *But I ſay unto you* now, *Swear not at all*, &c. *Matth.* v. 34. In the *Hebrew* Language it is, לא תשבעו בכל־דבר *But let your Communication be Yea, yea, Nay, nay; whatſoever is more than theſe, cometh of Evil:* In the *Hebrew* it is, כן והיה־דברכם כן אין אין וכל אשר יתר־מאלה מרעהוא: And, for further Proof, ſee how *James* lived in the ſame Doctrine and Practice, and held it forth to the twelve Tribes, which was the *Jews*, who had the Oath of God, and was to ſwear in the Time of the Law; ſee his general Epiſtle, in the fifth Chapter, and alſo ſpeaking, in the ſecond Chapter, of ſuch as drove them before the Judgment-ſeat; but,

in the fifth Chapter, this is his Command: *Above all Things, my Brethren, ſwear not at all, neither by Heaven, nor by the Earth.* In the *Greek* it is, Πρὸ πάντων δέ, ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ ὀμνύετε, μήτε τὸν οὐρανὸν, μήτε τὴν γῆν. This you may call *Creatures*, or *made Things*; but mark, *James* goes further, and ſaith, μήτε ἄλλον τινὰ ὅρκον, *nor by any other Oath*; *but let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay, leſt ye fall into Condemnation*; ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κρίσιν πέσητε.

Mark the Danger now, and whether we have not Ground enough, in the Fear of the Lord God, to obey Chriſt's Commands, and the Apoſtle's Doctrine, *leſt we fall into Condemnation and Evil.* We have ſet ſome Words done in the *Greek* Tongue, that thoſe, it moſt concerns, may ſee the Original; but the Spirit is our's, and the Commands of Chriſt, and the Apoſtle's Doctrine, to be obeyed, in what Tongue ſoever it be written in. But we would query the Thing with any, Whether the Apoſtle *James*, who wrote to *Jews*, and not to *Gentiles*, did not write in the *Hebrew* Tongue, and not in *Greek?* And, if ſo, then his Words to them, in this Particular, are, ועל־כל־דברים אחי אל־תשבעו לא בשמים ולא בארץ ולא באלה אחרת ויהי דברכם כן כן ואין אין פן תפלו במשפט The Pricks, Points, and Accents, and the plain and naked Interpretation of the *Hebrew* Words we have left for them, it moſt concerns, to add.

Secondly, As for all the Scriptures, he brings againſt raſh Swearing and falſe Swearing, it would rejoice our Hearts to have the Prieſts do that, and the Magiſtrates puniſh it; for a Couple of railing Prieſts came the other Day, and ſware before our Faces lightly and vainly, and juſtified it, when they had done: It would become Magiſtrates, and them, better, if they did not ſuffer an Oath to be heard in the Towns, or Markets, or Alehouſes, or Streets, you that have Power not to ſuffer thoſe Things; for you would have Work enough to reſtrain ſuch Things, and ſuch Perſons, and not to fall upon the Innocent, which, in Obedience to Chriſt's Commands, and the Apoſtle's Doctrine, cannot ſwear, for Conſcience Sake. For impriſoning ſuch emboldens People to ſwear; and, Would it not be better for People, and would ye not ſhew forth more Chriſtianity, to keep to Yea and to Nay, in all their Communications, according to Chriſt's Commands, and the Apoſtle's Doctrine?

Thirdly, There was Bond, in the old Time, by Oath; but Chriſt, he looſes from the Bonds, and brings to Peace and Liberty, and makes free, and ſaith, *Swear not at all*; and ſo, though we be in outward Bonds, it is for *Chriſt Jeſus* Sake, and the Word of God is not bound.

Fourthly, And though *Moſes* ſware in the Time of the Law, and *Abraham*'s Servants ſware, yet Chriſt, the Son, ſaith, *Swear not at all*, and we are to hear him in all Things, the great Prophet.

Fifthly, And as for the Ceremonies of the Oaths, Chriſt is the Subſtance of all Ceremonies, that ſaith, *Swear not at all.*

Sixthly, And, though *David* ſware, he, that *David* called Lord, ſaith, *Swear not at all*, and he is upon his Throne.

Seventhly, And where he ſaith, Thou ſhalt ſwear by the Lord, and ſwear, The Lord liveth, they were not to ſwear by them that were no Gods, nor Creatures, nor by the Earth, nor by Heaven, or by the Hand, or by *Jeruſalem*; Now, what are the Oaths that all *Chriſtendom* ſwears, both Papiſts and Proteſtants? Whether it be the Oath that was amongſt the *Jews*, and whether or no they practiſe the Oath that they do now, and whether or no is that Ceremony now uſed? If not, When did God alter it? Where about in Scripture, and in what Place of Scripture is it, that he ſets this Way and Ceremony of Swearing in *Chriſtendom*, both amongſt Papiſts and Proteſtants, which is to ſwear by the Book, and by the Evangeliſts? Is this beyond the *Jews* Swearing, by the City, or by the Head, or by the Temple, which Chriſt forbid, and not only thoſe Oaths, but the Oath of God, which the *Jews* was to ſwear by? Anſwer theſe Things.

Eighthly, And as for *Zedekiah*'s Oath to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *Joſeph*'s Oath to *Pharaoh*, this was in the Time that Oaths were to be performed amongſt the *Jews* and Patriarchs; and what is this to Chriſt's Doctrine which forbids Oaths, which Oaths were before Chriſt came?

Ninthly, And as for the Oath of Supremacy and the other, it is to acknowledge the King of *England*, and Allegiance to him, which Things hath been manifeſt and practiſed by us, but not by ſuch as ſwore Allegiance to the King's Father, and ſwore the one Way and the other Way: And haſt not thou, and many of you, taken the Oath againſt him? And ſuch

as

as have ſworn one While for him, and another While againſt him, How are they in Allegiance to him that ſwears one Way and another Way? And cannot there be, in Truth and Faithfulneſs, Allegiance to the King without Swearing? For now, How ſhould we ſtand in Allegiance to Chriſt, if we did not obey his Commands, the King of Kings מלך מלכים? For he commands us not to ſwear, but keep to Yea and Nay; and one of his great Ambaſſadors to Nations, that went with his Meſſage to to the twelve Tribes, ſaith, *Above all Things, my Brethren, ſwear not all, leſt you fall into Condemnation.*

Tenthly, There were two States of Oaths; the one was, that People was to perform to the Lord and ſwear; and the other was, that God ſware by himſelf concerning his Son *Chriſt Jeſus*, which, when he came who fulfilled God's Oath, he ended the other Oath, and ſaith, *Swear not at all*, and calls the firſt Oath the old Time; he fulfilled the Truth, and let them ſee how, in the Time of the Law, falſe Oaths were forbidden in the old Time, and Heatheniſh Oaths were forbidden in the Time of the Law, for they were not to ſwear by *Baal*, but they were to perform their Oaths to the Lord, which Chriſt ſaith unto them, *Swear not at all*, and ſo he ended that Oath; ſo there are no Oaths before the Fall, and there are no Oaths in the Reſtoration again by *Chriſt Jeſus*, but Yea and Nay, according to his Doctrine; but amongſt *Moſes* and the Prophets, and in the old Time before *Moſes* and the Prophets, Men did ſwear, as *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, &c. But he, the great Prophet, is come, that is to be heard in all Things, and he, the Oath of God, *Chriſt Jeſus*, ſtands and remains.

Eleventhly, The Apoſtles ſpeaking to the *Hebrews*, ſwearing by a greater, which was an End of Controverſy and Strife amongſt them, he brought this as a Similitude, not that the *Hebrews* ſhould ſwear, for, if he had, he had contradicted *James*, which wrote to the twelve Tribes his Doctrine to them, which were *Hebrews*; but he brought it as a Similitude, that the Oath, which Men ſware by the greater, ended Strife; but God, not finding a greater than himſelf, he ſware concerning his Son, which is Chriſt, who ends the Strife, who deſtroys the Devil and his Works, the Author of Strife; for the Oath, in the Time of the Law, ended the Strife; but we ſee Oaths, now-a-Days, begins it; and why? The Matter is, becauſe in *Chriſt Jeſus* Men do not live, who is the Peace and God's Oath.

Twelfthly, Whereas the Biſhop ſaith, That they hold in Divinity, that to ſwear, of and by itſelf conſidered, is an Act forbidden no leſs than to kill, &c.

Anſwer, In the Time of the Law they killed and ſwore; but Chriſt ſaith, *Swear not at all*; and alſo, he ſaith, *Love Enemies*; And how do theſe agree to kill and to love Enemies, and love one another: *And if one ſtrike thee on the one Cheek, turn the other to him.*

And this Paralleling the Magiſtrates executing Juſtice upon Malefactors; as, *He that ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed again*: Is not a Paralleling with Chriſt's Doctrine, who ſaith, *Swear not at all*, for that may be done by Witneſſes without Oath, as thou mayeſt read the Scriptures in the old Time, when Oaths were denied in the primitive Time amongſt the primitive Chriſtians, who were in Chriſt's Doctrine, thou mayeſt read how they did Things by Witneſſes; as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, in the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes, &c. Which Place he inſtances of what was done in the Time of the Law, which was a Statute of Judgment amongſt the *Jews*, *Whoſoever killeth any Perſon, the Murtherer ſhall be put to Death by the Mouth of Witneſſes*, &c. But no Oaths are mentioned here, *Numb.* xxxv. 30. with *Heb.* x. 28. read that throughout, and alſo *Deut.* xix. 15, and 1 *Kings* xxi. 10, &c. And many more Scriptures might be alledged, which you, that have read Scriptures, are not ignorant of.

Now, for the Practice amongſt the Saints, ſee *Matt.* xviii. 16. Chriſt, who bids them keep to Yea and Nay, in that Place lays down a Practice to be uſed amongſt them, in Matter of Fault and Tranſgreſſion, how it ſhould be ended by two or three Witneſſes; read the Words, That in the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes every Word ſhall be eſtabliſhed: And what, Doſt thou think that he would order them to ſwear, who had once forbidden it? And read the viiith Chap. of *John* and 17th Ver. and we do not find, that the Witneſſes againſt Chriſt that he ſhould ſpeak Blaſphemy, *Matt.* xxvi. 65, that they did ſwear; and alſo you may ſee in *Acts* vi. 11, 12, 13, how they, that were hired againſt *Stephen*, no Mention is made of their Swearing: Moreover, you may ſee in 2 *Cor.* xiii. 1. the Speech of the Apoſtle amongſt

amongſt the Saints, how he tells them of his Coming unto them in the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes; he doth not tell, that he is coming to them with Oaths in their Mouths; *Mark*, the Apoſtle was an Elder, and had Care of the Churches ——And again, the Apoſtle that writes to *Timothy*, a Biſhop, and Overſeer of the Churches, ſaith he, Againſt an Elder receive not an Accuſation, but before two or three Witneſſes —Now he doth not ſay, Before two or three Men that ſwears, for, if he had, he would have contradicted Chriſt's Doctrine and *James*; 1 *Tim.* v. 19, and 2 *Tim.* ii. ſaith the Apoſtle to *Timothy*, the Biſhop, *The Things that thou haſt heard of me amongſt many Witneſſes, the ſame commit to faithful Men who ſhall be able to teach others alſo.* Now he received this by Witneſſes, not by Oath, and he was to commit it, and not by Oaths: And were not theſe the Things that the whole Church came to be ſtudied by? And this was amongſt the Chriſtians in the primitive Times when Oaths were exiled; and many more Things might be alledged, which were too tedious for you to read.

Thirteenthly, And whereas he brings that Objection of the Anabaptiſts, which is, that it ſtandeth not with Chriſtian Profeſſion, but was tolerated as an imperfect Thing under the Law.

Anſwer. Which Objection of theirs we do not own, as we do not own the Biſhop for Swearing; for it was the Way of the Lord, and the Way of the Lord was perfect, and the Commandment for Swearing was good in itſelf, until the Time of Chriſt, who is perfect, that ends the Law, and People muſt live in him, *Chriſt Jeſus*, and walk in him that ſaith, *Swear not at all*, that ends the Oath, and is the Oath of God: Doſt thou not read of a People in the *Galatians* and *Romans*, that was turned back into the Law, from the Law of the Spirit; and the Apoſtle told them, He that broke one Point was guilty of all, and he brought them to the Law of Love which fulfilled the Law.

Fourteenthly, And as for all the Scriptures, the Biſhop brings to prove that the Chriſtians ſware in the primitive Time, they are Nothing to the Purpoſe, though the Biſhop ſay, that Chriſt admits of ſome Swearing, which both his own Words, and the Apoſtle's, contradicts; Chriſt's Words are, *Swear not at all*; and the Apoſtle's are, Above all Things, *&c.* — And ſo he goes on, and lets them ſee what was in the Law: Committing Adultery was forbid under the Law, but, in the Time of Chriſt, Looking upon a Woman, and Luſting after her, was Committing Adultery —— And he ſets forth, in the Juſtice of the Law, an Eye for an Eye, and a Tooth for a Tooth; and ſhews how that, in the Time of the Law, Thou ſhalt not kill, and whoſoever ſhall kill ſhall be in Danger of Judgment; but I ſay unto you, That whoſoever ſhall be angry with his Brother without Cauſe, ſhall be in Danger of Judgment; and ſo he tells, both Swearing and Killing to be in the old Time, and ſaid, Except your Righteouſneſs exceed the Righteouſneſs of the Scribes and Phariſees, you ſhall in no wiſe enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.

Fifteenthly, And as to that of the Apoſtle ſpeaking in the 1 *Theſ.* ii. God was his Witneſs that he did not make Covetouſneſs his Cloak.

Anſw. It were well if the Prieſts could ſay ſo now; but this doth not prove that he ſwore, and there are many Men that takes Man to be his Witneſs; and that is not an Oath, ſurely, is it? Thou underſtands that: And if this were an Oath, Why do you caſt Friends into Priſon?

Sixteenthly, And that of the *Galatians*, Chapter i. 2. There is nothing in that Place like unto an Oath which he brings.

Seventeenthly, And as for the 2 *Cor.* iv. 23d Verſe, there are not ſo many Verſes in that Chapter. And as for *Epheſians* the ivth and the 15th, which he brings for Chriſtians to ſwear, wherein he ſays we are bound at all Times to ſpeak Truth to our Neighbours.

Anſw. He doth not ſay we are to ſwear Truth at all Times, but to ſpeak it at all Times.

Eighteenthly, And that which he brings in *Acts* xxiii. 3. How the Apoſtle reproved the High Prieſt, that cauſed him to be ſmitten contrary to Law.

Anſw. Here the Apoſtle was preaching the Goſpel and Chriſt's Doctrine to them, to the Prieſts that had the Law and outward Things; this was nothing to the Purpoſe, that the Apoſtle ſhould ſwear, or that Chriſtians ſhould ſwear. — And in the 14th Verſe which he quotes. *Anſw.* Thoſe were the bad People that bound themſelves with a Curſe, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed *Paul* that preached the Goſpel; this is nothing at all that Chriſtians ſhould ſwear.

Nineteenthly, We ſay there were Heathens Oaths, and *Jews* Oaths, which were to ſwear by the Lord, which Chriſt calls the old Time, which they were to perform, which Oath Chriſt ends; and ſaith, *Swear not at all*; for in the Time of the Law the *Jews* were to deny all falſe Oaths, and heatheniſh Oaths, and they were not to ſwear by *Paul*, but the true Oath which Chriſt ends: And did not the Chriſtians ſuffer in the Primitive Times, becauſe they could not ſwear by the Proſperity of *Cæſar*; and was not that Oath then impoſed upon them? And by the good Fortune of the Emperor, was not that another Oath? And did not many Chriſtians then ſuffer, becauſe they could not ſwear? Read the ten Perſecutions which was a long Time before the Pope got up; and then did not the Pope, when he had got up over the Churches, give forth both Oath and Curſe, with Bell, Book, and Candle? And was not the Ceremony of his Oath to lay three Fingers a Top of the Book, to ſignify the Trinity; and two Fingers under the Book, to ſignify Damnation of Body and Soul, if they ſware falſly?—And was not there a great Number of People that would not ſwear, and ſuffered great Perſecution, as read the *Book of Martyrs* but to *Bonner's* Days? And it is little above an hundred Years ſince the Proteſtants got up; and they gave forth the Oath of Allegiance, and the Oath of Supremacy; the one was to deny the Pope's Supremacy, and the other to acknowledge the Kings of *England*; ſo we need not to tell you of their Form, and ſhew you the Ceremony of the Oath; it ſaith, Kiſs the Book, and the Book ſaith, Kiſs the Son, which ſaith, *Swear not at all*, and ſo cannot Allegiance be to the King in Truth and Faithfulneſs, as was ſaid before without an Oath, yea, and more than many that ſwears.

So you may ſee to deny Swearing is no new Thing, for it was the Practice of the Chriſtians in former Times to deny it, both in Heathens and the Times of Popery before Proteſtants, and ſo it is in Obedience to the Command of Chriſt that we do not ſwear in our Loves to him; and if we ſay he is Lord and Maſter, and do not the Thing that he commands, that is but Deceit and Hypocriſy.—And ſo raſh and bad Swearing, that was forbidden in the Time of the Law, it was not that which Chriſt came to fulfil, but true Oaths, and the true Types, Figures, and Shadows; and he ſaith, *Swear not at all.*

Twentiethly, And, for *Acts* the xiiith, there is nothing ſpoken of Swearing there, as all People may read.

Twenty-firſtly, And whereas the Apoſtle often ſpeaks of Taking to Witneſs a Record upon his own Soul by his Rejoicing in *Chriſt Jeſus*, What is all this to Swearing, and Taking an Oath, or where did ever the Apoſtle take a ſolemn Oath, or command the Brethren and Churches to do the ſame? For often he ſpeaks of the Witneſs out of the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes ſhall every Word be eſtabliſhed. And the Biſhop often brings the 1 *Cor.* xv. 31. *By our Rejoicing which I have in Chriſt Jeſus, I die daily:* This Place cannot be brought for a Proof, that the Apoſtle ſware; *if ſo*, when thou ſayeſt by the Meat thou art refreſhed, and by the Fire thou art warmed, and People tells thee thou muſt go by ſuch a Lane to ſuch a Town, they all ſwear then, do they not?

Twenty-ſecondly, As for the Particle נא, the Biſhop ſays it is never uſed, but in an Oath only.

Anſw. And what is נא, is it not *(Truly)* as, alſo the Primitive Word אמן, which ſignifies *yea*? And is not that Word אמן in the afore-mentioned Fifth of *Matthew*, and the Fifth of *James*, where Swearing is denied; for is not אמן in *Greek*, *yea* in *Engliſh*; and is not נא in *Greek*, *Truly* in *Engliſh?* And if every Man that ſays *yea* and *truly* ſweareth, then the Biſhop proves his Aſſertion. And is not there a Difference between כן and נשבע? So, in Meekneſs and Love, read this over in that from which it was ſent.

POSTSCTIPT.

Chriſt Jeſus, who is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, the Beginning and Ending, Firſt and Laſt, him by whom God will judge the World in Righteouſneſs.

WE quæry of you whether he or any of his Apoſtles, after they had given forth a Command that none ſhould ſwear, but keep to yea and nay, in all their Communications, can any Miniſter or Teacher prove this in Expreſs Words out of the New Teſtament that they

they ever commanded to ſwear, or did ſwear? That will ſatisfy, that will end all: But that we ſhould be caſt into Priſon for our Obedience to Chriſt's Command, by you, that profeſs yourſelves to be Chriſtians, and own *Chriſt Jeſus* as you ſay, is not right: And he commands you to love Enemies, if you did obey his Commands, and love one another; for they that are Chriſtians, and own *Chriſt Jeſus*, they ſhould love one another: For this was a Mark by which they were known to be Diſciples, Learners of him. And ſo they, that are Lovers of him, own him and obey him and his Doctrine; ſo, though we do ſuffer here by you all the Seſſions or Aſſizes, we do commit our Cauſe, and you that do perſecute us, to the General Aſſizes and terrible Day wherein God will judge the World in Righteouſneſs, whoſe Commands we obey in Tenderneſs; and there we know we ſhall have true Judgment without Reſpect of Perſons, there our Hats will not be looked at before the Almighty, but the Action and Tranſgreſſion, and who hath ſerved God, and who hath not ſerved him: For Chriſt hath told your before hand, what he will ſay to them, that viſits him not in Priſon, where he is made manifeſt in his Brethren: Then what will become of them that caſts them into Priſon for Tenderneſs towards God, for Obeying his Doctrine, and keeps to yea or nay in their Communications according to his Words?—And ſo theſe Things we leave to the General Day, though we can ſay, The Lord forgive you that doth thus perſecute us, if it be his Will, freely from our Hearts, for we do you, nor no Man Harm, but ſeek the Good and Peace of all Men, and for this Cauſe, for Obeying the Truth, we do ſuffer.

G. F.

Certain ſelect Obſervations on the ſeveral Offices, and Officers, in the Militia of *England*, with the Power of the Parliament to raiſe the ſame, as they ſhall judge expedient, *&c.* Collected and found among the Papers of the late Mr. *John Pymm*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons. Writ in the Year 1641. *MS.*

WHEN Kings were firſt ordained in this Realm, the Kingdom was divided into forty Portions, and every one of thoſe Portions or Counties was committed to ſome Earl, to govern and defend it againſt the Enemies of the Realm. *Mirror of Juſtice*, *p.* 8.

Thoſe Earls, after they received their Government in each County, divided them into Centurians or Hundreds; and in every Hundred was appointed a Centurian or Conſtable, who had his Portion and Limits aſſigned him to keep and defend with the Power of the Hundred, and were to be ready, upon all Alarms, with their Arms, againſt the common Enemy. Theſe, in ſome Places, are called *Wapintakes*, which, in *French*, doth ſignify Taking of Arms. *Mirror*, *p.* 10, 12. *H.* VIII. *fol.* 16, 17.

King *Alfred* firſt ordained two Parliaments to be kept every Year, for the Government of the People, where they were to receive Laws and Juſtice. *Mirror*, *p.* 10, 11.

The Peers, in Parliament, were to judge of all Wrongs done by the King to any of his Subjects. *Mirror*, *p.* 9.

The ancient Manner of chooſing and appointing of Officers, was by thoſe over whom their Juriſdiction extended.

Inſtances.

1. Tythingman: This Man was, and at this Day is, choſen by the Men of his own Tything, and by them preſented to the Leet, to be ſworn for the true Execution of his Office.

2. Conſtable: This Officer is choſen by the Inhabitants who are to be governed by him,

him, and thoſe of the Place where his Juriſdiction lieth, and preſented unto the Leet to be ſworn.

3. Coroner: This Officer hath Juriſdiction within the whole County, and therefore was choſen by the Freeholders of the County, in the County-Court. *Cook's Magna Charta, p.* 174, 175, 559.

4. Such as had Charge to puniſh ſuch as were Violaters of *Magna Charta*; theſe were choſen in the County-Court, as appeareth by Stat. 28. *Ed.* I. *c.* 1. 17.

5. Sheriffs: Were, in Time paſt, and by the Common Law, to be choſen likewiſe in the County-Court. *Lamb. Saxon Laws. fol.* 136. Stat. 28. *Ed.* I. *c.* 8, 13. *Cook's Magna Charta*, 175, 559. *Mirror, p.* 8.

6. Lieutenants of Counties (anciently known by the Name of *Heretoch*) were choſen in the County-Court (which *Cook* upon *Magna Charta, p.* 69. calls the *Folkmote.*), *Lamb. Saxon Laws, fol.* 136. *Mirror, p.* 8. 11, 12.

7. Majors and Bayliffs, in Boroughs and Towns Corporate, are choſen by the Commonalty of the ſame Corporation within their Juriſdiction.

8. Conſervators of the Peace were anciently choſen by the Freeholders in the County-Court. *Cook's Magna Charta*, 558, *&c.*

9. Knights for the Parliament are to be choſen in the County-Court, Stat. 7 *H.* IV. *cap.* 15. 1 *H.* V. 1. 8 *H.* VI. *cap.* 7. 10 *H.* VI. *cap.* 2.

10. Verderers of the Foreſt are choſen within their Juriſdiction, by the Inhabitants. *Cook's Magna Charta*, 559.

11. Admirals, being the Sheriffs of the Counties, as *Selden* in his *Mare Clauſum, p.* 169, 188, affirms, muſt be choſen as the Sheriffs were, *viz.* in the County-Court. But the Parliament of *R.* II. *fol.* 29. ſaith, they are choſen in the Parliament, the Repreſentative Body of the Realm, becauſe they had the Defence of the Realm by Sea committed unto them.

12. The Captain of *Calais*, viz. *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, in the Time of *H.* VI, refuſed to give up his Captainſhip of *Calais* unto the King, becauſe he received it in Parliament. *Cowel's Interpreter in the Word* Parliament.

13. The Lord Chancellor: To whom is committed the Great-Seal of *England*, being the Publick Faith of the Kingdom, was in former Times choſen in Parliament. *Lamb. Archeion, p.* 48. *Dan. Chronicle, p.* 139, 148, 195.

14. Lord Treaſurer: An Officer to whom is of Truſt committed the Treaſure of the Kingdom, was, in like Manner, choſen in Parliament.

15. Chief-Juſtice, an Officer unto whom is committed the Adminiſtration of the Juſtice of the Realm, was choſen in Parliament. *Lamb. Archeion, p.* 48, *ut ſupra.*

Anno 15. *Ed.* III, the King was petitioned in Parliament, That the high Officers of the Kingdom might, as in former Times, be choſen in Parliament. To which the King yielded, that they ſhould be ſworn in Parliament. *Dan. Chronicle, p.* 195. *Quære* the Parliament Roll and Petitions.

And it appeareth, by a printed Statute, *Anno* 15 *Ed.* III. *cap.* 3, That the great Officers of the Kingdom were ſworn to maintain *Magna Charta.*

16. The great Council of the King and Kingdom, namely, the Parliament, is choſen by the Commons; for they chooſe the Knights and Citizens, and Burgeſſes, or Barons, for ſo the Citizens were anciently called; and the *Cinque-ports* retain that Name to this Day.

And this was, as I conceive, the ancienteſt Conſtitution of the Kingdom, for Chooſing of their Officers.

In the next Place, it will be requiſite to inquire, which of theſe Officers are now altered, and by what Authority. And, *Firſt*, of Sheriffs:

The Choice of Sheriffs was firſt taken from the Freeholders by the Statute of 9 *Ed.* II, and the Choice of them committed to the Lord Chancellor, Treaſurer, the Barons of the *Exchequer*, and the Juſtices of either Bench. *Cook's Magna Charta, p.* 559.

This Election is to be made the Morrow after *All Souls* Day in the *Exchequer*, by Stat. 14 *Ed.* III. *c.* 7.

Quære 1. If they chooſe none at that Day and Place, but at ſome other Time, Whether the Choice be good? Or if he be choſen by any other?

Objection. The King himſelf doth uſually make and appoint Sheriffs in every County by his Prerogative.

Solution. It hath been agreed by all the Judges, that the King cannot appoint any other to be Sheriff, than ſuch as are named and choſen according to the Statute of *Lincoln*. *Cook's Magna Charta, p.* 559.

If ſo, then it is queſtionable, Whether the Making of Mr. *Haſtings* Sheriff of *Leiceſterſhire* be warrantable by Law, or not?

Quære 2. If no Sheriff be legally choſen, Whether the Freeholders of the County ſhall not chooſe one, as they were accuſtomed, before the Making of the Stat. of 9 *Ed.* II. for theſe Reaſons.

1. If there be no Sheriff legally choſen, there will be a Failure of Juſtice, which the Law will not permit.

2. Becauſe the Statute is in the Affirmative, and therefore doth not altogether take away their Power of Chooſing, becauſe affirmative Statutes do not alter the Common Law.

Next, let us conſider the Choice of Juſtices of the Peace, who, as they are Commiſſioners of the Peace, are not Officers by the Common Law; and, therefore, this Caſe will differ in ſome Reſpects from the former, it being an Office created by Statute.

1. I conceive that no Court may be erected without the Authority of Parliament: For the Court of *Firſt Fruits* was erected by Stat. 32 *H.* VIII. *cap.* 45. The Court of *Wards* by Stat. 32. *H.* VIII. *cap.* 46. The Court of *Juſtice* in *Wales* by Stat. 34 *H.* VIII. *c.* 26. And Power to erect Courts given 1 *Mar.* Seſſ. 2. *cap.* 10. And it was reſolved in this Parliament, at the Trial of the Earl of *Straſford*, That the Court at *York* was againſt Law, albeit it hath had Continuance theſe hundred Years, becauſe it was not erected by Parliament.

And Juſtices of the Peace, being Judges of Record, were firſt ordained by Statute, as appeareth by 18 *Ed.* III. *cap.* 2, and 34 *Ed.* III. *cap.* 1, with ſuch other Additions of Power, as later Statutes have given unto them.

Juſtices of Peace then having their Being by Vertue of the Statute-Law, they are to be ordained in the ſame Manner as the Statutes preſcribe, and not otherwiſe:

1. After their firſt Inſtitution, the Statutes did leave the Choice of them indefinitely in the Crown, as I conceive, until the Statute of 12 *R.* II. 27, which Statute doth inſtruct the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, Steward and Chamberlain of the King's Houſe, the Clerk of the Rolls, the Juſtices of both Benches, Barons of the *Exchequer*, and others, to name and make them.

2. Other Statutes do appoint what Perſons ſhall be choſen to be Juſtices of the Peace; namely, ſuch as reſide in the ſame County where they are Juſtices of Peace, as Stat. 12 *R.* II. *c.* 10. And they muſt be of the moſt ſufficient Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen of the ſame County. Stat. 17. *Rich.* II. 10. and dwelling in the ſame County, 2 *Hen.* V. Stat. ii. *cap.* 1 (except Lords, and Juſtices of Aſſizes) upon this laſt Statute, it may be doubted if Choice may be made of any Lords, and Juſtices of Aſſizes, which have no Reſidence, or Eſtate, in the County where they are ſo made Juſtices of the Peace; which, if it doth, it doth repeal all former Statutes, which confines them to ſuch Perſons as are of the ſame County; which I conceive is againſt their Meaning, for that Statute doth only diſpence with the Reſidence of Lords and Juſtices of Aſſize, becauſe Men of the ſame County, inhabiting in the County where they are Juſtices of Peace, in Regard of their other Employments in the Commonwealth, which neceſſarily requireth their Abſence, and ſo it amounteth only to a Diſpenſation for their Reſidency.

Objection. The common Practice is, That the Lord Keeper doth appoint whom he pleaſes, and that by Vertue of the Statute of 18 *Hen.* VI. *cap.* 1.

Solution, True! ſuch is the Practice; but the Doubt is, How warrantable his Act is? For the Statute of 18 *H.* VI. doth give the Lord Chancellor (alone by himſelf) no other Power, but in Caſe there be no Men of Sufficiency in the County, and where none of twenty Pounds *per Annum* are to be found. For, in ſuch Caſe, he hath Power to appoint ſuch as he conceives are Men moſt fit. But, in Caſe there are Men of ſufficient Eſtates in the County to be found, he muſt join with the others mentioned in the Statute, *viz.* The Treaſurer, Privy-Seal, *&c.* who have a joint and undivided Power with him.

If this be ſo, then it may be doubted, Whether the Lord Viſcount *Faulkland*, being no Peer of the Realm, Sir *Peter Miche*, Sir *Edward Nichols*, of late put into the Commiſſion

of

of the Peace, in many Counties of this Kingdom, are, by the Law, capable of being Juſtices of the Peace in thoſe Counties where they do not reſide? *Et ſic de ſimilibus.*

Quære alſo, Whether a Juſtice of the Peace, being once legally choſen according to the Statute beforementioned, may be put out at the Pleaſure of the Lord Keeper alone, without any juſt Cauſe alledged, for being a Juſtice of Record, Whether ſome Matter of Record muſt not appear to diſable him? For, being ſettled by Law, he is to be diſplaced by Law, and not upon Diſpleaſure or Surmiſe.

3. A third Office is, the Lieutenants in every County, in former Times known (for the Name only is out of Uſe) by the Name of *Heretoch*, *Lamb. Saxon Laws*. *Fol.* 136. And here will fall into Debate the Ordinance in Parliament, about the Settling of the Militia of the Kingdom.

The Choice of theſe, as was formerly mentioned, was by the Freeholders in the County-Court: But, of later Times, they have exerciſed the ſame Power, being appointed by the King, under the Shadow of his Prerogative.

Firſt, It is to be demanded, Whether the King's Prerogative can take away that ancient Right, which the Subjects had, by Law, inveſted in them? If ſo, then the King, by his Prerogative, may do Wrong, which is contrary to a Maxim in Law. *Forteſcue de Legibus*, &c. *Fol.* 25. If not, then Whether the Power of chooſing a Lieutenant, or *Heretoch*, doth not yet remain in the Subject, ſo as they may now chooſe one as well, and by the ſame Right they did in former Times?

If Freeholders of a County may yet chooſe, then I conceive the Parliament, being the Repreſentative Body of the whole Kingdom, may appoint Lieutenants; becauſe they include them, or, at leaſt, they are not excluded from ſuch a Power, no more than where the Statute, giving Power unto Juſtices of Peace to inquire of a Riot, doth exclude the Power of the *King's-Bench*, which no Man will affirm. And therefore the Ordinance of the Militia is legal.

That the Parliament hath Power to make an Ordinance, may be proved *A minori*. For,

If the Inhabitants of a Town, without any Cuſtom to inable them, may make an Ordinance, or bye Law, for the Reparation of their Church, Highway, or Bridge in Decay, or any the like Thing, being for their publick Good, and upon a pecuniary Pain, in Caſe of Neglect, and if it be made by the greater Part, that it ſhall bind all within the Town, as hath been agreed for Law, 44 *Ed.* III. *fol.* 19. *Cook. Lib.* V. *fol.* 63, the Chamberlain of *London*'s Caſe, *Clarke*'s Caſe, and *Jefferyes*'s Caſe, *ibid. fol.* 64, 65.

If a Townſhip be amerced, and the Neighbours, by Aſſent, ſhall aſſeſs a certain Sum upon every Inhabitant, and agree, that if it be not paid by ſuch a Day, that certain Perſons, thereto aſſigned, ſhall diſtrain; and, in this Caſe, the Diſtreſs is lawful. *Doctor and Student*, *fol.* 74, 6, *cap.* 9.

If a bye Law, that every one that holdeth Land ſhall pay one Penny towards the Reparation of a Church, and, for Non-payment, ſhall forfeit to the Churchwardens twenty Shillings, be good and doth bind, as the Book ſaith, 21 *H.* VII, *fol.* 20. holdeth.

If a Town make bye Laws, and they ſhall bind every one of the Town, if it be for the common Good, as 11 *H.* VII, *Fol.* 14, then, by the ſame Reaſon, may the Parliament make Ordinances, and bye Laws, for the common Good of the Kingdom, as ſhall bind all. For, if a Town may make Ordinance, much more may the Knights and Burgeſſes of the Parliament, becauſe they have their Power *ad faciendum & conſentiendum*; as appeareth of Record under their Hands, and Seals in *Chancery*, in the Return of their ſeveral Elections for Knights and Burgeſſes.

Laſtly, As every private Man is, by Law, bound to preſerve the Peace; as in Caſe an Affray be made by two, and a third Man ſtanding by ſhall not uſe his beſt Endeavour to part them, and preſerve the Peace, he may be indicted and fined for it: Why may not the Parliament, being intruſted with the Preſervation of the Peace of the Realm, make an Ordinance for the Preſervation of the Peace in Caſe of apparent Danger?

Ordinance made in Parliament 8 *Ed.* II, for the Preſervation of the Alienation of the King's Land, and Fines ſet upon ſuch as preſume to to break them. *Rot. Parl.* 28 *H.* VI. *Art.* 29.

The Judges and Courts at *Weſtminſter* may make an Ordinance, For Fees to be paid unto the Clerk of their Courts, and for Bar Fees taken by Sheriff and Gaolers, 21 *H.* VII. *fol.* 17.

An Ordinance made in Parliament, 21 *Ed.* III, *fol.* 60, for Exemption of the Abbot of *Bury* from the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Norwich*,

Norwich, Selden's Titles of Honour, Page 702, 12 *H.* VII, *fol.* 25.

Heyborne and *Keylmi*'s Caſe, *M.* 14 *Ed.* IV, *Rot.* 60, in *Banco Reg. Creek*, Page 25, who had his Money taken away from him by Vertue of an Ordinance, and was adjudged, that the Ordinance did bind him.

Whether an Infant may be a Colonel, Admiral, *&c.?*

1. None, by the Intention of the Law, can do Knights Service, before he be twenty-one Years of Age. And this is the Reaſon of Wardſhip.

2. It is an Office of Truſt, which may not be executed by a Deputy.

3. Such an Office requires perſonal Attendance, for, otherwiſe, the County may be overthrown unawares, in the Abſence of ſuch a Governor from his Charge.

A Letter to a new Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons; touching the Riſe of all the Embezzlements and Miſmanagements of the Kingdom's Treaſure, from the Beginning of the Revolution unto this preſent Parliament. With an Account, from Time to Time, of the many Oppoſitions the Houſe of Commons met with about Redreſſing the ſaid Publick Grievances. And, laſtly, a Propoſal humbly offered to their Conſideration, how to prevent the like Miſcarriages for the Future. To which is added, a parallel Account of the National Expences, from *November* 3, 1640, to *November* 1659; and from *November* 5, 1688, to *Michaelmas* 1700. *Amſterdam:* Printed in the Year 1710. *Quarto*, containing twenty-eight Pages.

SIR,

YOU being a new Member of this honourable Houſe, I preſume, you are not ſo well acquainted with the Tranſactions of ſeveral former Parliaments, in Relation to the Miſcarriages and Embezzlements of the publick Monies of this Kingdom; becauſe I perceive you are ſomewhat ſurpriſed at her Majeſty's Speech touching that Paragraph, wherein ſhe complains to your Houſe, 'That ſhe cannot, 'without great Concern, mention to you, 'That the Navy and other Offices are bur-'thened with heavy Debts;' which ſo far affect the publick Service, that ſhe moſt earneſtly deſires you to find ſome Way to anſwer thoſe Demands, and to prevent the like, for the Time to come; the Juſtice of Parliament, in Satisfying former Engagements, being the certain Way for Preſerving and Eſtabliſhing Credit.

I ſay, being a new Member, you are utterly at a Loſs in this Matter, and want thoroughly to be inſtructed in Miſmanagements of the Miniſtry; for you are earneſtly deſired by the Queen to find out now ſome Way to anſwer thoſe Demands, and to prevent the like Embezzlements and Miſapplications, for the Time to come; it being but Juſtice of the Parliament, in Satisfying former Engagements, and it is the moſt certain Way for Preſerving and Eſtabliſhing of Credit.

Is this the Way of Eſtabliſhing and Preſerving of future Credit? Then it is plain, that, by her Majeſty's Confeſſion, the Credit of the Nation begins now to flag; and, if ſo, the Queſtion will be, Whether it is occaſioned by

by the Funds not anſwering the intended End, they were raiſed for? Or, Whether the Credit of the Nation is ſunk by crafty Miniſters, that have licked themſelves into fair Eſtates, and ſo have embezzeled and miſapplied the Kingdom's publick Treaſure? Now, if you can find out but where this Shoe pinches, you have done your Work; for her Majeſty's Deſire is, to prevent the like Practices for the Time to come.

In order to which, give me Leave to inform you, That the R—— H—— the H—— of P——, in their Addreſs to her Majeſty, do as frankly complain of Miſmanagements and Embezzlements in ſeveral of the Queen's Offices heretofore committed, as well as her Majeſty; which, at your Leiſure, you may read, in their Addreſs to the Queen, printed in the Year 1705.

And I muſt beg your Patience to ſhew alſo, That the honourable the Houſe of Commons have formerly made as hearty and heavy Complaints, as moſt have done, and publickly declared, That common Juſtice was refuſed to be done this honourable Houſe, when ſo often deſired, to redreſs the publick Grievances of the Nation, eſpecially touching the Miſmanagements and Embezzlements of the publick Monies of the Kingdom. *Vide* their Votes of *March* 24, 1701.

Since they have had every one their Turn of Complaining, Do not you admire where the Fault lies all this While,, and that there is no Remedy as yet found out? That is to ſay, from the Year 1701, to this preſent Year 1710, being full nine Years.

One would think, at firſt Daſh, that the Queen, the Lords, and the Commons were all at a Loſs, and willing, hearty, and ready to embrace any Expedient, and liſten to any Propoſal, that could be found out to put a Stop to, and prevent the like Miſmanagements and Embezzlements of the Kingdom's Money for the Future, or elſe they would never, certainly, make their Complaints ſo often: But, alas! Sir, there lies the Myſtery.

Now, Sir, to unriddle this grand Secret is to let you into our former Miſcarriages, and the Way, that was then taken to ſtop and redreſs thoſe grand Grievances, and the many Obſtructions former Parliaments met with, though they heartily eſpouſed, and deſigned to go thorough Stitch with the Remedy; and then you will find where this great Fault has lain all the While, and perceive who are blame-worthy, ſuch as complained, or thoſe very Perſons, that refuſed to puniſh the Tranſgreſſors, when they were firſt catched offending. And give me Leave to add, That all Miſmanagements and Loſſes, that have ſince happened to this Kingdom, are owing to ſuch, as refuſed to do common Juſtice, when ſo often importuned thereto.

The great Miſmanagements of the Kingdom's publick Treaſure, and the Miſapplications thereof, fell out in the Reign of the late King *William*; which was then obſerved, for ſeveral Years together, to be a growing Evil upon the Government; and at laſt it did produce ſeveral annual Commiſſions, by Act of Parliament, for Taking, Examining, and Stating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom; but what Succeſs theſe Commiſſions had, will be worth our Time to examine.

Though it has been publickly objected, That by theſe Commiſſions little was done towards the Adjuſting the Accounts of the Nation, and Inferences have been thence drawn, That ſuch Commiſſions are of little or no Uſe; yet, certainly, it is the Duty of our Repreſentatives (eſpecially ſince deſired from the Throne) to make it their earneſt Endeavour to find out proper Remedies for this fatal Diſtemper, leſt it end in the Ruin of the Monarchy, the Church, and the State: For the Commons have complained of theſe Miſcarriages; the Lords, in their Turn, have complained of them; and now at laſt her Majeſty, in her moſt gracious Speech, is heavily complaining of theſe Miſcarriages. And, ſince they have all had their Turns of Complaint, one would think it were high Time to redreſs this common and publick Grievance, which has, in ſhort, almoſt ruined the Credit of the Parliament; and there will be no Retrieving of it, till a Stop be put to thoſe growing Evils. It will ſcarcely be pretended by any Man, that ſuch an Adjuſtment of Accounts is, in its own Nature, impracticable: If, then, the former Commiſſions had not altogether the deſired Succeſs, the Fault muſt lie either in the Scheme laid down, as probably it might be for the firſt Year or two; or in the Commiſſion, if they wanted either Skill, Application, or Integrity ſufficient for the Buſineſs, they were employed about.

Now all theſe Wants have been charged upon ſome of them, but whether with Juſtice

tice, or not, I am not yet well ſatisfied; but I am ſure there were two other Impediments, of which I may ſpeak with more Certainty, either of which was enough to hinder the Execution of that Commiſſion.

The Firſt of theſe was, That divers great Men, that had mighty Accounts to paſs, and, perhaps, had little Stomach to do it, had ſuch a Power and Influence in the Houſe of Commons, as were able to cramp the Commiſſioners in their Power, and diſcountenance them in their Report, and even to banter them in the Execution of their Truſt.

That this was openly practiſed, is notorious to all that were then Members of the Houſe; and how much the Commiſſioners muſt needs be diſcouraged in the Execution of ſo difficult a Taſk, the Performance of which was to be laid before ſuch Judges ſo poſſeſſed, I'll leave any one to gueſs.

The Influence of theſe Men, perhaps, produced another Difficulty, which was a Flaw in the Commiſſion itſelf; for the Commiſſioners were not impowered ſufficiently to require Proof of ſuſpected Vouchers; they could not commit Perſons for Contempt of their Authority, and conſequently were expoſed to the Hazard of being abuſed by falſe Vouchers. Theſe were Difficulties almoſt, if not abſolutely, inſuperable.

Now, that never-to-be-forgotten Parliament, in the Year 1701, took Care to remove moſt of theſe Obſtructions, by providing a Bill with larger Power, appointing Commiſſioners of known Worth and Integrity, who were willing, without Recompence, to take the Trouble upon them, and having ſuch an Houſe of Commons (as God be thanked we now have) diſpoſed to hear, and inquire ſtrictly into thoſe Miſcarriages; and there was great Reaſon to expect a good Iſſue.

But, perhaps, this very Expectation (pray God it do not again) defeated the Bill, becauſe ſome of thoſe very Perſons, who had heretofore borne ſuch a Sway in the Houſe of Commons, were then grown ſo powerful in another Place, and Accounts were ſtill as terrible as ever; it was not therefore their Intereſt to ſuffer ſuch a Bill to paſs for thoſe very Reaſons beforementioned.

Firſt, Becauſe ſuch a Commiſſion, with ſuch Powers, was as hard to be reſiſted, as, on the other Side, ſome Men's Accounts were to be made up; and conſequently, ſuch an Enquiry, as the Commiſſioners were thereby impowered to make, might have ruined the Credit, and, perhaps, the Fortunes of ſome Great Men.

Secondly, The ſame Perſons knew, that there was no Bantering the Commiſſioners named in the Bill, becauſe they knew them to be Men of Senſe, Honour, and Courage, and that knew, and were reſolved to execute their Commiſſion; and, as they were Volunteers in that Service, had given Earneſt of their Reſolution to unriddle that Myſtery which divers good Men had before loſt their Labour in, and thereby, perhaps, might have made Diſcoveries, at that Time, very unſeaſonable to ſome great Men. And,

Laſtly, The Diſpoſition of the Houſe of Commons itſelf, who were reſolved as faſt as poſſible to extricate this Nation from that Labyrinth of Debts, Intereſt, Deficiences, and other Incumbrances ſhe was then in, and is at preſent in a Manner loſt, was a Terror to thoſe who knew by what Steps and Artifices ſhe was led into, and left in it.

I ſay, it was not ſafe for them, either to let the Bill paſs, or to have it rejected in Groſs; and therefore ſuch Expedients were to be found out, as might embroil the two Houſes about it, a Practice in which they had not long before ſhewn a great deal of Maſtery.

They knew, That the Commons, as they had the ſole Power of granting Money, ſo alſo of taking an Account of the Diſpoſition of all Money by them granted, and of appointing Commiſſioners for that Purpoſe. This was laid hold on as a proper Handle, to introduce thoſe Amendments which they knew the Commons could not agree to, without departing from thoſe Rights which they were ſure they would never relinquiſh.

Divers Amendments therefore were made, not, perhaps, ſo much to alter the Bill, as to lay upon the Commons a Neceſſity of throwing it out; thereby hoping to ſhift the *Odium* of ſuch an Action from their own Door.

But the Commons, who were aware of this Driſt, and ſaw the Concluſion of the Seſſion ſo near at Hand, appointed a Committee to draw up their Reaſons, why they could not agree to the Amendments made by the Lords, and afterwards ordered them to be printed, for the Satisfaction of the People whom they repreſented;

preſented; which I ſhall give you in the very Words of the Houſe, as they ſtand in their Votes, *March* 24, 1701.

The Commons do diſagree to the firſt Amendment made by the Lords:

Becauſe it is notorious, that many Millions of Money have been given to his Majeſty King *William* by the Commons, for the Service of the Publick; which remains yet unaccounted for, to the great Diſſatisfaction of the good People of *England*, who chearfully contributed to thoſe Supplies: And their Lordſhips firſt Amendment prevents any Accounts being taken of thoſe Monies by the Commiſſioners appointed by the Commons for that Purpoſe.

The Commons do diſagree to the ſecond Amendment made by the Lords:

Becauſe *John Parkhurſt* and *John Paſcal*, Eſqs; have for ſeveral Years been Commiſſioners of the Prizes taken during the late War, and are accountable for great Sums of Money ariſing thereby, which ought to be applied to the Uſe of the Publick.

That the ſaid *John Parkhurſt*, and *John Paſcal* were frequently preſſed to account for the ſame, by the ſaid Commiſſioners appointed by Act of Parliament; but, by many Artifices and Evaſions, delayed and avoided Giving any ſuch Account as was required by the ſaid Commiſſioners.

That the Clauſe, to which their Lordſhips have diſagreed by their ſecond Amendment, requires them to account before the Firſt of *September* next; but, by their Lordſhips Amendment, the ſaid *John Parkhurſt* and *John Paſcal* are exempted from giving any ſuch Account, which is highly unreaſonable.

The Commons do diſagree to the fourth Amendment.

The Commons cannot agree to the Clauſe ſent down by the Lords, marked with X, becauſe their Lordſhips have therein directed the Commiſſioners to allow and certify a pretended Debt to Colonel *Baldwin Leighton*; whereas the Diſpoſition, as well as Granting of Money by Act of Parliament, hath ever been in the Houſe of Commons; and this Amendment, relating to the Diſpoſal of Money, does intrench upon that Right.

The Commons do diſagree to the fourth Amendment:

Becauſe it is notorious, that *Edward Whitacre*, mentioned in ———, left out by their Lordſhips, hath, by Colour of his Employment (as Solliciter to the Admiralty) received the Sum of Twenty-five thouſand Pounds, and upwards, of publick Monies, without producing any juſt or reaſonable Vouchers for the Expence thereof, and therefore ought to be accountable for the ſame.

And that, by Reaſon of their Lordſhips Diſagreeing to the ſeveral Parts of this Bill, the Supplies, provided by the Commons for paying the Arrears due to the Army, muſt of Neceſſity be ineffectual, till another Seſſion of Parliament.

Theſe Reaſons were ordered to be inſerted in the Votes of this Day: And, though I have ſeen many Attempts to anſwer them, yet never met with one that bore a good Face, or a true Reaſon for the Occaſion of them; and, till ſome Body ſhall produce others more juſtifiable and probable, the Commons will ſtand clear of all Imputation for the Miſcarriage of that Bill, and the evil Conſequences that have attended the Nation ever ſince the Want of it.

But though King *William* thanked this good Parliament for their quick Diſpatch of thoſe neceſſary Supplies which they had granted for the publick Occaſion, and for the Encouragement they had given him to enter into Alliances for the Preſervation of the Liberty of *Europe*, and the Support of the Confederacy, and made no Doubt, that whatſoever he ſhould do, during their Receſs, for the Advantage of the common Cauſe in this Matter, would have their Approbation at their Meeting again in the Winter. *Vide* the Speech he then made at the Concluſion of that Seſſion of Parliament, 1701.

Yet ſo diligent were the then Miniſters of State, that, for Fear of being called to Account by the ſaid Commiſſioners, they got the Conſent of King *William* to diſſolve that Parliament, by Reaſon they did aſſure him they would get him a better, and ſuch a one as ſhould not queſtion the Embezzlements of his Miniſters, being now able to carry all Things before them; which was then the Language of that State-Miniſtry: And the good King aſſured them he would do it, when he next came from *Holland*, and was as good as his Word; and then the Miniſtry were ſafe in their Affairs: And, upon the Death of King *William*, ſome of the Miniſtry being changed, we never heard a Word of them more, till their Lordſhips began to take up the Cudgels.

You muſt know, at that Time, ſome of the Miniſtry, being turned out, had ſet up that which they now call a *Junto*, in Oppoſition to the Court-

Court-Party; and who ſhould be more forward in puſhing on the ſaid H—— of P——s into an Enquiry of Miſmanagements and Embezzlements, than certain noble Perſons who had run the ſame Way the new Courtiers had juſt entered, to lick themſelves into as fair Eſtates as other antiquated Courtiers had done.

I ſay, theſe Perſons, having ſet up a *Junto* in Oppoſition to the Court Intereſt, preſſed forward an Enquiry into a three Years Embezzlement and Miſapplication of the publick Treaſure, under her Majeſty's Adminiſtration. And is as follows:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Firſt, Their Lordſhips were pleaſed to obſerve, that in three Years Time the Navy had exceeded its Charge allowed by Parliament, the Sum of ——	366032	17	2
Secondly, That the Officers had iſſued, for the Uſe of the Navy, ſhort of the Sum allowed to that Service, the Sum of —	1142361	2	4
Thirdly, The Debt of the Navy in two Years has increaſed to the Sum of	1250097	14	1
Fourthly, There wanted of the Complement of Men, which was then allowed for the Sea-Service, 1566 Perſons			
Fifthly, There were the laſt Year ten Flags in Pay of the Navy; and three were not in their Poſts, *viz.* The H—— *Churchill*, Eſq; *Graydon*, and Sir *James Wiſheart*.			
Sixthly, The Penſions of the Navy ſince the Year 1697 are increaſed; that the Eſtimate for 1705 comes to ——	18011	0	0
Seventhly, That Sir *John M——n* (whom her Majeſty was pleaſed to turn out for not doing his Duty) has a Penſion of	319	17	6
Eighthly, The Penſion of Admiral *N—l*'s Widow, which is ſet down continued, has not been paid her theſe two Years laſt paſt.			
Ninthly The Prince of *Denmark*'s Council to him as Lord High Admiral, are allowed *per Annum.*	7000	0	0
And yet there is paid but 1000 *l. per Annum* to each Council, and in the Years 1702, 1703, 1704	There were but		4 5 6
Tenthly, The H—— *Churchill*, Eſquire's, Appointments for the Navy, are, firſt Council to the Prince *per Annum*	1000	0	0
Secondly, A Penſion to him *per Annum.* ——	0500	0	0
Thirdly, As Admiral of the Blue *per Annum* ——	1277	0	0
Fourthly, For his Table Money *per Annum.* ——	0365	0	0
Tot.	3142	0	0

And *Laſtly*, Though by Parliament there are allowed forty-three Cruiſers and Convoys for our Merchant-men, there have not been employed at any Time twenty-two, and they have not done the Duty of three Ships for the Protection of our Trade: All which Obſtructions they have humbly laid before the Queen, and do reſt aſſured that her Majeſty, in her great Wiſdom, and tender Concern for the Happineſs of her Subjects, will diſpoſe herſelf to apply the proper Remedies. And they humbly beſeech her to give Commands that all poſſible Methods may be taken for the Encouragement of Seamen, the Guarding of the Coaſts, and the Protection of Trade.

Now you may perceive, Sir, that here is a mighty Embezzlement and Miſapplication among the Navy to a conſiderable Sum, as you may perceive in the aforeſaid Articles; and would not one believe that their Lordſhips were concerned at this Matter in good Earneſt; and that they had nothing more at Heart than the Preſervation of the Merchants Trade, they ſo ſenſibly complain for Want of due Protection? But, alas! Sir, this is nothing but a mere Pretence, as I ſhall prove to you anon. But I muſt beg your Patience till I have let you into a Commoner of *England*'s Obſervations thereon, by Way of Reply to each Particular,

lar, as he then wrote from *Braintree*, *Feb.* 19, 1705, to a certain Member of Parliament, and printed the ſame Year.

Firſt, then, ſays he, their Lordſhips obſerve, That, in three Years Time, the Navy has exceeded its Charge allowed by Parliament, the Sum of — 366032 17 2

This, at firſt View, he ſays, was a very heavy Charge on the Government; but, with humble Submiſſion, it is preſumed their L——ps are not all bred Accomptants, and therefore not ſo much blameable as ſome are. I confeſs it ſtartled me, at this Time of Day, to ſee ſo good, ſo gracious, ſo mild, and ſo gentle a Government, charged with ſuch an inconſiderable Sum, not worth mentioning, conſidering the Length of Time, *viz.* three Years. We cannot forget the Miſcarriages of a late Reign ſo ſoon, when ſome of the L——ds of a C——were impeached for the Embezzlement of the Kingdom's Treaſure. Let them but look back, and they will find twice as much exceeded in the ſame Service for the ſame Time.

When *E— R——ll*, Eſq; (*now L— O——d*) was Treaſurer and Paymaſter of the Navy, there was then actually received out of the *Exchequer* for that Service, from *Michaelmas* 1691, to *Michaelmas* 1694, *viz.* three Years Time, the Sum of —— 6170359 10 3½

The Eſtimate, allowed by Parliament for the Navy, amounts for the ſame Time but to — 5400000 00 0

So that the Charge of the Navy did exceed, what was deſigned by Parliament, the Sum of 770359 10 3½

And then no Complaint was made of it; yet our three Years inconſiderable Sum, *viz.* 366032 17 2 is a monſtrous Charge now: Yet theirs exceeds this by —— 404325 13 1½

What would not the Saints have ſaid! if ſuch a Sum as this had fell upon the Party the L——ds are now accuſing.

Secondly, That the Admiralty have iſſued ſhort of the Sum, allotted by Parliament for that Service, the Sum of — 1142361 2 4

But their L—ps wiſely obſerve, That the Navy Accounts make the Sum, received by the Treaſurer of the Navy, between *Michaelmas* 1701, to *Michaelmas* 1704, to amount to the Sum of —— * 6193094 15 0

5420700 11 1

Which, if ſubtracted from the Proviſions intended by Parliament *, which I have placed above the laſt Sum; and then it will come to but 772394 3 11

So that their L—ps have over-charged the Admiralty in this Article, by the Sum of 369966 18 5

Proof —— —— 1142361 2 4

Now, Sir, if the Sum of —— —— 366033 17 2

Be added with the Sum of Proviſions, —— 772394 3 11

Intended by Parliament for the Navy's Uſe, then the Sum will be —— 1138428 1 1

Which is all their L——ps can pretend to charge the Treaſurers of the Navy with; and we hope their Honours think it in ſafe Hands, ſo long as Sir *T——L——* is of Ability to make it good; if not, pray let them ſpeak.

But their L——ps not Speaking ſhewed they thought him to be of Ability; but now it ſeems he is dead, and indebted to the Navy, the Nation will find whether he was of Ability or not.

Thirdly, It appears at *Michaelmas* 1704, the Debt of the Navy to be 2266864 17 10

And the Navy Debt, at *Michaelmas* 1702, came but to —— 1016767 3 9

So that it has increaſed in two Years Time to — —— 1250097 14 1

And well it may, for it appears by the Treasury-Books, that the Sums, given by Parliament, have fallen short; and, by the extraordinary Expences of the War, *viz.* the Taking of *Gibraltar*, and Beating of the *French* Fleet, must needs increase the Debt considerably, as the Treasury-Books observe, to the Sum of — 1104249 16 5

And, if any Complaint ought to be made, it was on the Government's Side, and not on their L——ps, as if a Mismanagement; but those L—— of the C——, I presume, knew which Way they crept into fair Estates, by Fingering the Publick Treasure of the Nation; and now would make all Persons as guilty, &c. that they might come off the easier.

To the *4th*, *5th*, *6th*, *7th*, *8th*, *9th*, and *10th* Articles, if there be any Mismanagement or Embezzlement in them, they are so inconsiderable, not worth Taking Notice of, and especially by the H—— of P——.

Allow the three Flag-Officers Pay and Table come to, *per Ann.* 4927 *l.* 10 *s.* for three Years comes to ——	14781	10	0
We will allow a Misapplication of the Navy's Pensions to amount for three Years (though in Truth it it not so) to —	3000	00	0
And the P— Council for three Years have embezzled the Sum of	6000	00	0
Now what a mighty Sum is this, *viz.* ——	23681	10	0

for three Years Time to complain of? Says he, Sir, this is but a Flea-bite to what I shall demonstrate to you.

You cannot forget, Sir, that a Lord C—— was impeached, not long since, for a considerable Sum of Money he had; yet he was not contented with his Place that brought him 4000 *l. per Ann.* but the late King *William* allowed him, besides, a Pension of 4000 *l. per Ann.* more: And yet he procured to himself the Grants of several Manors, Fee-Farm-Rents, Quit-Rents &c.

to the Value of ——	33600	00	0
So that this Person has exceeded all their Embezzlements, *viz.* ——	23681	10	0
By the Sum of ——	9918	10	0

But give me Leave to sum up their L—ps whole Charge, as well as the Embezzlements, &c. against those Persons, and you will find they appear not so great a Charge as made.

First then, as for the Debt of the Navy of — I will leave it as I found it, to be made good by Parliament.	2266864	17	2
Secondly, As for what the Navy has exceeded its Charge by Act of Parliament, *viz.* — I will make it a Charge as Money overpaid for the Use of the Navy, above the Sum allowed by Parliament.	0366032	17	2
Thirdly, As for what the Navy has issued short of the Sum allotted by Parliament, I have sufficient Warrant to charge it	0672394	03	11
Fourthly, The unnecessary Pay of three Flag Officers I will charge; which comes to —	0014781	10	00
Fifthly, A supposed Misapplication of the Pensions for three Years, which comes to ——	0003000	00	00
And, *Lastly*, An Embezzlement of three Years Money, for the Prince's Council, comes to ——	0006000	00	00
So that the whole Cash in Hands, the Misapplications and Embezzlements for three Years Time, comes to but --	1062211	11	01

To which may be answered: *First*, as their L——ps do find, by the Navy Accounts, the Money, exceeded, did amount, in three Years Time, to a considerable Sum: Yet they do not say, it was not applied to that Use; therefore I presume, I have good Warrant to discharge the Navy of that Sum as paid; which is —— —— —— 0366032 17 02

Secondly, The three Flag Officers are paid the Sum of —— ——	0014701	10	00
And, *Lastly*, the Pensions are paid, *viz.* —	3000	00	00
Total	0383734	07	02

Therefore,

Therefore, all that as can be pretended to be in Hands, miſapplied or embezzled, for three Years Time, is but ——— 678397 03 11

And, whether this mighty Sum be not iſſued to the Yards and Victuallers, is the Queſtion; and thoſe Miniſters beſt know whether it be ſo or no, for I ſhall not juſtify them in it: But what I have to offer may mollify this great Offence.

Sir, I cannot but remind you; and give me Leave to ſhew what conſiderable Charges and Embezzlements there were brought on the Nation in ſo ſmall a Time as five Years.

The Lord *R*——— hath actually received out of the *Exchequer*, for the Army from *Michaelmas* 1691, to *Michaelmas* 1696 (not computing the Pay for the Army in *Ireland*) the Sum of ——	9256911	13	4¾
The Eſtimate, allowed by Parliament for the Army, came at the ſame Time but to —— ——	6500000	00	00
So that the Army has been over-paid by ——	2756911	13	4¾
E—— *R*——, Eſq; now L—— *O*——, hath received out of the *Exchequer*, for the Pay of the Navy for the ſame Time ——— ———	9108833	10	02
The Treaſurer of the Ordnance, for Sea and Land Service, hath received, for the ſame Time, the Sum of ——	1543826	05	9¾
Total of both	10652659	15	11¾
Now, the Eſtimate of the Navy, Yards, Ordnance, and Victuallers, for the ſame Time, comes to but ——— ———	9000000	00	00
So that the Navy and Ordnance, *&c.* have been over-paid ——— ——	1652659	15	11¾
There has been actually received out of the *Exchequer*, for the Civil Liſt, for the ſame Time, the Sum of ——— —	3455302	00	00
The Eſtimate of the Civil Liſt comes for the ſaid Time but to — —	3000000	00	00
So that the Civil Liſt has been overpaid by —	455302	08	00

Upon theſe Heads, there has been over-paid as follows.

To the Army —— ——	2756911	13	4¾
Navy and Ordnance, *&c.*	1652659	15	11¾
To the Civil Liſt — —	0455302	08	00
Total	4864873	17	4½

And yet the Debt of the Army, Navy, Ordnances, *&c.* and the Civil Liſt, amounted to that Time to the Sum of	6000000	00	00
So that in five Years, there was actually embezzled or miſapplied —	10864873	17	4½

Now, Sir, how much was paid to the Army, Navy, *&c.* ſhort of theſe Proportions allowed by Parliament, will alſo be worth the Inquiry of your Honourable Houſe.

But to their L——ps laſt Obſervation: They ſay, that forty-three Cruiſers and Convoys are allowed by Parliament to protect our Merchants from the Enemy (do they mean Abroad, or at Home?) And that not Twenty-two have been employed at any Time; nor have they done the Duty of three cruiſing Ships, which they think is a great Hardſhip on the Subject, and endangers their Trade; and beſeech her Majeſty, that all poſſible Methods may be taken for the Encouragement of Seamen, the Guarding of the Coaſt, and the Protection of Trade.

Certainly, their L———ps think this Nation has a very treacherous Memory, to forget ſo ſoon the Complaint your H—— H—— of C——— made to their L———ps upon this very Subject.

Let them remember, that one Article of their Impeachment againſt A—— *R*—— was this: That, when ſeveral Complaints were made by the old *Eaſt-India* Company to the Lords of the Admiralty (his Lordſhip being chief C——) of divers Piracies in the South Seas, to the Deſtruction of their Trade, that he rejected their Requeſt, and procured a C——— for Captain *K*———*d*, who went a

P——; and that the ſaid C—— commanded Captain *S*—— to deliver ſeveral able Seamen out of the *D*—— (when the Nation was threatened with an Invaſion from *France*) to Captain *K*——*d*, and they went a P——ing.

Secondly, That the L——ds *S*—— and *B*——*rt*, &c. got a Grant under the G—— S—— in 97, to have all the Ships, *&c.* Goods, Treaſures, *&c.* taken ſince *April* 30, 1696, by P——cy without Account.

And that ſaid L——*S*—— put the Great S—— unto a Treaty with *F*——, whereby great Dominions were given that King, to the Prejudice of the Merchants Trade in general.

But I am very glad their L——ps begin to be ſo vigilant in National Miſcarriages; for, with humble Submiſſion, I think it is high Time they were all redreſſed. I am ſure, your Honourable Houſe has been many Years labouring hard to bring it to paſs, and have been as often prevented therein, by their L——ps not being at Leiſure, or, at leaſt, not in a Humour to do it; which Refuſal, your Honourable Houſe, not long ſince, voted to be a Denial of J—— (in their Lordſhips) to the Common Cauſe, and an Hindrance to the publick Benefit of this Kingdom in general. And, ſince they have publickly begun to addreſs her Majeſty, that this publick Grievance may be redreſſed, though very inconſiderable, yet, if not nipped in the Bloſſom, Who knows what an Heighth it may at laſt come to? I think now Time offers to redreſs them all; and once your H—— H—— deſired ſuch an Opportunity; and you cannot do leſs, for your Country's Service, than vigorouſly, and with all Diligence, to proſecute this Affair, and to go Hand in Hand with their L——ps, to accompliſh it. For, as I am an High-Church Man, Sir, I am not for having the Government impoſed on, nor the Nation's Treaſure embezzled, or profuſely ſpent in needleſs Penſions, *&c.* by any Manner of Perſons, either High-Church, Low, or No Church. And whoever is catched in the Tranſgreſſion, and ſpared by one Side or the other, can be no good Subject, nor an hearty Lover of her Majeſty's Government.

It mightily rejoices me to ſee their L——ps Eyes begin to be opened, and that they can ſpy Faults and Miſmanagements in Government, as well as other Perſons; though I muſt confeſs, there is no Government ſo infallible, but may err in ſome Matters; which Errors are very viſible in the late Reign, as well as in this: And, ſince it ſo often happens, it may be convenient to remind their L——ps of your late Impeachments, that all Offenders and Embezzlers of the publick Treaſure may be brought to a ſtrict Account. This is what you always aimed at for the Nation's Service, and have always continued ſo to do by your conſtant Addreſſing her Majeſty; and, ſince I have made it ſo viſible in four Heads, that upwards of ten Millions of Money have been embezzled in five Years Time, it is to be hoped their L——ps will be pleaſed to condeſcend, that the late Miniſters of State be brought to an Account, as well as the preſent.

I hope, by this Time, their L——ps are thoroughly convinced in their Judgments, that it is high Time they were brought to an Account; which, if done, I am ſure, would be of great Service to the Nation, and would deſerve the publick Thanks of the Kingdom. This would encourage the Nation and Seamen chearfully to go on in the common Cauſe, the one with their Purſes, and the other with their Lives; but, if their L——ps will contentedly ſit down, only with the Accuſation of the Navy, of a *Churchill*, a *Greydon*, or a *Munden*, for ſo inconſiderable a Sum (which all their Lordſhips can pretend to charge is not an Embezzlement) of 678,397 *l.* 3 *s.* 11 *d.* will look only like a Party-quarrel, and ſhew they take Delight in Expoſing their ſmall Miſmanagement, when they meekly ſuffer an *O*——, a *R*——, a *S*——, &c. to go away unpuniſhed, with upwards of thirty Millions of the Kingdom's Money unaccounted for. This, I hope, their L——ps will take Care to avoid, like *Engliſh* Patriots, and not ſuffer the Government of the Nation to be miſerably oppreſſed and beggared.

It cannot enter into my Thoughts, but their L——ps will do all Things for the Good of the Nation in general; yet I am ſomewhat ſurpriſed to ſee their Addreſs to the Q—— printed by their Authority; I cannot tell what to make of it, it looks ſo much like the Obſervator's Appealing to the People, deſigning to expoſe the ſmalleſt Miſcarriages in Government on one Side, and let the greateſt Embezzlements on the other go free. But their L——ps have mightily miſſed their

Ends

Ends in it, if they intend ſo; for the Addreſs is ſo ſeaſonably come out, that it will very much open the Eyes of the Nation; and, if the Grievances be not redreſſed on all Sides, it will look like a Party Addreſs, diſſenting from the Kingdom's true Intereſt, and ſo they may become the Odium of the Nation: But let us hope for better Things from their H———s.

Another Thing to me ſeems very odd, and looks juſt like the Stranger and Satyr in the Fable, that blew both hot and cold in a Breath; or, What can be the Meaning of Settling a grateful Reward on his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, for his eminent Service done to the Publick in general: and yet, at the ſame Time, to repine at his Brother *Churchill*'s Inconſiderable *per Annum* of 3142 *l.* 10 *s.* which their L———ps have cauſed to be printed at large, in their late A———ſs to her Majeſty? One would think, that what his Grace had done might have eaſily ſwallowed ſo ſmall a Trifle as his Staying at Home, without their L———s publick Notice thereof. If the Nation's Grievances are heartily deſigned to be redreſſed, I think it would be very convenient their L———ps ſhould join with your honourable Houſe, to call all evil Miniſters of State to a ſpeedy Account.

Secondly, In the next Place, to ſecure the Government, and the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſhed, and not ſuffer them to be inſulted and bullied by the Whiggiſh Enemies of State, both at Home and Abroad. And,

Laſtly, To ſecure to our Merchants their Trade; and this, in ſome Meaſure, will enable you to ſecure the whole State.

But, if we muſt tumble into Faction, and only accuſe one Party, becauſe the leaſt Tranſgreſſors, and let the other go free, becauſe the greateſt Offenders, it is juſt like *Alexander*'s Pirate, that was condemned to be hanged for Robbing in a ſmall Veſſel, whilſt he himſelf, with his great Fleets, triumphed in Spoiling and Ruining of the greateſt of Kingdoms.

To conclude: I muſt be bold to ſay, had the firſt Tranſgreſſors been ſeverely puniſhed, when catched in the Offence, it would have deterred others from Doing the like Miſchiefs; and all Miſmanagements and Loſſes, that have ſince happened to this Kingdom, are owing to that H—— of P——, that refuſed, upon your Complaint, to do the Nation common J———, when ſo often importuned thereto by your honourable Houſe.

I am, S I R,

Braintree, Feb. 19, 1705.

Your moſt devoted Servant,

W. L.

And thus I have led you, Step by Step, through all this Commoner of *England*'s Obſervations thereon; and I think he has handled the Miniſtry to Purpoſe.

But, perchance, you may deſire to know what Effect theſe Obſervations wrought on their L———ps at that Time? Even none at all; for the Deſign, it ſeems, lay here: 'As 'ſoon as this Addreſs had brought over the 'Court-intereſt to their Party, all Matters of 'Complaint were laid aſide, and the Miniſtry 'were as briſk at their old Sport of Embezzle-'ments and Miſapplications, as ever, and ſo 'would have gone on to the End of the Chap-'ter.' Had not ſome true Old *Engliſh* Heroes opened the Eyes of her Majeſty, the whole Kingdom had been ſunk into an eternal Ruin, without Redemption; and that occaſioned the Queen to change the Low-Church Miniſtry; and this brought to our Aſſiſtance our Deliverers from this Slavery, our preſent new Parliament, and occaſioned that excellent Speech from the Throne, at the Opening of this Seſſion, where her Majeſty (though ſenſibly) complains of the heavy Debts of the Navy and other Offices.

And now, Sir, what if I ſhould let you into ſome other new Embezzlements and Miſapplications, which I may truly ſay were occaſioned by their L—ps, for want of their ſeaſonable and annual Addreſſing of the Queen.

For, if Fame ſpeaks Truth, it is reported, that Sir *T*—— *L*——*n*, T———r of the N—vy, has died indebted to the Sailors three Years Wages: If ſo, according to the Eſtimate of the Navy, it amounts to about —— 5400000 00 00

which is one Article, without Doubt, your honourable Houſe is to make good.

And a certain late L——d T———r, they ſay, has embezzled or miſapplied the Sum of — 2500000 00 00

which Embezzlements are grown a new Debt on the ſeveral Offices complained of.

The

The Total of both comes to —— —— 7900000 00 00

And for the Year enſuing you are to provide no leſs than —— 6000000 00 00

To carry on the War againſt *France* and *Spain*, in all —— 13000000 00 00

a pretty little inconſiderable Sum. Theſe you are to raiſe, and make good as deſired. And whether with theſe Sponges, as *De Foe* ſays, you will be pleaſed to wipe out the Scores and Debts of the Nation the Low-church Miniſtry have contracted, I think will be very much worth your While to try the Experiment of.

It would not be amiſs to ſqueeſe theſe Low-church Sponges heartily, till they drop again to Purpoſe; and, who knows but you may get out of them ten Years Embezzlements (rather than part with the whole ill-gotten Sum for twenty Years laſt paſt) which comes to about —— 15875893 17 4½

So that you will clear the Nation from the Debt of the late L——d T———r, and Sir *Th*——*s L*——*n*, the T———r of the N——y, and have in their Pockets clear, to begin the next Year's War with the Sum of —— —— 1975893 17 4½

But here lies the greateſt Difficulty. In whoſe Hands will your honourable Houſe intruſt the remaining Money, and all that you ſhall raiſe for the Future, ſince it is ſo apparent how difficult it is to bring ſuch Miniſters of State to Account for their Embezzlements and Miſmanagements of the Kingdom's publick Treaſure? This is a Matter will require your whole Thoughts. For, if that can be but effected to your Liking, Content, and Satisfaction, it will for ever make the Queen eaſy, the Funds well looked after, the Seamen and the Army well paid. And this will be the Means to reſtore the loſt Credit, which evil Miniſters of State have been long hammering at to ruin, or at leaſt to bring it to ſuch a low Ebb on the Government's Side, that the ſaid Miniſtry might have new-modelled any Scheme of Government they had moſt Inclination to, having ſo often all the publick Caſh of the Nation in their Hands, and that they ſet up the Bank with moſt feloniouſly, for that End and Purpoſe.

In my humble Opinion (not that I am going to direct) it were not amiſs, if your honourable Houſe would not ſuffer one ſingle Miniſter, or Officer of State, to have of the publick Money ſo raiſed to carry on the War againſt *France* and *Spain*, above fifty-thouſand Pounds a Man, and good Security given, that he ſhould no Ways embezzle or miſ-employ the ſaid Money, but ſolely pay it to that publick End it was raiſed for: But to truſt one Man with one, two, or three Millions at a Time, is a Temptation to cheat the Publick, at leaſt one Quarter Part of it, if not of the whole Sum: And, when you come to look into the Man's Eſtate, he has none; or otherwiſe made it away, on purpoſe to become a Cheat to the Nation.

But you may, perchance, object, and ſay that you cannot find any Miniſter that can give ſuch Security; or, if he could, he ought not to do it, for it is an Infringement of her Majeſty's Prerogative; for it is fit and convenient, that, as ſhe is entruſted with all the Monies ſo raiſed, it is her ſole Right to appoint ſuch Miniſters or Officers as ſhe can confide in with the ſaid Money.

To which I anſwer, It cuſtomarily has been ſo; but it is alſo too viſible, for upwards of twenty Years laſt paſt, that all, that have been intruſted with the publick Treaſure, have made it their Buſineſs to fleece the Government of the publick Treaſure, to embezzle and miſ-apply the ſame; and, how hard and difficult it has been to bring ſuch Miniſters to Account, the whole Kingdom is very ſenſible of, and, ſure, it is but reaſonable to ſecure the publick Treaſure at all Times; and, if the Houſe of Commons do not put a Stop to this great Evil, the Nation will be utterly beggared at laſt. And there can be no other Expedient found out, that can preſerve the Credit of the Kingdom, but by appointing Commiſſioners of their own, *viz.*, Gentlemen of known Eſtates, and to intruſt them with fifty-thouſand Pounds a Man, and no more, they giving Security not to embezzle, or miſapply the ſame; and, if they do, their Eſtates and Security to make it good. And, certainly, it is impoſſible, that any one of theſe Perſons ſhould miſcarry, in their Diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in them by the honourable the Houſe of Commons.

But I very much wonder, at this Time of Day, why the Low-church Party ſhould ſtand ſo tightly for the Queen's Prerogative, by ſaying, That ſuch an Expedient, if found out, will be an Infringement of the ſame. Time was, that none were more violent againſt the

Prerogative,

Prerogative of the Crown, than theſe very People; and now, in a Trice, they are highly defending the Prerogative. This, at firſt Sight, looks myſterious, but I will unriddle this Matter in a Trice.

It ſeems, the Prerogative, they ſtand ſo tightly for, is to ſcreen themſelves, and that they might not be put out of that ſweet and old arbitrary Way of cheating the Soldiers and the Navy, and fleecing the Kingdom of thoſe few trifling Millions, not worth the Parliament's Taking Notice of, which they had only gotten by cunning Overſights, and Negligences in Accounts, by ſuch as, perchance, at firſt were not able to check them. This makes them ſtand ſo violently for the Prerogative of the Crown, which by no Means, they ſay, ought to be leſſened; and it is what her Majeſty will never conſent to.

Now give me Leave a little. I think they talk for the Queen, but would act for themſelves: Their Buſineſs is only to dive dexterouſly, and to take Care that no other Sharpers ſhould come at the Pocket of the Nation but themſelves: They have often found it full, and have as often left it empty; yet ſtill they are ſtruggling to continue in their old Game, and now are curſed mad that any but themſelves ſhould be in the Government, and are preparing Gibbets for *Mordecai*. And what do not ſuch Miniſters deſerve, that deprive the Queen of the Service of the Pick-pockets and Sharpers of the Nation?

Theſe pretended Friends to the Government have indeed ſtuck faſt to it, but it was like Leeches, ſucking almoſt the very Heart's Blood of the Nation; but a little Salt from the Hands of the Parliament will ſoon ſhew what it was they adhered ſo cloſe to the Government for.

Are we not almoſt driven to the very Brink of Deſtruction? Our Treaſures are riotouſly waſted; our Conſtitution in Danger of being ſubverted, and the Nation almoſt in general corrupted. And all this under a Colour of a falſe pretended Zeal for her Majeſty's Perſon and Government; when ſome Men have arrived to ſuch a Height of Favour in Court, and ſuch a Degree of Popularity in the City, that they have at laſt took upon them, with an audacious Front, to direct the very Monarchy.

They have been able, for many Years paſt, to brand all thoſe who took any Care of our Conſtitution, or offered to require any good Huſbandry in the Diſpoſition of the publick Treaſures, with odious unpopular Names, and almoſt to ſtir up the Mob againſt them: Thus, had they ſucceeded, the Old *Engliſh* Conſtitution had expired. And ſince the Majority of the Nation have, by their Choice, ſent us up ſuch worthy Patriots, it is to be hoped they will effectually take Care of the Monarchy, the Church and State, and ſet the Kingdom out of Debt, and ſee that the Army and the Navy are well paid; and keep out, for the Future, ſuch ravening and devouring Wolves, that have brought the Credit of the Nation to ſo low an Ebb by their Miſapplications and Embezzlements of the Kingdom's Treaſure.

Is it not a ſtrange and wonderful Thing, that, while the Nation is almoſt Bankrupt, wealthy Men ſhould ſhoot up in ſeveral Offices, like Muſhrooms; and, while the Government was endangered to be beggared, that all its Servants ſhould riot in ſuch Wealth and Plenty, that the bare Handling of a Bruſh in any Office was the ready Way to a plentiful Fortune; as if the publick Treaſure had been thrown in there only for the Officers to bruſh it into their Pockets? Theſe Abuſes call loudly for Reformation; and our Repreſentatives, no Doubt, will do their utmoſt Endeavour to amend the ſame.

And, ſince ſome People may queſtion to what Ends and Purpoſes Members of Parliament are elected by the People to repreſent them, I ſhall preſume to give them theſe following Inſtructions.

The Buſineſs, therefore, of a Houſe of Commons is, to repreſent the whole Commonalty of *England*; that is, they are to do all ſuch Things, and exerciſe all ſuch Powers for the Welfare and Safety of the Publick, which the whole common People would be ſuppoſed to do and exerciſe, could they meet together to counſel and debate orderly and quietly, and deliberate maturely, for their own common Good and Safety.

They are to appoint all publick Diſburſements, the Quantity, Time, and Manner of their Payments; the Uſes to which they are to be diſpoſed, and, if they pleaſe, the Officers through whoſe Hands it ſhall paſs. If ſo, now is the Time then to appoint ſuch Officers of your own, and not ſuffer the Nation any more to be cheated by Upſtarts, and ſuch as have no viſible Eſtates to come at, when they

they embezzle the Kingdom's Treaſure, as ſuch have done for twenty Years laſt paſt, without any publick Remedy. This requires your publick Amendment; for the War has left us very low in Purſe, the Credit of the Nation almoſt eclipſed by the late Miniſtry, our Funds anticipated and deficient; and, to compleat all, has left us a new Debt of ſeveral Millions. Theſe Conſiderations will oblige you certainly to prevent the like grand Miſcarriages for the Future, by appointing, as we hope you will, ſuch Gentlemen of Eſtates as may give ſufficient Security to perform that important Truſt, which will be ſo very neceſſary for the Kingdom's Preſervation, and Benefit in general.

Secondly, They are to enquire how ſuch Sums have been applied; and, if they find any Miſapplication, to bring the Offenders to Puniſhment: And this is a ſecond Reaſon why you ought to appoint Officers of your own. For have not your Honourable Houſe endeavoured, for twenty Years laſt paſt, to bring ſuch evil Miniſters to Account, and how often have been prevented by cunning Stratagems and Delays of ſome great Perſons, whoſe Intereſt appeared too great for you to cope with in another Place.

Thirdly, They are to adviſe with, and aſſiſt the other two ſovereign Eſtates in all arduous Affairs, eſpecially in making and contriving good Laws for the Security of our Religion, Liberties and Properties, of which at this Time we ſtand in great Need; for our Occaſional Conformiſts, if not well looked after, will ſwallow up our Government by this cunning Hypocriſy, which is a villainous Artifice, on Purpoſe to bring in Ruin to the Church and State.

Fourthly, They are to revive ſuch good Laws as are antiquated, and to repeal them, if the Reaſons be ceaſed, and the Laws themſelves of no longer Uſe and Benefit to the Publick. And,

Laſtly, They are to protect and preſerve intire the Rights and Privileges of the whole People, whom they repreſent as a third Eſtate of the Kingdom. And this loudly calls to you for Amendment; What Inſolencies and Affronts have been offered our Church and State by thoſe tender-conſcienced People, our moderate Diſſenters? How often have they been for Roaſting, Gutting, Dewitting, Mobbing, Hanging, Drawing, and Quartering one poor Prieſt of the Church of *England*, becauſe he preached up Paſſive Obedience, a Doctrine of the Church; which it ſeems did a little too much grate upon the ſcrupulous Conſciences of our tender Brethren, the moſt religious Diſſenters?

I ſay, this brought on all thoſe Affronts and Inſolencies which our holy Church and Conſtitution met with in a late famous Trial, of ever-glorious Memory, in which her Majeſty did not eſcape their vile Tongues in their imperious and rebellious Language. This alſo highly calls for your Amendment, that it may never more be in the Power of ſuch Perſons to be ſo monſtrouſly rude and uncivil as heretofore.

Now, if ſuch Offenders are not corrected according to their Merits, the Lord have Mercy on the Nation; for the Government, both in Church and State, are in a very dangerous Condition, and will not be long before they are brought to Deſtruction; which God of his infinite Mercy prevent.

A parallel Account of the National Expences, from November 3, 1640, *to* November 1659; *and from* November 5, 1688, *to* Michaelmas 1700.

The Long Parliament's Account.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Subſidies, ſix come to	600000	0	0
Aſſeſſments to diſband the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* Armies	800000	0	0
Tonnage and Poundage, nineteen Years	5700000	0	0
Captives, nine Years	27000	0	0
Ditto, five Years	75000	0	0
Sale of *Iriſh* Lands	1200000	0	0
Total	8402000	0	0

Brought

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over	8402000	0	0
Second Sail	92500	0	0
Third Sail	30000	0	0
Contribution for *Irish* Proteſtants	100000	0	0
Second Contribution	50000	0	0
Third Contribution	30000	0	0
Aſſeſſments through *England* for the *Britiſh* Army in *Ireland*, for five Years	1200000	0	0
Twentieth Parts of Goods, *&c.* to raiſe an Army for the Earl of *Eſſex*, for the Defence of *England*	2745055	0	0
Ditto, ſecond Time	2745055	0	0
Weekly Aſſeſſments towards Payment of the ſaid Army, three Years	5617583	8	0
Weekly Meal to raiſe Auxiliaries, ſix Years	608400	0	0
Monthly Aſſeſſments towards Payment of the ſaid Army, two Years	488064	0	0
Sir *William Waller*'s Army weekly Aſſeſſment, one Year	84258	5	0
The *Scots* Army's weekly Aſſeſſment, two Years	168000	0	0
Brown's Army's weekly Aſſeſſment, one Year	38400	0	0
Fairfax's Army's monthly Aſſeſſment at 36366 *l.* three Years	1127726	4	0
Ditto, at 60000 *l. per* Month, for two Years	1620000	0	0
Ditto, at 90000 *l. per* Month, for one Year, *&c.*	1890000	0	0

Forces raiſed on particular Counties, &c.

Exon, for five Years, comes to	12000	0	0
Hertford one Year, then aſſociated	4800	0	0
Iſle of *Wight*, four Years	1900	0	0
Warwick, &c. aſſociated, five Years	133650	0	0
Plymouth, four Years	28800	0	0
Yarmouth, four Years	19200	0	0
Aylſbury, five Years	1000	0	0
Buckingham, four Years	76800	0	0
Eaſtern Aſſociation, five Years	1234962	10	0
Dorſet and *Poole*, two Years, and then aſſociated	24780	0	0
Kent, &c. aſſociated, five Years	270000	0	0
North-Wales, &c. five Years	38652	0	0
Northton, five Years	119200	0	0
Huntington, two Years, and then aſſociated	13200	0	0
Southton, four Years	115200	0	0
Newport-Pagnel, one Year, then aſſociated	49000	0	0
London, &c. five Years	5600	0	0
Hull, five Years	46600	0	0
Cheſter, County and City, one Year, then aſſociated	6944	0	0
Glouceſter, County and City, three Years	163400	0	0
Pembroke, &c. aſſociated, three Years	20090	0	0
Salop, three Years	57000	0	0
Leiceſter, three Years	86400	0	0
Wilts and *Malmſbury*, one Year, then aſſociated	2900	0	0
Weſtern Aſſociation, four Years	509160	0	0
Worceſter, *&c.* three Years	51597	12	0
Middleſex, three Years	108000	0	0
London, to ſet up Poſts and Chains	96000	0	0
Lincoln, three Years	117600	0	0
Derby, three Years	48000	0	0
Total	30499477	19	0

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over	30499477	19	0
Northern Association, three Years	433831	14	0
Rutland, three Years	29000	0	0
Surry, three Years	44000	0	0
Newark, to be reduced, coſt	9916	12	0
Lancaſter, two Years	72000	0	0
Newport, two Years	89904	0	0
County of *London* to aſſeſs for Horſes and Arms	10000	6	0
Proviſion for maimed Soldiers	18180	0	0
Exciſe for ſeventeen Years	1020000	0	0
Duty on Coals, ſeventeen Years	850000	0	0
Duty on Currants, ſeventeen Years	51000	0	0

Sequeſtrations of Delinquents Eſtates, viz.

Biſhops Lands, four Years	884089	16	7
Deans and Chapters Lands, four Years	564740	18	6
Inferior Clergy's Lands, four Years	2077802	1	3
Temporal Eſtates, four Years	280000	0	0
Crown Lands, four Years	280000	0	0
Compoſition for Court of Wards, four Years	400000	0	0
Deans Foreſt, four Years	16000	0	0
Fee-Farm Rents, four Years	1054392	0	0
Tenths of the Clergy, four Years	400080	0	8
Prince of *Wales*'s Income	80000	0	0
Timber for the Navy out of Delinquents Woods	7760	0	0
Poſtage of Letters, fourteen Years	301000	0	0
Wine Licence, fourteen Years	312200	0	0
Compoſition for Court of Wards, ten Years	1000000	0	0
Income of Offices for publick Service, fifteen Years	850000	0	0
Vintners Delinquency	4000	0	0
Compounding with Delinquents for their Eſtates	1277226	0	0
Diſbanding the Army	900000	0	0
Militia of *England* kept up, thirteen Years	3120000	0	0
Oliver's Expedition to *Ireland*	150000	0	0

Sale of Lands, *viz.*

Biſhops Lands, at ten Years	2420224	11	6½
Deans and Chapters Lands, ten Years	1411852	6	8
Rectory and Glebe Lands, twelve Years	6203586	3	9
Crown Lands, thirteen Years	9152000	0	0
Prince of *Wales*'s Lands, thirteen Years	260000	0	0
Fee-Farm Rents, eight Years	1908784	0	0
New-River Water, eight Years	8000	0	0
Tenths of the Clergy, eight Years	1200240	2	0
Lord *Craven* and other Eſtates, at thirteen Years	700000	0	0
Giffard and other Eſtates, at thirteen Years	900000	0	0
Sir *John Stawell* and others, five Years	560000	0	0
Foreſt Lands, thirteen Years	56000	0	0
Houſes and Caſtles of the Kings	600000	0	0
Total	81647288	11	11½

†

John

	l.	s.	d.
Brought over	81647288	11	11½
John and *William*, *Peter*, and divers others, *viz.* one hundred seventy-one Persons, their Estates to pay Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine* 5000 *l.* in Arrear, and 8000 *l. per Ann.*	85000	0	0
Oliver made Captain General of *Fairfax*'s Forces, and the Assessment for the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, 90000 *l. per* Month for two Years	2160000	0	0
Assessments of 120000 *l. per* Month for the said Army and Navy, one Year	1440000	0	0
Drums and Colours 90000 *l. per Ann.* for ten Years	900000	0	0
Irish Delinquents to compound for two Years Rents	1000000	0	0
Oliver voted Protector, and he assessed for the Army 120000 *l.* and 90000 *l.* for three Months	630000	0	0
Agreed 60000 *l. per* Month be the Pay of the Army for six Years	4320000	0	0
To defray the Charges of Justice 200000 *l. per Ann.* six Years	1200000	0	0
Free Gifts to the Saints in Money	679800	0	0
In Places (excluding the Army and Navy) *per Ann.* seven Years	306110	0	0
In Estates *per Ann.* for eleven Years	189365	0	0
Besides, the House of Commons voted each of their Members 4 *l. per* Week, and count but 256 Members, and no more, for fourteen Years	745472	0	0
Total	95303095	9	11½

A General Abstract of Money raised in England *by the Long-Parliament, from* November 3, 1640, *to* November 1659.

Subsidies	600000	0	0
The Armies	32780721	13	0
Tonnage and Poundage	5700000	0	0
Captives	102000	0	0
Sale of *Irish* Lands	1322500	0	0
Contributions for *Irish* Protestants	180000	0	0
Forces for Defence of particular Counties	4141088	8	0
Excises	10200000	0	0
Duty on Coals	850000	0	0
Ditto on Currants	51000	0	0
Sequestrations of Estates	6044924	17	0
Postage of Letters	301000	0	0
Wine Licences	312200	0	0
Composition for Court of Wards	1000000	0	0
Offices to Publick Service	850000	0	0
Vintners Delinquency	4000	0	0
Compositions for Estates	1277226	0	0
Sale of *English* Lands	25380687	3	11½
Settled out of Gentlemen's Estates to pay Prince *Palatine*	85000	0	0
Compound with *Irish* Delinquents	1000000	0	0
Charge of Justice, six Years	1200000	0	0
To the House of Commons, 14 Years, comes to	745472	0	0
Free Gifts to the Saints, *viz.* in Money	679800	0	0
in Offices	306110	0	0
in Estates, *per An.*	189365	0	0
Total	95303095	1	11½

A Ge-

A General Abſtract of the Receipts and Iſſues of the Publick Revenues, Taxes, and Loans, that have been granted to the late King William, *from* November 5, 1688, *to* Michaelmas 1700.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
	The Receipts.				
Received on	Cuſtoms	10997955	6	3	½
	Exciſe	12105151	19	7	0
	Hearth and Letter Money, *&c.*	1769653	1	4	¾
	Land-Tax	17520100	14	5	0
	Poll-Tax	2527983	12	9	0
	Promiſcuous Taxes	7170903	17	9	½
	Divers Receipts	466999	1	4	0
	State of Loans	1334860	5	10	¼
	Remained *Nov.* 5, 88, with which the Treaſury began	80138	18	3	0
	Total	65987566	17	8	0
	The Iſſues.				
Iſſued	To the Treaſurer of the Navy, *viz.* Lord *Faulkland*, in King *James*'s Time	198068	0	1	0
	To Admiral *R----ll* in K. *W-----*'s Time, Treaſurer of the Navy	16940497	1	10	¾
	To Sir *Tho. L-------n*, Treaſurer of the Navy	818659	5	10	¼
	Total to the Navy	17957224	7	9	½
	To the Army Lord *Ranelagh*	21239723	6	11	½
	To the Ordnance	2889001	1	6	[illegible]
	To the Civil Liſt	7882391	10	2	[illegible]
	Divers Services	15693555	11	0	0
	Remained at *Michaelmas* 1700	325671	0	2	0
	Total	65987566	17	8	½

Memorandum. There was iſſued more than received the Sum of Two Farthings; a very nice Account I will aſſure you.

The Total of the Long-Parliament 95303095 *l.* 1 *s.* 11 *d.* ½. Of King *William* 65987566 *l.* 17 *s.* 8 *d.* Of both 161290661 *l.* 19 *s.* 7 *d.* ½. An inconſiderable Sum, conſidering our great Deliverance from Popery and Slavery, and Arbitrary Government. And yet the Saints want to deliver us of as much more, if we pleaſe but to be ſo good-natured as to let them ſet up a Commonwealth.

An Account* of the Manner of Taking the late Duke of *Monmouth*, &c. By his Majeſty's Command. *London*, Printed by *B. G.* for *Samuel Keeble*, at the *Turk's-Head*, over-againſt *Fetter-lane*, in *Fleet-ſtreet*, 1685. *Folio*, containing four Pages.

IMmediately after the Defeat of the Rebels at *Bridgewater*, on *Monday* the Sixth of *July* inſtant, the late Duke of *Monmouth*, late Lord *Grey*, and the *Brandenburgh* fled; and, coming between *Gillingham* and *Shaftſbury*, got a Guide to lead them the Way to the new Foreſt, moſt free from Towns and Watches; he led them by *White-Sheet*, four Miles Eaſt of *Shaftſbury*, and thence by *Cranborne-Chace*: where, their Horſes being tired, they let them looſe, and hid their Bridles and Saddles.

In the mean Time, the News of the ſaid Defeat coming to the Lord *Lumley*, then poſted at *Ringwood* in *Hampſhire*, with three Troops of Horſe of Colonel *Stapley's* Regiment, commanded by Major *Bridger*, Captain *Monk*, and Captain *Peckham*; and four Companies of Foot, of Colonel *Alford's* Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel *Cooper*, Captain *Bickely*, Captain *Beſt*, and Captain *Carre*, all of the *Suſſex* Militia, his Lordſhip was pleaſed to ſend his Scouts every Way to take up ſuſpected Perſons; and Sir *William Portman*, for the ſame End, had taken Care for ſtrong Watches to be ſet, made up of his Yellow-Coats and others, on the Roads from *Poole* to the moſt Northern Parts of *Dorſet*.

Upon the Seventh Inſtant, about Five in the Morning, ſome of the Lord *Lumley's* ſaid Scouts (riding in the Road, near *Holt-Lodge* in *Dorſet*, four Miles Weſt of *Ringwood*) juſt at the Turn of a Croſs-way, ſurpriſed and ſeized two ſuſpected Perſons, which, when the Lord *Lumley* came up, proved to be the late Lord *Grey* and the ſaid Guide: This put the Lord *Lumley* upon a ſtrict Examining of the Cottages, with which that heathy Country abounds, and Calling in the Neighbourhood, that were acquainted with the Country, &c. Notice of this being brought to Sir *William Portman*, by ſome of his Watches, &c. he haſtened to the Place, with as many Horſe and Foot, as he could of a ſudden get together.

It happened, upon the Lord *Lumley's* Enquiry amongſt the Cottages, that a poor Woman, one *Amy Farrant*, directed his Lordſhip to a Hedge, where ſhe had ſeen two Men go over; which Hedge proved to be Part of the Out-bounds of very many incloſed Grounds, ſome overgrown by Fern and Brakes, and others ſown with Rye, Peaſe, or Oats, &c.

Whereupon a ſtrict Guard was put very near one another, round thoſe Out-bounds, whilſt other Foot and Horſe did beat within: Theſe Guards kept their ſeveral Poſts ſo well, that, though the late Duke and the *Brandenburgh* attempted, at leaſt thirty Times, to make their Eſcape out, yet they always found each Guard ready; and, upon their laſt Attempt to eſcape, two of the Troopers, firing on them, made them immediately to retire, and hide themſelves a-part from each other, in ſome of the adjacent Ditches, where they were afterwards found.

Upon the eighth Day, by Five of the Clock in the Morning, the *Brandenburgh* was found; who, upon Examination, confeſſed, That he parted with the ſaid late Duke, within the ſame Out-bounds, about One of the Clock that Morning: Whereupon, every individual Perſon, being encouraged thereby, and by the Hopes of having a Share in the five-thouſand Pounds (as was before agreed on in the Field) did renew the Purſuit of him with the ſtricteſt Search and Diligence imaginable; and, about Seven of the Clock of the ſame Morning, one *Henry Parkin*, Servant to *Samuel Rolles*, Eſq; happened to diſcover the ſaid late Duke hid in a Ditch, covered with Fern and Brakes, and, calling to two of the *Suſſex* Troopers that

* This is the 259th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

were

were by him, all three ſeized him together: Sir *William Portman*, happening to be near that Place, rid preſently in, and quieted thoſe that cried, *Shoot him, Shoot him!* He laid Hands on him, as his Priſoner, and ſo preſerved him from all Violence and Rudeneſs; and immediately, in the ſame Inſtant, the Lord *Lumley* came in, and agreed, that Sir *William Portman* ſhould ſearch him; which was done, and, as ſoon as they had found his *Garter*, they diſpatched that, with the News, to his Majeſty, by Captain *Bickely* and Mr. *Chaldecot*, *Suſſex* and *Dorſet* Gentlemen.

The Priſoners, after this, were kept two Nights at *Ringwood*: On *Friday*, the Lord *Lumley* diſcharged the Foot there, and, with the ſaid three Troops of the *Suſſex* Horſe, and one Troop of the *Dorſet* Militia, commanded by Captain *Fownes*, they were conveyed to *Winchester*, where joined them two Troops of his Majeſty's in Pay, and two of the *Northampton* Militia Troops; all which conducted them to *Farnham*-Caſtle upon *Saturday* the 11th, and the next Day to *Guilford*, and upon *Monday* the 13th to *Vaux-hall*, where a Regiment of the Lord *Dartmouth*'s received them, with other Troops of his Majeſty's in Pay, and thence, by Barge, they were carried to *Whitehall*.

The Papers and Books, that were found on him, are ſince delivered to his Majeſty.

One of the Books was a Manuſcript of Spells, Charms, and Conjurations, Songs, Receipts, and Prayers, all written with the ſaid late Duke's own Hand.

Two others were Manuſcripts of Fortification and the Military Art.

And a fourth Book, fairly written, wherein are Computes of the yearly Expence of his Majeſty's Navy and Land-forces.

And, as for his Gold, only twenty Guineas were given to the ſaid *Parkin*, and ten Guineas a-piece to the two Troopers that firſt ſeized him; and the reſt was returned to the ſaid late Duke.

As the Priſoners paſſed through *Rumſey*, *Wincheſter*, *Farnham*, and *Guilford*, one would admire to ſee the very great Numbers of the Militia, with the Deputy Lieutenants, and Gentlemen of thoſe Parts, that were ready to guard them, and take off the Fatigue of ſuch as were on the March.

Within Doors, none but Commiſſion Officers were truſted to watch by them; and, beſides thoſe, the Lord *Lumley* and Sir *William Portman* took their Turns to watch in Perſon, Night and Day, from the Time of the Taking of the ſaid late Duke, until they had delivered him ſafe at *Whitehall*, from whence he was conveyed to the *Tower*.

A Treatiſe of MONARCHY*, containing two Parts:

I. Concerning Monarchy in General.

II. Concerning this Particular Monarchy.

Wherein all the main Queſtions, occurrent in both, are ſtated, diſputed, and determined. Done by an earneſt Deſirer of his Country's Peace. *London*, printed for, and ſold by *Richard Baldwin*, in the *Old-Bailey*. 1689. *Quarto*, containing thirty-eight Pages.

* *Vide* the 26th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

PART

PART I. CHAP. I.

Of Political Government, and its Diſtinction into ſeveral Kinds.

SECT. I.

Authority, how far from God, how far from Men.

GOvernment and Subjection are Relatives, ſo that what is ſaid of the one, may in Proportion be ſaid of the other: Which being ſo, it will be needleſs to treat of both; becauſe it will be eaſy to apply what is ſpoken of the one to the other. Government is *Poteſtatis exercitium*, the Exerciſe of a Moral Power. One of theſe is the Root and Meaſure of the other; which if it exceed, is exorbitant, is not Government, but a Tranſgreſſion of it. This Power and Government is differenced with reſpect to the Governed, to Wit, a Family, which is called *Oeconomical*; or a publick Society, which is called *Political*, or Magiſtracy. Concerning this Magiſtracy we will treat, 1. In general. 2. Of the principal Kind of it.

In general concerning Magiſtracy, there are two Things about which I find Difficulty and Difference, *viz.* the Original, and the End.

Firſt, for the Original: There ſeem to be two Extreams in Opinion; while ſome amplify the Divinity thereof, others ſpeak ſo ſlightly of it, as if there were little elſe but humane Inſtitution in it. I will briefly lay down my Apprehenſions of the evident Truth in this Point; and it may be, Things being clearly and diſtinctly ſet down, there will be no real Ground for Contrariety in this Matter. Three Things herein muſt neceſſarily be diſtinguiſhed, *viz.* 1. The Conſtitution or Power of Magiſtracy in general. 2. The Limitation of it to this or that Kind. 3. The Determination of it to this or that individual Perſon or Line.

For the Firſt of theſe; 1. It is God's expreſs Ordinance, that, in the Societies of Mankind, there ſhould be a Magiſtracy or Government. At firſt, when there were but too, God ordained it, *Gen.* iii. 16. St. *Paul* affirms as much of the Powers that be, none excepted, *Rom.* xiii. 1. 2. This Power, wherever placed, ought to be reſpected as a Participation of Divine Sovereignty, *Pſal.* lxxxii. 1, 6. and every Soul ought to be ſubject to it for the Lord's Sake, 1 *Pet.* ii. 13. that is, for Conſcience Sake of God's Ordinance, *Rom.* xiii. 5. and under Penalty of Damnation, *ver.* 2. Theſe are Truths, againſt which there is no Colour of Oppoſition. Indeed, this Power may be claimed by them who have it not; and, where there is a Limitation of this Power, Subjection may be claimed in Caſes which are without thoſe Limits: But, to this Ordinance of Power where it is, and when it requires Subjection, it muſt be given, as before.

For the Second; 1. In ſome particular Communities, the Limitation of it to this or that Kind, is an immediate Ordinance of God: So kingly Power was appointed to the *Jews*, on their Deſire, 1 *Sam.* viii. 9. Whether they had not a Kind of Monarchical Government before, I will not ſtand on it; but it is evident, that then, on their earneſt Deſire, God himſelf condeſcended to an Eſtabliſhment of Regality in that State. 2. But, for a general binding Ordinance, God hath given no Word, either to command or commend one Kind above another: Men may, according to their Relations to the Form they live under, to their Affections and Judgments in divers Reſpects, prefer this or that Form above the reſt; but we have no divine Limitation; and it were an Abſurdity to think ſo; for then we ſhould uncharitably condemn all the Communities which have not that Form, for Violition of God's Ordinance, and pronounce thoſe other Powers unlawful. 3. This then muſt have another and lower Fountain to flow from, which can be no other than human. The higher Power is God's Ordinance: That it reſideth in one, or more; in ſuch or ſuch a Way, is from human Deſignment; for, when God leaves a Matter indifferent, the Reſtriction of this Indifferency is left to ſecondary Cauſes. And I conceive this is St. *Peter*'s Meaning, when he calls Magiſtracy ἀνθρωπίνην κτίσιν, human Creature; St. *Paul* calls it, God's Ordinance, becauſe the Power is God's; St. *Peter* calls it human Ordinance, becauſe

becauſe the Specification of it to this or that Form, is, from the Societies of Mankind. I confeſs it may be called a human Creature, in Regard of its Subject, which is a Man, or Men; or its End, which is to rule over Men for the Good of Men; but the other ſeems more natural; and it induces no Diſparagement to Authority, being ſo underſtood. But, however you take that Place, yet the Thing affirmed ſtands good, that God, by no Word, binds any People to this or that Form, till they, by their own Act, bind themſelves.

For the Third: The ſame is to be ſaid of it as of the Second: Some particular Men we find whom God was pleaſed, by his own immediate Choice, to inveſt with this his Ordinance of Authority: *Moſes*, *Saul*, *David*, yea, God, by his immediate Ordinance, determined the Government of that People to *David*'s Poſterity, and made it ſucceſſive; ſo that that People, after his Appointment and Word was made known to them, and the Room void by *Saul*'s Death, was as immediately bound by divine Law to have *David*, and his Sons after him, to be Magiſtrates, as to Magiſtracy itſelf. But God hath not done ſo for every People; *a Scriptum eſt* cannot be alledged for the endowing this or that Perſon or Stock with Sovereignty over a Community. They alone had the Privilege of an extraordinary Word. All others have the ordinary and mediate Hand of God to inthrone them. They attain this Determination of Authority to their Perſons, by the tacit and virtual, or elſe expreſs and formal Conſent of that Society of Men they govern, either in their own Perſons, or the Root of their Succeſſion, as I doubt not in the Sequel it will be made appear. But let no Man think that it is any Leſſening or Weakening of God's Ordinance in them, to teach that it is annexed to their Perſons by a human Mean; for though it be not ſo full a Title to come to it by the ſimple Providence of God, as by the expreſs Precept of God; yet, when by the diſpoſing Hand of God's Providence a Right is conveyed to a Perſon or Family by the Means of a publick fundamental Oath, Contract and Agreement of a State, it is equivalent then to a divine Word; and, within the Bounds of that publick Agreement, the conveyed Power is as obligatory as if an immediate Word had deſigned it. Thus it appears that they which ſay there is *divinum quiddam* in Sovereigns, and that they have their Power from God, ſpeak, in ſome Senſe, Truth; as alſo they which ſay, that originally Power is in the People, may in a ſound Senſe be underſtood. And in theſe Things we have Dr. *Fern*'s Conſent, in his late Diſcourſe upon this Subject. *Sect.* 3.

SECT. II.

Whether the End of Government be the People's Good.

FOR the End of Magiſtracy: To ſet out that is no hard Matter, if we conſider what was looked at when God ordained it. That was the Good of the Society of Men over which it is ſet: So St. *Paul*, *Rom.* xiii. 4. σοι εις το ἀγαθὸν. God aimed at it in the Inſtitution of Government; and ſo do all Men in the Choice of it, where they may be Chooſers: Such a Government, and ſuch Perſons to ſway it, as may moſt conduce to publick Weal. Alſo it is the Meaſure of all the Acts of the Governor; and he is good or bad according as he uſes his Power to the Good of the State wherewith he is intruſted. That is the End, but not the ſole End; the Preſervation of the Power and Honour of the Governor is an End too; but I think not co-ordinate, but ſubordinate to the other, becauſe, doubtleſs, in the Conſtitution of Government, that is firſt thought on, and this in Congruity to that: Alſo the Reaſon why the Power and Honour of the Magiſtrate muſt be preſerved, is for the publick Society's Sake, becauſe its Welfare depends thereon: And, if it fall out that one of them muſt ſuffer, every good Magiſtrate will deſcend ſomething from his Greatneſs, be it for the Good of the Community: On the other Side, though every Subject ought, for the Honour and Good of the Magiſtrate, to give up his private; yet none ought to advance the Greatneſs of his Sovereign with the publick Detriment. Whence, in my Apprehenſion, the End of Magiſtracy is the Good of the whole Body, Head and Members conjunctly; but, if we ſpeak *diviſim*, then the Good of the Society is the ultimate End; and next to that, as conducent to that, the Governor's Greatneſs and Prerogative. And herein alſo accordeth Dr. *Fern* with us, Sect. 3, where he ſays, That the People are the End of the governing Power. There is another Queſtion of mainer Concernment

cernment here, in our general Diſcourſe of Authority, fitly to be handled, *viz.* How far Subjection is due to it? But, becauſe it hath a great Dependence on the Kinds and States of Power, and cannot be ſo well conceived without the Precognition thereof, I will refer it to after Opportunities.

SECT. III.

Diviſion of Magiſtracy.

FOR the Diviſion of this Power of Magiſtracy: It cannot be well divided into ſeveral Species; for it is one ſimple Thing, an indiviſible Beam of divine Perfection; yet, for our more diſtinct conceiving thereof, Men have framed ſeveral Diſtinctions of it. So, with reſpect of its Meaſure, it is abſolute or limited: In reſpect of its Manner, it is, as St. *Peter* divides it, ſupreme or ſubordinate. In reſpect of its Mean of acquiring, it is elective or ſucceſſive; for I conceive that of Conqueſt and Preſcription of Uſage are reducible to one of theſe, as will appear afterwards. In reſpect of its Degrees, it is Nomothetical or Architectonical, and Gubernative or Executive. And, in reſpect of the Subject of its Reſidence, there is an ancient and uſual Diſtinction of it into Monarchical, Ariſtocratical, and Democratical. Theſe either ſimple or mixed, of two, or all three together, of which the Predominant gives the Denomination. Theſe are not accurate ſpecificative Diviſions of Power, for it admits none ſuch, but Partitions of it, according to divers Reſpects. The Courſe of my Intention directs me to ſpeak only of Monarchical Power, which is the chief and moſt uſual Form of Government in the World, the other two being apt to reſolve into this, but this not ſo apt to diſſolve into them.

CHAP. II.

Of the Diviſion of Monarchy into Abſolute and Limited.

SECT. I.

Whether Abſolute Monarchy be a lawful Government.

NOW we muſt know that moſt of theſe Diſtinctions, which were applied to Power in general, are appliable to Monarchy; becauſe the Reſpects on which they ariſe are to be found in it. But I will inſiſt on the three main Diviſions; for the Handling of them will bring us to a clear Underſtanding of what is needful to be known about Monarchical Power.

Firſt, of the Diſtinction of Monarchy into Abſolute and Limited. Abſolute Monarchy is when the Sovereignty is ſo fully in one, that it hath no Limits or Bounds under God, but his own Will. It is when a People are abſolutely reſigned up, or reſign up themſelves to be governed by the Will of one Man. Such were the ancient Eaſtern Monarchies, and that of the *Perſian* and *Turk* at this Day, as far as we know. This is a lawful Government, and therefore where Men put themſelves into this utmoſt Degree of Subjection by Oath and Contract, or are born and brought unto it by God's Providence, it binds them, and they muſt abide it, becauſe an Oath to a lawful Thing is obligatory. This, in Scripture, is very evident, as *Ezek.* xvii. 16, 18, 19, where Judgment is denounced againſt the King of *Judah*, for breaking the Oath made to the King of *Babylon*; and it is called God's Oath, yet doubtleſs this was an Oath of abſolute Subjection. And, *Rom.* xiii. the Power, which then was, was abſolute; yet the Apoſtle, not excluding it, calls it *God's Ordinance*, and commands Subjection to it: So Chriſt commands Tribute to be paid, and pays it himſelf; yet it was an arbitrary Tax, the Production of an abſolute Power. Alſo the Sovereignty of Maſters over Servants was abſolute, and the ſame in Oeconomy as abſolute Monarchy is in Policy; yet the Apoſtle enjoins not Maſters called to Chriſtianity, to renounce that Title, as too great and rigid to be kept; but exhorts them to Moderation in the Exerciſe of it; and Servants to remain contented in the Condition of their Servitude. More might be ſaid to legitimate this Kind of Government, but it needs not in ſo plain a Caſe.

SECT. II.

Three Degrees of Absoluteness.

THIS absolute Monarchy hath three Degrees, yet all within the State of Absoluteness. The first, when the Monarch, whose Will is the People's Law, doth set himself no stated Rule or Law to rule by, but by immediate Edicts and Commands of his own Will governs them, as in his own and Council's Judgment he thinks fit. *Secondly*, When he sets down a Rule and Law by which he will ordinarily govern, reserving to himself Liberty to vary from it, wherein and as often as in his Discretion he judges fit: And in this the Sovereign is as free as the former, only the People are at a more Certainty what he expects from them in ordinary. *Thirdly*, When he not only sets down an express Rule and Law to govern by, but also promiseth and engages himself, in many Cases, not to alter that Rule: But this Engagement is an after Condescent and Act of Grace, not dissolving the absolute Oath of Subjection, which went before it, nor is intended to be the Rule of his Power, but of the Exercise of it. This Ruler is not so absolute as the former in the Use of his Power, for he hath put a Bond on that, which he cannot break without Breach of Promise; that is, without Sin: But he is as absolute in his Power, if he will sinfully put it forth into Act: It hath no political Bounds, for the People still owe him absolute Subjection, that not being dissolved or lessened by an Act of Grace coming afterwards.

SECT. III.

Whether Resistance be lawful in absolute Monarchy.

NOW, in Governments of this Nature, how far Obedience is due, and whether any Resistance be lawful, is a Question which here must be decided; for the due Effecting whereof, we must premise some needful Distinctions to avoid Confusion. Obedience is two-fold; *First*, Positive and active, when in Conscience of an Authority we do the Thing commanded: *Secondly*, Negative and passive, when, though we answer not Authority by doing, yet we do it by contented undergoing the Penalty imposed. Proportionably Resistance is two-fold: *First*, Positive, by an Opposing of Force: *Secondly*, Negative, when only so much is done as may defend ourselves from Force, without Return of Force against the Assailant. Now, this negative Resistance is also two-fold: *First*, In inferior and sufferable Cases: *Secondly*, Or in the supreme Case, and last Necessity of Life and Death; and then too, it is first either of a particular Person or Persons; secondly, or of the whole Community. And if of particular Persons, then either under Plea and Pretence of Equity assaulted; or else without any Plea at all, merely for Will and Pleasure's Sake; for to that Degree of Rage and Cruelty some Times the Heart of Man is given over. All these are very distinguishable Cases, and will be of Use either in this or the ensuing Disputes.

To the Question, I say, *First*, Positive Obedience is absolutely due to the Will and Pleasure of an absolute Monarch, in all lawful and indifferent Things; because in such a State the Will of the Prince is the supreme Law; so that it binds to Obedience in every Thing not prohibited by a Superior, that is, Divine Law: For it is in such Case the Higher Power, and is God's Ordinance.

Secondly, When the Will of an Absolute Monarch commands a Thing forbidden to be done by God's Law, then it binds not to active Obedience; then is the Apostle's Rule undoubtedly true, *It is better to obey God than Men:* For the Law of the Inferior gives Place to the Superior. In Things defined by God, it should be all one with us, for the Magistrate to command us to transgress that, as to command us an Impossibility; and Impossibilities fall under no Law. But on this Ground no Man must quarrel with Authority, or reject its Commands as unlawful, unless there be an open Unlawfulness in the Face of the Act commanded. For, if the Unlawfulness be hidden in the Ground or Reason of the Action, Inferiors must not be curious to inquire into the Grounds or Reasons of the Commands of Superiors; for such License of Inquiry would often frustrate great Undertakings, which much depend on Speed and Secrecy of Execution. I speak all this of Absolute Government, where the Will and Reason of the Monarch is made the Higher Power, and its Expression the supreme Law of a State.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Suppoſe an Abſolute Monarch ſhould ſo degenerate into monſtrous unnatural Tyranny, as apparently to ſeek the Deſtruction of the whole Community, ſubject to him in the loweſt Degree of Vaſſalage, then ſuch a Community may negatively reſiſt ſuch Subverſion: Yea, and if conſtrained to it by the laſt Neceſſity, poſitively reſiſt, and defend themſelves by Force againſt any Inſtruments whatſoever employed for the Effecting thereof. 1. *David* did ſo in his particular Caſe, when purſued by *Saul*: He made negative Reſiſtance by Flight, and doubtleſs he intended poſitive Reſiſtance againſt any Inſtrument, if the Negative would not have ſerved the Turn: Elſe why did he ſo ſtrengthen himſelf by Forces? Sure not to make poſitive Reſiſtance, and lay violent Hands upon the Perſon of the Lord's Anointed, as it appeared; yet for ſome Reaſon he did it, doubtleſs, which could be none other, but by that Force of Arms to defend himſelf againſt the Violence of any miſemployed inferior Hands. If then he might do it for his particular Safety, much rather may it be done for the Publick. 2. Such an Act is without the Compaſs of any the moſt abſolute Potentate; and therefore to reſiſt, in it, can be to reſiſt no Power, nor the Violation of any Due of Subjection. For, firſt, the moſt ſubmiſs Subjection ever intended by any Community, when they put themſelves under another's Power, was the Command of a reaſonable Will and Power; but to will and command the Deſtruction of the whole Body, over which a Power is placed, were an Act of Will moſt unreaſonable and ſelf-deſtructive, and ſo not the Act of ſuch a Will, to which Subjection was intended by any reaſonable Creatures. Secondly, the Publick Good and Being is aimed at in the utmoſt Bond of Subjection; for, in the Conſtitution of ſuch unlimited Sovereignty, though every particular Man's Good and Being is ſubjected to the Will of One Supreme, yet certainly the Conſervation of the whole Publick was intended by it; which being invaded, the Intent of the Conſtitution is overthrown, and an Act is done which can be ſuppoſed to be within the Compaſs of no political Power: So that did *Nero*, as it was reported of him in his Immanity, thirſt for the Deſtruction of whole *Rome*; and if he were truly what the Senate pronounced him to be, *Humani generis hoſtis*, then it might juſtify a negative Reſiſtance of his Perſon; and a Poſitive of any Agent ſhould be ſet on ſo inhuman a Service. And the United Provinces are allowed in reſiſting *Philip* II, though he had been their Abſolute Monarch, if he reſolved the Extirpation of the whole People, and the Planting the Country with *Spaniards*, as it is reported he did. And that Aſſertion of ſome, That *All* Reſiſtance is againſt the Apoſtle's Prohibition: Reſiſtance by Power of Arms is utterly Unlawful; cannot be juſtified in ſuch a Latitude. But of this more will be ſpoken in the Current of this Diſcourſe.

Fourthly, Suppoſe by ſuch a Power any Particular Perſon or Perſons Life be invaded, without any Plea of Reaſon or Cauſe for it, I ſuppoſe it hard to deny him Liberty of negative Reſiſtance of Power; yea, and poſitive, of any Agents, in ſuch Aſſault of Murther: For, though the Caſe be not ſo clear as the former, yet it ſeems to me juſtified by the Fact of *David*, and the Reſcuing of *Jonathan* from the cauſeleſs cruel Intent of his Father's putting him to Death. As alſo ſuch an Act of Will, carrying no Colour of Reaſon with it, cannot be eſteemed the Act of a rational Will, and ſo no Will intended to be the Law of Sovereignty. Not that I think a Monarch of ſuch Abſoluteneſs is bound to yield a Reaſon why he commands any Man to be put to Death, before his Command be obeyed; but I conceive the Perſon ſo commanded to Death may be juſtified before God and Men for protecting himſelf by Eſcape, or otherwiſe, unleſs ſome Reaſon or Cauſe be made known to him of ſuch Command.

Fifthly, Perſons ſubject to an unlimited Dominion muſt, without Reſiſtance, ſubject their Eſtates, Liberties, Perſons, to the Will and Pleaſure of their Lord, ſo it carry any Plea or Shew of Reaſon and Equity. Firſt, It ſeems to me evident, 1 *Pet.* ii. 18, 19, 20, if Well-doing be miſtaken by the Reaſon and Judgment of the Power for Ill-doing, and we be puniſhed for it, yet, the Magiſtrate going according to his miſguided Reaſon, it is the Command of a reaſonable Will, and ſo to be ſubmitted to, becauſe ſuch a one ſuffers by Law, in a State where the Lord's Will is the Law. Secondly, In Commands of the Power, where is the Plea of Reaſon and Equity on the Part of the Commander, whether it be ſuch indeed, ſome Power muſt judge, but the Conſtitution of Abſolute Monarchy reſolves all Judgment

Judgment into the Will of the Monarch, as the ſupreme Law: So that, if his Will judicially cenſure it juſt, it muſt be yielded to, as if it were juſt without Repeal or Redreſſment by any created Power. And let none complain of this as a hard Condition, when they or their Anceſtors have ſubjected themſelves to ſuch a Power by Oath or political Contract: If it be God's Ordinance to ſuch, it muſt be ſubjected to, and its Exorbitances borne, as he ſays in *Tacitus*, as Men bear Famine, Peſtilence, and other Effects of God's Diſpleaſure.

Sixthly, In abſolute Monarchy, the Perſon of the Monarch is above the Reach of juſt Force and poſitive Reſiſtance; for ſuch a full Reſignation of Men's ſelves to his Will and Power, by the irrevocable Oath and Bond of political Contract, doth make the Perſon as ſacred as the Unction of *Saul* or *David*. In ſuch a State, all lawful Power is below him, ſo that he is uncapable of any penal Hand, which muſt be from a Superior, or it is unjuſt. I have been the longer on this abſolute Monarchy, becauſe, though it doth not concern us, yet it will give Light to the Stating of Doubts in Governments of a more reſtrained Nature; for what is true here, in the full Extent of Power, is there alſo as true within the Compaſs of their Power.

SECT. IV.

What makes a Monarchy limited?

IN moderate or limited Monarchy, it is an Enquiry of ſome Weight to know, What it is which conſtitutes it in the State of a limited Monarchy.

Firſt, A Monarchy may be ſtinted in the Exerciſe of its Power, and yet be an abſolute Monarchy, as appeared before, in our Diſtinction of abſolute Monarchy: If that Bounds be a ſubſequent Act, and proceeding from free Will and Grace in the Monarch; for it is not the Exerciſe, but the Nature and Meaſure of Power, wherewith he is radically inveſted, which denominates him a free, or conditionate Monarch.

Secondly, I take it, that a limited Monarch muſt have his Bounds of Power *ab externo*, not from the free Determination of his own Will. And now Kings have not divine Words and binding Laws to conſtitute them in their Sovereignty, but derive it from ordinary Providence; the ſole Mean hereof, is the Conſent and fundamental Contract of a Nation or Men, which Conſent puts them in their Power, which can be no more nor other than is conveyed to them by ſuch Contract of Subjection. This is the Root of all Sovereignty individuated and exiſtent in this, or that Perſon, or Family; till this come and lift him up, he is a private Man, not differing in State from the reſt of his Brethren; but then he becomes another Man, his Perſon is ſacred by that Sovereignty conveyed to it, which is God's Ordinance and Image. The Truth hereof will be more fully diſcovered, when we come to ſpeak of elective and ſucceſſive Monarchy.

Thirdly, He is then a limited Monarch, who hath a Law, beſide his own Will, for the Meaſure of his Power. Firſt, The ſupreme Power of the State muſt be in him, ſo that his Power muſt not be limited by any Power above his; for then he were not a Monarch, but a ſubordinate Magiſtrate. Secondly, This ſupreme Power muſt be reſtrained by ſome Law according to which this Power was given, and, by Direction of which, this Power muſt act; elſe he were not a limited Monarch, that is, a liege Sovereign, or legal King. Now, a Sovereignty comes thus to be legal, or defined to a Rule of Law, either by original Conſtitution, or by after Condeſcent. By original Conſtitution, when the Society Publick confers on one Man a Power by limited Contract, reſigning themſelves to his Government by ſuch a Law, reſerving to themſelves ſuch Immunities: In this Caſe, they, which at firſt had Power over themſelves, had Power to ſet their own Terms of Subjection; and he which hath no Title of Power over them, but by their Act, can, *de jure*, have no greater than what is put over to him by that Act: By after Condeſcent, *viz.* when a Lord, who by Conqueſt, or other Right, hath an abſolute arbitrary Power, but, not liking to hold by ſuch a Right, doth either formally or vertually deſert it, and take a new legal Right, as judging it more ſafe for him to hold by, and deſirable of the People to be governed by. This is equivalent to that by original Conſtitution, yea, is all one with it; for this is, in that Reſpect, a ſecondary original Conſtitution. But if it be objected, that, this being a voluntary Condeſcent, is an Act of Grace, and ſo doth not derogate from his former Abſoluteneſs, as was ſaid before of an abſolute Monarch, who confines himſelf to govern by one Rule:

I an-

I anſwer, This differs eſſentially from that; for there a free Lord of Grace yields to rule by ſuch a Law, reſerving the Fulneſs of Power, and ſtill requiring of the People a Bond and Oath of utmoſt indefinite Subjection; ſo that it amounts not to a Limitation of radical Power; whereas here is a Change of Title, and a Reſolution to be ſubjected to, in no other Way, than according to ſuch a Frame of Government; and accordingly, no other Bond or Oath of Allegiance is required or taken, than according to ſuch a Law; this amounts to a Limitation of radical Power. And therefore they ſpeak too generally, who affirm of all Acts of Grace proceeding from Princes to People, as if they did not limit Abſoluteneſs: It is true, of Acts of Grace of that firſt Kind, but yet, you ſee an Act of Grace may be ſuch a one, as may amount to a Reſignation of that Abſoluteneſs into a more mild and moderate Power, unleſs we ſhould hold it out of the Power of an abſolute Lord to be other; or that by free Condeſcent, and Act of Grace, a Man cannot as well part with, or exchange his Right and Title to a Thing, as define himſelf in the Uſe and Exerciſe, which I think none will affirm.

SECT. V.

How far Subjection is due in a limited Monarchy.

IN all Governments of this Allay and legal Conſtitution, there are three Queſtions of ſpecial Moment to be conſidered:

Firſt, How far Subjection is due? As far as they are God's Ordinance, as far as they are a Power, and they are a Power as far as the Contract fundamental, from which, under God, their Authority is derived, doth extend. As abſolute Lords muſt be obeyed as far as their Will enjoins, becauſe their Will is the Meaſure of their Power, and their Subjects Law; ſo theſe, in the utmoſt Extent of the Law of the Land, which is the Meaſure of their Power, and their Subjects Duty of Obedience. I ſay ſo far, but I do not ſay no further; for I believe, though on our former Grounds it clearly follows, that ſuch Authority tranſcends its Bounds, if it command beyond the Law; and the Subject legally is not bound to Subjection in ſuch Caſe; yet, in Conſcience, a Subject is bound to yield to the Magiſtrate, even when he cannot, *de jure*, challenge Obedience, to prevent Scandal, or any Occaſion of Slighting the Power which may ſometimes grow, even upon a juſt Refuſal. I ſay, for theſe Cauſes a Subject ought not to uſe his Liberty, but, *morem gerere*, if it be in a Thing in which he can poſſibly without Subverſion, and in which his Act may not be made a leading Caſe, and ſo bring on a Preſcription againſt publick Liberty.

SECT. VI.

How far it is lawful to reſiſt.

Secondly, How far is it lawful to reſiſt the exorbitant illegal Commands of ſuch a Monarch? 1. As before in lighter Caſes, in which it may be done, for the Reaſons alledged, and for the Sake of publick Peace, we ought to ſubmit and make no Reſiſtance at all, but, *de jure recedere*.

2. In Caſes of a higher Nature, paſſive Reſiſtance, *viz.* by Appeal to Law, by Concealment, by Flight, is lawful to be made, becauſe ſuch a Command is politically powerleſs, it proceeds not from God's Ordinance in him; and ſo we ſin not againſt God's Ordinance in ſuch Non ſubmiſſion, or negative Reſiſtance.

3. For Inſtruments, or Agents in ſuch Commands, if the Streight be ſuch, and a Man be ſurpriſed, that no Place is left for an Appeal, nor Evaſion by Negative Reſiſtance, I conceive, againſt ſuch Poſitive Reſiſtance may be made; becauſe, Authority failing, or this Act in the ſupreme Power, the Agent or Inſtrument can have none derived to him, and ſo is but in the Nature of a private Perſon, and his Act as an Offer of private Violence, and ſo comes under the ſame Rules for Oppoſition.

4. For the Perſon of the Sovereign, I conceive it as well above any poſitive Reſiſtance, as the Perſon of an abſolute Monarch, yea, though by the whole Community, except there be an expreſs Reſervation of Power in the Body of the State, or any deputed Perſons, or Court, to uſe (in Caſe of intolerable Exorbitance) poſitive Reſiſtance; which if there be, then ſuch a Governor is no Monarch; for that fundamental Reſervation deſtroys its being a Monarchy, inaſmuch as the ſupreme Power is not in one.) For, where-ever there is a ſovereign politick Power conſtituted, the Perſon

son or Persons, who are invested with it, are sacred, and out of the Reach of positive Resistance or Violence; which, as I said, if just, must be from no inferior, or subordinate Hand. But it will be objected, That, since every Monarch hath his Power from the Consent of the whole Body, that Consent of the whole Body hath a Power above the Power of the Monarch, and so the Resistance, which is done by it, is not by an inferior Power; and to this Purpose is brought that Axiom: *Quicquid efficit tale, est magis tale*, I answer: That Rule, even in natural Causes, is liable to Abundance of Restrictions, and, in the Particular in Hand, it holds not. Where the Cause doth bereave himself of that Perfection by which it works, in the very Act of Causing, and convey it to that Effect, it doth not remain more such, than the Effect, but much less, and below it: As, if I convey an Estate of Land to another, it doth not hold, that after such Conveyance I have a better Estate remaining in me, than that other, but rather the contrary; because what was in one is passed to the other. The Servant who, at the Year of *Jubilee*, would not go free, but have his Ear bored, and giving his Master a full Lordship over him: Can we argue, That he had afterward more Power over himself, than his Master, because he gave his Master that Power over him, by that Act of oeconomical Contract? Thus the Community, whose Consent establishes a Power over them, cannot be said universally to have an Eminency of Power above that which they constitute; sometimes they have, sometimes they have not; and, to judge when they have, when not, Respect must be had to the original Contract, and fundamental Constitution of that State: If they have constituted a Monarchy, that is, invested one Man with a Sovereignty of Power, and subjected all the rest to him, then it were unreasonable to say, they yet have it in themselves, or have a Power of recalling that Supremacy, which, by Oath and Contract, they themselves transferred on another; unless we make this Oath and Contract less binding than private ones, dissoluble at Pleasure, and so all Monarchs Tenants at Will from their People. But if they, in such Constitution, reserve a Power in the Body to oppose and displace the Magistrate for Exorbitances, and reserve to themselves a Tribunal to try him in, that Man is not a Monarch, but the Officer and Substitute of him, or them, to whom such Power over him is referred or conferred. The Issue is this: If he be a Monarch, he hath the *Apex*, or *Culmen potestatis*; and all his Subjects, *divisim* and *conjunctim*, are below him; they have divested themselves of all Superiority, and no Power left for a positive Opposition of the Person of him, whom they have invested.

SECT. VII.

Who shall be the Judge of the Excesses of the Monarch?

THirdly, Who shall be the Judge of the Excesses of the Sovereign Lord, in Monarchies of this Composure? I answer: A Frame of Government cannot be imagined of that Perfection, but that some Inconveniences there will be possible, for which there can be provided no Remedy: Many Miseries, to which a People under an absolute Monarchy are liable, are prevented by this Legal Allay and Definement of Power. But this is exposed to one Defect, from which that is free, that is, an Impossibility of constituting a Judge to determine this last Controversy, *viz.* the Sovereign's Transgressing his fundamental Limits. This Judge must be either some Foreigner, and then we lose the Freedom of the State, by subjecting it to an external Power in the greatest Case; or else within the Body. If so, then, 1. Either the Monarch himself, and then you destroy the Frame of the State, and make it absolute; for to define a Power to a Law, and then to make him Judge of his Deviations from that Law, is to absolve him from all Law. Or else, 2. The Community and their Deputies must have this Power; and then, as before, you put the *apex potestatis*, the *Prime* ἀρχεῖ in the whole Body, or a Part of it, and destroy the Being of Monarchy, the Ruler not being God's immediate Minister, but of that Power, be it where it will, to which he is accountable for his Actions. So that I conceive, in a limited legal Monarchy there can be no stated internal Judge of the Monarch's Actions, if there grow a fundamental Variance betwixt him and the Community. But you will say, It is all one Way to Absoluteness to assign him no Judge, as to make him his own Judge. *Answ.* I say not simply in this Case, there is no Judge, but that

that there can be no Judge legal and conſtituted within that Frame of Government; but it is a tranſcendent Caſe beyond the Proviſion of that Government, and muſt have an extraordinary Judge and Way of Deciſion.

In this great and difficult Caſe, I will deliver my Apprehenſions freely and clearly, ſubmitting them to the Cenſure of better Judgments. Suppoſe the Controverſy to happen in a Government fundamentally legal, and the People no further ſubjected than to Government by ſuch a Law:

1. If the Act, in which the Exorbitance and Tranſgreſſion is ſuppoſed to be, be of leſſer Moment, and not ſtriking at the very Being of that Government, it ought to be borne by publick Patience, rather than to endanger the Being of the State, by a Contention betwixt the Head and Body Politick.

2. If it be mortal and ſuch as, ſuffered, diſſolves the Frame and Life of the Government and publick Liberty: Then the Illegality and deſtructive Nature is to be ſet open, and Redreſment ſought by Petition; which if failing, Prevention by Reſiſtance ought to be. But firſt, that it is ſuch, muſt be made apparent; and if it be apparent, and an Appeal made *ad conſcientiam generis humani*, eſpecially of thoſe of that Community, then the Fundamental Laws of that Monarchy muſt judge and pronounce the Sentence in every Man's Conſcience; and every Man (as far as concerns him) muſt follow the Evidence of Truth in his own Soul, to oppoſe, or not oppoſe, according as he can in Conſcience acquit or condemn the Act of Carriage of the Governor. For I conceive, in a Caſe which tranſcends the Frame and Proviſion of the Government they are bound to, People are unbound, and in State as if they had no Government; and the ſuperior Law of Reaſon and Conſcience muſt be Judge; wherein every one muſt proceed with the utmoſt Advice and Impartiality. For, if he err in Judgment, he either reſiſts God's Ordinance, or puts his Hand to the Subverſion of the State and Policy he lives in.

And this Power of judging argues not a Superiority in thoſe who judge, over him who is judged; for it is not Authoritative and Civil, but Moral, reſiding in reaſonable Creatures, and lawful for them to execute, becauſe never diveſted and put off by any Act in the Conſtitution of a legal Government, but rather the Reſervation of it intended: For when they define the Superior to a Law, and conſtitute no Power to judge of his Exceſſes from that Law, it is evident they reſerve to themſelves, not a formal authoritative Power, but a moral Power, ſuch as they had originally before the Conſtitution of the Government; which muſt needs remain, being not conveyed away in the Conſtitution.

CHAP. III.

Of the Diviſion of Monarchy into Elective and Succeſſive.

SECT. I.

Elective and Succeſſive Monarchy what they are?

THE ſecond Diviſion of Monarchy, which I intend to treat of, is that of Elective or Succeſſive. Elective Monarchy is that, where, by the fundamental Conſtitution of the State, the ſupreme Power is conveyed but to the Perſon of him whom they take for their Prince; the People reſerving to themſelves Power, by Men deputed by the ſame Conſtitution, to elect a new Perſon on the Deceaſe of the former. Succeſſive is, where, by the fundamental Conſtitution of the State, the Sovereignty is conferred on one Prince; and in that one, as a Root and Beginning to his Heirs, after a Form and Line of Succeſſion, conſtituted alſo by the Fundamentals of that Government. In the firſt, the People's Oath and Contract of Subjection extends but to one Perſon: In the other, to the whole Race and Line of Succeſſors; which continuing, the Bond of Subjection continues; or which failing, the People return to their firſt Liberty of chooſing a new Perſon, or Succeſſion to be inveſted with Sovereignty.

SECT. II.

All Monarchy whether originally from Conſent?

I Do conceive that in the firſt Original all Monarchy, yea any individual Frame of Government whatſoever, is Elective: That is, is conſtituted, and draws its Force and Right from the Conſent and Choice of that Community over which it ſwayeth. And that triple Diſtinction of Monarchy into that which is gotten by Conqueſt, Preſcription, or Choice, is not of diſtinct Parts, unleſs by Choice be meant full and formal Choice: My Reaſon is, becauſe Man, being a voluntary Agent, and Subjection being a moral Act, it doth eſſentially depend on Conſent; ſo that a Man may by Force and Extremity be brought under the Power of another, as unreaſonable Creatures are, to be diſpoſed of, and trampled on, whether they will or no: But a Bond of Subjection cannot be put on him, nor a Right to claim Obedience and Service acquired, unleſs a Man become bound by ſome Act of his own Will. For, ſuppoſe another, from whom I am originally free, be ſtronger than I, and ſo bring me under his Mercy, Do I therefore ſin if I do not what he commands me? Or can that Act of Violence paſs into a Moral Title, without a Moral Principle?

SECT. III.

Monarchy by Divine Inſtitution.

BUT this will be more manifeſt, if by Induction I ſhew how other Titles reſolve into this. I will begin with that of Divine Inſtitution. *Saul* and *David* were by the Sacrament of Anointing deſigned to the Kingdom, as it were by God's own Hand; which notwithſtanding, they were not actually Kings till the People's Conſent eſtabliſhed them therein: That Unction was a Manifeſtation of the Appointment of God, and, when it was made known to the People, I think it had the Power of Precept, to reſtrain the People's Choice to that Perſon; which if they had not done, they had reſiſted God's Ordinance. Yet they were not thereby actually endowed with Kingly Power, but remained as private Men, till the People's Choice put them in actual Poſſeſſion of that Power; which in *David* was not till after many Years.

SECT. IV.

Monarchy by Preſcription.

THEN for that Uſage or Preſcription; if any ſuch did ever conſtitute a Monarchy, it was by Vertue of an univerſal Conſent by that Uſage and Preſcription proved and implied: For in a popular State, where one Man in the Community, by Reaſon of great Eſtate, Wiſdom, or other Perfection, is in the Eye of all the reſt, all reverence him, and his Advice they follow; and the Reſpect continues from the People to the Houſe and Family, for divers Generations. In this Caſe, Subjection at firſt is arbitrary in the People; and, if in Time it become neceſſary, it is becauſe their Cuſtom is their Law; and its long Continuance is equivalent to a former Election: So that this Tenure and Right, if it be good and more than at Pleaſure, as it was at firſt, the Conſiderate muſt needs aſcribe it to a Conſent, and implicit Choice of the People.

SECT. V.

Monarchy by Conqueſt. Whether Conqueſt give a juſt Title?

BUT the main Queſtion is concerning Monarchy atchieved by Conqueſt; where, at firſt Sight, the Right ſeems gotten by the Sword, without the Conſent and Choice of the People, yea againſt it. Conqueſt is either, firſt, total, where a full Conqueſt is made, by a total Subduing a People to the Will of the Victor; or, ſecondly, partial, where an Entrance is made by the Sword: But the People, either becauſe of their Right claimed by the Invader, or their Unwillingneſs to ſuffer the Miſeries of War, or their apparent Inability to ſtand out in a Way of Reſiſtance, or ſome other Conſideration, ſubmit to a Compoſition and Contract of Subjection to the Invader. In this latter it is evident the Sovereign's Power is from the People's Conſent; and the Government is ſuch as the Contract and fundamental Agreement makes it to be, if it be the firſt Agreement, and the Pretender hath no former Title which remains in Force, for then this latter is invalid,

lid, if it include not and amount to a Relinquiſhing and Diſannulling of the old. But the Difficulty is concerning a full and mere Conqueſt; and of this I will ſpeak my Mind clearly. Such a War and Invaſion of a People, which ends in a Conqueſt, firſt, it is either upon the Pretence or Claim of a Title of Sovereignty over the People invaded: And then, if the Pretender prevail, it is properly no Conqueſt, but the Vindication of a Title by Force of Arms. And the Government is not original, but ſuch as the Title is by which he claims it. Secondly, Or it is by one who hath no Challenge of Right deſcending to him to juſtify his Claim and Invaſion of a People: Then, if he ſubdue, he may properly be ſaid to come to his Government by Conqueſt.

And there be who wholly condemn this Title of Conqueſt as unlawful, and take it for nothing elſe but a national and publick Robbery; ſo one of the Anſwerers to Doctor *Fern* ſays in his (p. 10.) 'Conqueſt may give 'ſuch a Right as Plunderers uſe to take in 'Houſes they can maſter.——It is inhuman 'to talk of Right of Conqueſt in a Civil, in 'a Chriſtian State.' But I cannot allow of ſo indefinite a Cenſure; rather I think the Right of Conqueſt is ſuch as the precedent War was; if that were lawful, ſo is the Conqueſt; for a Prince may be invaded, or ſo far injured by a neighbouring People, or they may be ſet on ſuch a pernicious Enmity againſt him and his People, that the Safety of himſelf and People may compel to ſuch a War, which War, if it end in Conqueſt, Who can judge ſuch Title unlawful? Suppoſe then Conqueſt may be a lawful Way of Acquiſition, yet an immediate Cauſe of Right of Sovereignty, that is, of a Civil Power of Government to which Obedience is due, it cannot be: I ſay, an immediate Cauſe, for a remote impulſive Cauſe it often is, but not an immediate formal Cauſe; for that muſt ever be the Conſent of the People, whereby they accept of, and reſign up themſelves to a a Government, and then their Perſons are morally bound, and not before. Thus far the Force of Conqueſt may go; it may give a Man Title over, and Power to poſſeſs and diſpoſe of the Country and Goods of the Conquered; yea, the Bodies and Lives of the Conquered are at the Will and Pleaſure of the Conqueror: But it ſtill is at the People's Choice to come into a Moral Condition of Subjection, or not. When they are thus at the Mercy of the Victor, if, to ſave Life, they conſent to a Condition of Servitude or Subjection, then that Conſent, Oath or Covenant, which they in that Extremity make, being in *re licita*, binds them, and they owe Moral Duty. But if they would rather ſuffer the utmoſt Violence of the Conqueror, and will conſent to no Terms of Subjection, as *Numantia* in *Spain*, and many other People have reſolved; they die or remain a free People. Be they captived or poſſeſſed at Pleaſure, they owe no Duty, neither do they ſin in not obeying; nor do they reſiſt God's Ordinance, if at any Time of Advantage they uſe Force to free themſelves from ſuch a violent Poſſeſſion: Yea, perhaps, if before by Contract they were bound to another, they ſhould ſin, if, to avoid Death or Bondage, they ſhould ſwear and covenant Fealty to a Conqueror; and it were more noble and laudable to die in the Service, and for the Faith to their natural Sovereign. Thus I am perſuaded it will appear an uncontroulable Truth in Policy, that the Conſent of the People, either by themſelves or their Anceſtors, is the only Mean in ordinary Providence, by which Sovereignty is conferred on any Perſon or Family: Neither can God's Ordinance be conveyed, and People engaged in Conſcience by any other Means.

SECT. VI.

Whether a Monarch by Succeſſion may not be limited?

IT hath been affirmed by ſome, that Mixture and Limitation is inconſiſtent to ſucceſſive Monarchy, as if, wherever Sovereignty is entailed to a Succeſſion, it muſt needs be abſolute: But I muſt profeſs I cannot ſee how it can ſtand with Truth: Rather I think, that both elective and hereditary Monarchy are indifferently capable of Abſoluteneſs or Limitation. If a free and not pre-engaged People to any Government, by publick Compact, yield up themſelves to a Perſon, to be commanded by his Will as their ſupreme Law, during his natural Life, and no longer, Can it be denied, but that he is an abſolute, and yet elective Monarch? Unleſs you will ſay he is not abſolute, becauſe he cannot, by his Will, as by a Law, bind them to elect his Son to ſucceed him, and change their Govern-

ment into hereditary. But his being limited in this Clauſe doth not diſparage his Sovereignty, or make his Power of Government limited, becauſe this belongs not to preſent Government, but is a mere Proviſion for the Future. Again, if the Power of Ruling, according to a Law, be, by Conſent, conveyed to one Perſon, and his Heirs to ſucceed after him, how this ſhould come to be abſolute, and the Entailment ſhould overthrow the Conſtitution, I cannot imagine: If the whole Latitude of Power may be by a People made hereditary, ſure a Proportion may as well; unleſs the Limitation be ſuch as includes a Repugnancy to be perpetual. Indeed, this Inſtating of a Succeſſion makes that Power irrevocable, during the Continuance of that Succeſſion: But it makes it neither greater nor leſs in the Succeſſor than was in his Progenitors from whom he derives it.

SECT. VII.

IN a ſucceſſive Monarchy, the Succeſſor holds by the original Right of him who is the Root of Succeſſion, and is *de jure* King, the immediate Inſtant after his Predeceſſor's Deceaſe: Alſo the People are bound to him, though they never take any Oath to his Perſon. For, as he commands in Vertue of the original Right, ſo they are bound to obey by Vertue of the original Covenant, and National Contract of Subjection; the new Oath taken by King or People is but a Reviving of the old, that the Conſcience of it, by Renewing, might be the more freſh and vigorous; it neither gives any new Power, nor adds nor detracts from the old, unleſs by common Agreement an Alteration be made; and ſo the Foundation in that Clauſe is new, which cannot be without the Conſent of both Parties.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Diviſion of Monarchy into Simple and Mixed.

SECT. I.

Simple and mixed Monarchy, what?

THE third Diviſion is into ſimple and mixed. Simple, is when the Government, abſolute or limited, is ſo intruſted in the Hands of one, that all the reſt is by Deputation from him, ſo that there is no Authority in the whole Body but his, or derived from him: And that one is either individually one Perſon, and then it is a ſimple Monarchy: Or one aſſociate Body, choſen either out of the Nobility, whence the Government is called a ſimple Ariſtocracy; or out of the Community, without Reſpect of Birth or State, which is termed a ſimple Democracy. The ſupreme Authority, reſiding excluſively in one of theſe three, denominates the Government ſimple, which ever it be.

Now Experience teaching People, that ſeveral Inconveniencies are in each of theſe, which is avoided by the other: As Aptneſs to Tyranny in ſimple Monarchy, Aptneſs to deſtructive Factions in an Ariſtocracy, and Aptneſs to Confuſion and Tumult in a Democracy. As on the contrary, each of them hath ſome good which the others want, *viz.* Unity and Strength in a Monarchy; Counſel and Wiſdom in an Ariſtocracy; Liberty and Reſpect of common Good in a Democracy. Hence the Wiſdom of Men deeply ſeen in State Matters guided them to frame a Mixture of all three, uniting them into one Form, that ſo the Good of all might be enjoyed, and the Evil of them avoided. And this Mixture is either equal, when the higheſt Command in a State, by the firſt Conſtitution of it, is equally ſeated in all three; and then (if firm Union can be in a Mixture of Equality) it can be called by the Name of neither of them but by the general Stile of a *mixed State*: Or if there be Priority of Order in one of the three (as I think there muſt be, or elſe there can be no Unity) it may take the Name of that which hath the Precedency. But the firmer Union is, where one of the three is predominant, and in that Regard gives the Denomination to the Whole: So we call it a *mixed Monarchy*, where the Primity of Share in the ſupreme Power is in one.

SECT.

SECT. II.

What it is which conſtitutes a mixed Monarchy?

NOW I conceive to the Conſtituting of mixed Monarchy (and ſo proportionately it may be ſaid of the other)

1. The Sovereign Power muſt be originally in all three, *viz.* If the Compoſition be of all three, ſo that one muſt not hold his Power from the other, but all equally from the fundamental Conſtitution; for, if the Power of one be original, and the other derivative, it is no Mixture, for ſuch a Derivation of Power to others is in the moſt ſimple Monarchy: Again, the End of Mixture could not be obtained; for why is this Mixture framed, but that they might confine each other from Exorbitance, which cannot be done by a derivative Power, it being unnatural that a derived Power ſhould turn back, and ſet Bounds to its own Beginning.

2. A full Equality muſt not be in the three Eſtates, though they are all Sharers in the ſupreme Power; for, if it were ſo, it could not have any Ground in it to denominate it a Monarchy, more than an Ariſtocracy or Democracy.

3. A Power then muſt be ſought wherewith the Monarch muſt be inveſted, which is not ſo great as to deſtroy the Mixture; nor ſo titular as to deſtroy the Monarchy, which I conceive may be in theſe Particulars:

1. If he be the Head and Fountain of the Power which governs and executes the eſtabliſhed Laws, ſo that both the other States, as well *conjunctim* as *diviſim*, be his ſworn Subjects, and owe Obedience to his Commands, which are according to the eſtabliſhed Laws.

2. If he hath a ſole or chief Power in capacitating and putting thoſe Perſons or Societies in ſuch States and Conditions, as whereunto ſuch ſupreme Power by the Foundations of the Government doth belong, and is annexed; ſo that though the Ariſtocratical and Democratical Power, which is conjoined to his, be not from him; yet the Definement and Determination of it to ſuch Perſons is from him, by a neceſſary Conſecution.

3. If the Power of convocating or cauſing to be put in Exiſtence, and diſſolving ſuch a Court of Meeting of the two other Eſtates as is authoritative, be in him.

4. If his Authority be the laſt and greateſt, though not the ſole, which muſt eſtabliſh and add a Conſummation to every Act. I ſay, theſe, or any of theſe put into one Perſon, make that State Monarchical, becauſe, the other, tho' they depend not on him *quoad eſſentiam & actus formales*, but on the prime Conſtitution of the Government, yet, *quoad exiſtentiam & determinationem ad ſubjecta*, they do.

The ſupreme Power being either the Legiſlative, or the Gubernative, in a mixed Monarchy, ſometimes the Mixture is the Seat of the Legiſlative Power, which is the chief of the two. The Power of conſtituting Officers for Governing by thoſe Laws being left to the Monarch: Or elſe the Primacy of both theſe Powers is jointly in all three: For, if the Legiſlative be in one, then the Monarchy is not mixed but ſimple, for that is the ſuperior; if that be in one, all elſe muſt needs be ſo too: By Legiſlative, I mean the Power of making new Laws, if any new be needful to be added to the Foundation; and the authentick Power of interpreting the old; for I take it, this is a Breach of the Legiſlative, and is as great, and in Effect the ſame Power.

SECT. III.

EVery mixed Monarchy is limited; but it is not neceſſary that every Limited ſhould be Mixed: For the Prince in a mixed Monarchy, were there no Definement of him to a Law but only this: That his Legiſlative Acts have no Validity without the Allowance and joint Authority of the other; this is enough to denominate it exactly a limited Monarchy: And ſo much it muſt have, if it be mixed. On the other Side, if in the Foundations of his Government he be reſtrained to any Law beſides his own Will, he is a limited Monarch, though that both the Legiſlative and Gubernative Power (provided he exceed not thoſe Laws) be left in his own Hands: But then the Government is not mixed.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

How far the Prince's Power extends in a mixed Monarchy.

NOW concerning the Extent of the Prince's Power, and the Subjects Duty in a mixed Monarchy, almoſt the ſame is to be ſaid, which was before in a limited; for it is a general Rule in this Matter: Such as the Conſtitution of Government is, ſuch is the Ordinance of God: Such as the Ordinance is, ſuch muſt our Duty of Subjection be. No Power can challenge an Obedience beyond its own Meaſure; for, if it might, we ſhould deſtroy all Rules and Differences of Government, and make all abſolute and at Pleaſure. In every mixed Principality,

Firſt, Look what Power is ſolely intruſted and committed to the Prince by the fundamental Conſtitution of the State, in the due Execution thereof all owe full Subjection to him, even the other Eſtates, being but Societies of his Subjects bound to him by Oath of Allegiance, as to their liege Lord.

Secondly, Thoſe Acts belonging to the Power which is ſtated in a mixed Principle, if either Part of that Principle, or two of the three undertake to do them, it is invalid; it is no binding Act; for in this Caſe all three have a free negative Voice; and take away the Privilege of a negative Voice, ſo that, in Caſe of Refuſal, the reſt have Power to do it without the third, then you deſtroy that third, and make him but a Looker on: So that, in every mixed Government, I take it, there muſt be a Neceſſity of Concurrence of all three Eſtates in the Production of Acts belonging to that Power, which is committed in common to them: Elſe, ſuppoſe thoſe Acts valid which are done by any *major* Part, that is, any two of the three, then you put it in the Power of any two by a Confederacy at Pleaſure to diſannul the third, or ſuſpend all its Acts, and make it a bare Cypher in Government.

Thirdly, In ſuch a compoſed State, if the Monarch invade the Power of the other two, or run in any Courſe tending to the Diſſolving of the conſtituted Frame, they ought to employ their Power in this Caſe to preſerve the State from Ruin; yea, that is the very End and fundamental Aim in conſtituting all mixed Policies; not that they by Croſſing and Jarring ſhould hinder the publick Good; but that, if one exorbitate, the Power of Reſtraint and Providing for the publick Safety, ſhould be in the reſt; and the Power is put into divers Hands, that one ſhould counterpoiſe and keep even the other; ſo that, for ſuch other Eſtates, it is not only lawful to deny Obedience and Submiſſion to illegal Procedings, as private Men may, but it is their Duty, and by the Foundations of the Government they are bound to prevent the Diſſolution of the eſtabliſhed Frame.

Fourthly, The Perſon of the Monarch, even in theſe mixed Forms (as I ſaid before in the limited) ought to be above the Reach of Violence in his utmoſt Exorbitances: For, when a People have ſworn Allegiance, and inveſted a Perſon or Line with Supremacy, they have made it Sacred, and no Abuſe can diveſt him of that Power, irrevocably communicated. And, while he hath Power in a mixed Monarchy, he is the Univerſal Sovereign, even of the other limiting States: So that, being above them, he is *de jure* exempt from any penal Hand.

Fifthly, That one Inconvenience muſt neceſſarily be in all mixed Governments, which I ſhewed to be in limited Governments, there can be no Conſtituted, Legal, Authoritative Judge of the Fundamental Controverſies ariſing betwixt the three Eſtates. If ſuch do ariſe, it is the fatal Diſeaſe of theſe Governments, for which no Salvo can be preſcribed: For the eſtabliſhed Being of ſuch Authority would, *ipſo facto*, overthrow the Frame, and turn it into Abſoluteneſs: So that, if one of theſe, or two, ſay their Power is invaded, and the Government aſſaulted by the other, the Accuſed denying it, it doth become a Controverſy: Of this Queſtion there is no Legal Judge. It is a Caſe beyond the poſſible Proviſion of ſuch a Government. The Accuſing Side muſt make it evident to every Man's Conſcience. In this Caſe, which is beyond the Government, the Appeal muſt be to the Community, as if there were no Government; and, as by Evidence Men's Conſciences are convinced, they are bound to give their utmoſt Aſſiſtance. For the Intention of the Frame, in ſuch States, juſtifies the Exerciſe of any Power, conducing to the Safety of the Univerſality and Government eſtabliſhed.

PART

PART II.

Of this Particular Monarchy.

CHAP. I.

Whether the Power, wherewith our Kings are inveſted, be an Abſolute, or Limited and Moderated Power?

SECT. I.

HAving thus far proceeded in general, before we can bring home this to a Stating of the great Controverſy, which now our Sins, God's Diſpleaſure, and evil turbulent Men, have raiſed up in our lately moſt flouriſhing, but now moſt unhappy Kingdom: We muſt firſt look into the Frame and Compoſure of our Monarchy; for, till we fully are reſolved of that, we cannot apply the former general Truths, nor on them ground the Reſolution of this ruining Contention.

Concerning the eſſential Compoſure of this Government, that it is Monarchical, is by none to be queſtioned; but the Enquiry muſt be about the Frame of it. And ſo there are ſeven great Queſtions to be proſecuted.

Firſt, Whether it be a limited Monarchy, or abſolute? Here the Queſtion is, not concerning Power in the Exerciſe, but the Root and Being of it; for none will deny, but that the Way of Government uſed, and to be uſed in this Realm, is a defined Way; only ſome ſpeak, as if this Definement was an Act of Grace from the Monarchs themſelves, being pleaſed at the Suit and, for the Good of the People, to let their Power run into Act through ſuch a Courſe and Current of Law; whereas, if they at any Time ſhall think fit, on great Cauſes, to vary from that Way, and uſe the full Extent of their Power, none ought to contradict, or refuſe to obey. Neither is it the Queſtion, Whether they ſin againſt God, if they abuſe their Power, and run out into Acts of Injury at Pleaſure, and violate thoſe Laws which they have, by publick Faith and Oath, promiſed to obſerve; for none will deny this to be true, even in the moſt abſolute Monarch in the World. But the Point controverted is punctually this, Whether the Authority, which is inherent in our Kings, be boundleſs and abſolute, or limited and determined; ſo that the Acts which they do, or command to be done, without that Compaſs and Bounds, be not only ſinful in themſelves, but invalid and non-authoritative to others?

SECT. II.

NOW, for the Determining hereof, I conceive, and am in my Judgment perſuaded, That the Sovereignty of our Kings is radically and fundamentally limited, and not only in the Uſe and Exerciſe of it; and am perſuaded ſo on theſe Grounds and Reaſons:

Firſt, Becauſe the King's Majeſty himſelf, who beſt knows, by his Council, the Nature of his own Power, ſays, That * the Law is the Meaſure of his Power; which is as full a Conceſſion of the Thing as Words can expreſs. If it be the Meaſure of it, then his Power is limited by it; for the Meaſure is the Limits and Bounds of the Thing limited. And, in his Anſwer to both Houſes concerning the Militia, ſpeaking of the Men named to him, ſays, If more Power ſhall be thought fit to be granted to them, than by Law is in the Crown itſelf, his Majeſty holds it reaſonable, that the ſame be by ſome Law firſt veſted in him, with Power to transfer it to thoſe Perſons, *&c.* In which Paſſage it is granted, that the Powers of the Crown are by Law, and that the King hath no more than are veſted in him by Law.

Secondly, Becauſe it is in the very Conſtitution of it mixed, as I ſhall afterwards make it appear, then it is radically limited; for, as I ſhewed before, every mixed Monarchy is limited, though not on the contrary; for the neceſſary Connexion of other Power to it is

* Declaration from *Newmarket*, *Mart.* 9, 1641.

one

one of the greateſt Limitations. A Subordination of Cauſes doth not ever prove the ſupreme Cauſe of limited Vertue; a Co ordination doth always.

Thirdly, I prove it from the ancient, ordinary, and received Denominations; for the King's Majeſty is called our Liege, that is, Legal Sovereign; and we his Liege, that is, his Legal Subjects; What do theſe Names argue, but that his Sovereignty and our Subjection are legal, that is, reſtrained by Law?

Fourthly, Had we no other Proof, yet that of Preſcription were ſufficient: In all Ages, beyond Record, the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom have been the Rule of Government: Liberties have been ſtood upon, and Grants thereof, with Limitations of Royal Power, made and acknowledged by *Magna Charta*, and other publick and ſolemn Acts; and no Obedience acknowledged to be due, but that which is according to Law, nor claimed, but under ſome Pretext or Title of Law.

Fifthly, The very Being of our Common and Statute Laws, and our Kings, acknowledging themſelves bound to govern by them, doth prove and preſcribe them limited; for thoſe Laws are not of their ſole Compoſing, nor were they eſtabliſhed by their ſole Authority, but by the Concurrence of the other two Eſtates; ſo that, to be confined to that which is not merely their own, is to be in a limited Condition.

Some * there be which have lately written on this Subject, who take another Way to prove our Government limited by Law, *viz.* By denying all abſolute Government to be lawful; affirming, that abſolute Monarchy is not at all God's Ordinance, and ſo no lawful Power ſecured from Reſiſtance. What is their Ground for this? God allows no Man to rule as he liſts, nor puts Men's Lives in the Pleaſure of the Monarch; it is a Power arbitrary and injurious. But I deſire thoſe Authors to conſider, that, in abſolute Monarchy, there is not a Reſignation of Men to any Will or Liſt, but to the reaſonable Will of the Monarch, which, having the Law of Reaſon to direct it, is kept from injurious Acts. But ſee, for Defence of this Government, *Part* i. *cap.* 2.

SECT. III.

HAving ſet down thoſe Reaſons, on which my Judgment is ſettled on this Side, I will conſider the main Reaſons, whereby ſome have endeavoured to prove this Government to be of an abſolute Nature, and will ſhew their Invalidity. Many Divines, perhaps inconſiderately, perhaps wittingly for ſelf Ends, have been, of late Years, ſtrong Pleaders for Abſoluteneſs of Monarchical Power in this Land; and preſſed Obedience on the Conſciences of People in the utmoſt Extremity, which can be due in the moſt abſolute Monarchy in the World; but I ſeldom, or never, heard or read them make any Difference of Powers, but uſually bring their Proofs from thoſe Scriptures, where Subjection is commanded to the higher Powers, and all Reſiſtance of them forbidden, and from Examples taken out of the Manner of the Government of *Iſrael* and *Judah*; as if any were ſo impious to contradict thoſe Truths, and they were not as well obeyed in limited Government, as in abſolute; or, as if Examples, taken out of one Government, do always hold in another, unleſs their Aim was to deny all Diſtinction of Governments, and to hold all abſolute, who have any where the ſupreme Power conveyed to them.

Amongſt theſe, I wonder moſt at that late Diſcourſe of Dr. *Fern*, who, in my Judgment, avoucheth Things inconſiſtent, and evidently contradictory one to the other: For in his Preface he acknowledges our Obedience to be limited and circumſcribed by the Laws of the Land, and accordingly to be yielded or denied to the higher Power; and, That he is as much againſt an abſolute Power in the King, and to raiſe him to an arbitrary Way of Government, as againſt Reſiſtance on the Subjects Part; alſo, That his Power is limited by Law, *Sect.* v. Yet, on the other Side, he affirms, That the King holds his Crown by Conqueſt; that it is deſcended to him by three Conqueſts, *Sect.* ii. that even our Senate of Parliament hath not ſo much Plea for Reſiſtance, as the ancient *Roman* Senate had under the *Roman* Emperors, whoſe Power we know

* Pleaders for Defenſive Arms, *Sect.* ii. & iv.

was

was abſolute, *Sect.* ii. that, in Monarchy, the Judgment of many is reduced to one; that Monarchy ſettles the chief Power and final Judgment in one, *Sect.* v. What is this but to confeſs him limited, and yet to maintain him abſolute?

But let us come to the Arguments. Firſt, ſay they, our Kings came to their Right by Conqueſt; yea, ſays the Doctor, by three Conqueſts: He means, the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, as appears afterwards: Therefore their Right is abſolute. Here, that they may advance themſelves, they care not, though it be on the Ruin of publick Liberty, by bringing a whole Nation into the Condition of conquered Slaves. But to the Argument: 1. Suppoſe the Antecedent true, the Conſecution is not always true; for, as it is evident in the firſt Part, all Conqueſt doth not put the Conqueror into an abſolute Right. He may come to a Right by Conqueſt; but not ſole Conqueſt, but a partial, occaſioning a Right by final Agreement; and then the Right is ſpecificated by that fundamental Agreement: Alſo, he may by the Sword proſecute a Claim of another Nature; and, in his War, intend only an Acquiring of that claimed Right, and, after Conqueſt, reſt in that: Yea, farther, he may win a Kingdom merely by the Sword, and enter on it by the Right of Conqueſt; yet, conſidering that Right of Conqueſt hath too much of Force in it to be ſafe and permanent; he may think Conqueſt the beſt Means of Getting a Kingdom, but not of Holding, and, in Wiſdom for himſelf and Poſterity, gain the Affections of the People, by deſerting that Title, and taking a new by politick Agreement, or deſcend from that Right by fundamental Grants of Liberties to the People, and Limitations to his own Power; but theſe Things I ſaid, in Effect, before, in the firſt Part, only here I have recalled them, to ſhew what a *Non ſequitur* there is in the Argument. But that which I chiefly intend, is to ſhew the Infirmity or Falſhood of the Antecedent; it is an Aſſertion moſt untrue in itſelf, and pernicious to the State: Our Princes profeſs no other Way of coming to the Crown, but by Right of Succeſſion to rule free Subjects, in a legal Monarchy. All the little Shew of Proof, theſe Aſſertors have, is from the Root of Succeſſion: So *William* commonly called *the Conqueror*: For that of the *Saxons* was an Expulſion, not a Conqueſt; for, as our Hiſtories record, They, coming into the Kingdom, drove out the *Britons*, and by Degrees planted themſelves under their Commanders, and no Doubt continued the Freedom they had in *Germany*; unleſs we ſhould think, that by Conquering they loſt their own Liberties to the Kings, for whom they conquered, and expelled the *Britons* into *Wales*. Rather I conceive, the Original of the Subjects Liberty was by thoſe our Fore-fathers brought out of *Germany*: Where, as *Tacitus* * reports, *Nec Regibus infinita aut libera poteſtas*; their Kings had no abſolute, but limited Power; and all weighty Matters were diſpatched by general Meetings of all the Eſtates. Who ſees not here the Antiquity of our Liberties, and Frame of Government? So they were governed in *Germany*, and ſo here, to this Day, for, by Tranſplanting themſelves, they changed their Soil, not their Manners and Government: Then, that of the *Danes*, indeed, was a violent Conqueſt; and, as all violent Rules, it laſted not long; when the *Engliſh* expelled them, they recovered their Countries and Liberties together. Thus it is clear, the *Engliſh* Liberty remained to them, till the *Norman* Invaſion, notwithſtanding that *Daniſh* Interruption. Now for Duke *William*, I know Nothing they have in him, but the bare Stile of Conqueror, which ſeems to make for them: The very Truth is, and every intelligent Reader of the Hiſtory of thoſe Times will atteſt it, that Duke *William* pretended the Grant and Gift of King *Edward*, who died without Children, and he came with Forces into this Kingdom, not to conquer, but make good his Title againſt his Enemies: His End of entering the Land was not to gain a new abſolute Title, but to vindicate the old limited One, whereby the *Engliſh Saxon* Kings his Predeceſſors held this Kingdom. Though his Title was not ſo good, as it ſhould be, yet it was better than *Harold*'s, who was only the Son of *Goodwyn* †, Steward of King *Edward*'s Houſe: Whereas *William* was Couſin to *Emma*, Mother to the ſaid King *Edward*; by whom he was adopted and by ſolemn Promiſe of King *Edward* was to ſucceed him: Of which Promiſe, *Harold* himſelf became Surety, and bound by Oath to ſee it performed: Here was a fair Title, eſpecially *Edgar Atheling*, the right Heir being of

* *Tacit. de Morib. Germ.* Sect. 3, & 5.

† *Camden. Britan. Norman.*

tender Age, and diſaffected by the People. Neither did he proceed to a full Conqueſt, but after *Harold*, who uſurped the Crown, was ſlain in Battle, and none to ſucceed him; the Throne being void, the People choſe rather to ſubmit to *William* and his Title, than endure the Hazard of Ruining War, by oppoſing him, to ſet up a new King: It is not to be imagined, that ſuch a Realm as *England* could be conquered by ſo few, in ſuch a Space, if the People's voluntary Acceptance of him, and his Claim, had not facilitated and ſhortened his Undertaking. Thus we have it related in Mr. *Camden*, That before *Harold* uſurped the Crown moſt Men thought it the wiſeſt Policy to ſet the Crown on *William*'s Head, that, by performing the Oath and Promiſe, a War might be prevented: And that *Harold*, by aſſuming the Crown, provoked the whole Clergy and Eccleſiaſtical State againſt him; and we know how potent in thoſe Days the Clergy were in State Affairs: Alſo that, after one Battle fought wherein *Harold* was ſlain, he went to *London*, was received by the *Londoners*, and ſolemnly inaugurated King, as unto whom, by his own Saying, the Kingdom was by God's Providence appointed, and, by Vertue of a Gift from his Lord and Couſin King *Edward the Glorious*, granted; ſo that, after that Battle, the Remainder of the War was diſpatched by *Engliſh* Forces and Leaders. But ſuppoſe he did come in a Conqueror; yet he did not eſtabliſh the Kingdom on theſe Terms, but on the old Laws, which he retained and authoriſed for himſelf, and his Succeſſors to govern by. Indeed, after his Settlement in the Kingdom, ſome *Norman* Cuſtoms he brought in, and to gratify his Soldiers diſpoſſeſſed many *Engliſh* of their Eſtates, dealing in it too much like a Conqueror; but the Trial by twelve Men, and other Fundamentals of Government, wherein the *Engliſh* Freedom conſiſts, he left untouched, which have remained till this Day: On the ſame Title, he claimed and was inaugurated, was he King, which was a Title of rightful Succeſſion to *Edward*: Therefore he was indeed King, not as Conqueror, but as *Edward*'s Succeſſor; and on the ſame Right, as he and his Predeceſſors held the Crown. As alſo, by the Grant of the former Laws, and Form of Government, he did equivalently put himſelf and Succeſſors into the State of Legal Monarchs; and, in that Tenure, have all the Kings of this Land held the Crown till this Day; when theſe Men would rake up, and put a Title of Conqueſt upon them, which never was claimed or made Uſe of by him, who is the firſt Root of their Succeſſion.

SECT. IV.

ANother Reaſon, which they produce, is the ſucceſſive Nature of this Monarchy; for, with them, to be Elective and Limited, and to be Succeſſive and Abſolute, are equipollent; they conceive it impoſſible, that a Government ſhould be hereditary, and not abſolute. But I have enough made it appear, *Part* II. *Chap.* ii. *Sect.* 6. That Succeſſion doth not prove a Monarchy abſolute from Limitation, though it proves its Abſolution from Interruption and Diſcontinuance, during the Being of that Succeſſion to which it is defined. And that, which they object, That our Kings are actually ſo, before they take the Oath of Governing by Law, and ſo they would be, did they never take that Oath. Wherefore it is no Limitation of their Royal Power, is there alſo anſwered in the next Section, and that ſo fully, that no more need be ſaid. The ſame Law, which gives the King his Crown immediately upon the Deceaſe of his Predeceſſor, conveys it to him with the ſame Determinations and Prerogatives annexed, with which his Progenitors enjoyed it; ſo that, he entering on that original Right, his Subjects are bound to yield Obedience, before they take any Oath; and he is bound to the Laws of the Monarchy, before he actually renews the Bond by any perſonal Oath. There is yet another Argument uſually brought to this Purpoſe, taken from the Oath of Allegiance; but of that I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Suppoſing it to be in the Platform limited, Wherein, and how far forth, it is limited and defined?

I Conceive it fundamentally limited in five Particulars:

Firſt, In the whole Latitude of the Nomothetical Power; ſo that their Power extends not to eſtabliſh any Act, which hath the Being and State of a Law of the Land; nor give an authentick Senſe to any Law of a doubtful and controverted Meaning, ſolely and by themſelves, but together with the concurrent Authority of the two other Eſtates in Parliament.

Secondly, In the Governing Power there is a Confinement to the fundamental Common Laws, and to the ſuperſtructive Statute Laws, by the former Concurrence of Powers enacted, as to the Rule of all their Acts and Executions.

Thirdly, In the Power of conſtituting Officers and Means of Governing; not in the Choice of Perſons, for that is intruſted to his Judgment, for aught I know, but in the Conſtitution of Courts of Judicature; for, as he cannot judge by himſelf, or Officers, but in Courts of Juſtice, ſo thoſe Courts of Juſtice muſt have a Conſtitution by a Concurrence of the three Eſtates; they muſt have the ſame Power to conſtitute them, as the Laws which are diſpenſed in them.

Fourthly, In the very Succeſſion; for, tho' Succeſſion has been brought as a *Medium* to prove the Abſoluteneſs of this Government, yet, if it be more thoroughly conſidered, it is rather a Proof of the Contrary; and every one, who is a ſucceſſive Monarch, is ſo far limited in his Power, that he cannot leave it to whom he pleaſes, but to whom the fundamental Law concerning that Succeſſion hath deſigned it. And herein, though our Monarchy be not ſo limited, as that of *France* is ſaid to be, where the King cannot leave it to his Daughter, but to his Heir Male, yet reſtrained it is; ſo that, ſhould he affect another more, or judge another fitter to ſucceed, yet he cannot pleaſe himſelf in this, but is limited to the next Heir born, not adopted, nor denominated; which was the Caſe betwixt Queen *Mary* and the Lady *Jane*.

Laſtly, In Point of Revenue; wherein their Power extendeth not to their Subjects Eſtates, by Taxes and Impoſitions to make their own what they pleaſe, as hath been acknowledged by *Magna Charta*, and lately by the *Petition of Right*, the Caſe of *Ship-money*, *Conduct-money*, &c. nor, as I conceive, to make an Alienation of any Lands, or other Revenues annexed by Law to the Crown. I meddle not with perſonal Limitations, whereby Kings, as well as private Men, may limit themſelves by Promiſe and Covenant, which, being particular, bind only themſelves; but with thoſe which are radical, and have continued, during the whole Current of Succeſſion, from unknown Times. Other Limitations, it is likely, may be produced by thoſe who are ſkilful in the Laws; but I believe they will be ſuch, as are reducible to ſome of theſe, which I take to be the principal and moſt apparent Limitations of this Monarchy, and are a moſt convincing Induction to prove my Aſſertion in the former Chapter, *That this Monarchy, in the very Mould and Frame of it, is of a limited Conſtitution.*

CHAP. III.

Whether it be of a ſimple, or mixed Conſtitution?

SECT. I.

WHEN the Government is ſimple, when mixed; alſo where the Mixture muſt be, which denominates a mixed Government, is explained, *Part* I. *Chap.* iii. Now I conceive it a clear and undoubted Truth, That the Authority of this Land is of a compounded and mixed Nature, in the very Root and Conſtitution thereof; and my Judgment is eſtabliſhed on theſe Grounds:

Firſt,

Firſt, It is acknowledged to be a Monarchy mixed with Ariſtocracy in the Houſe of Peers, and Democracy in the Houſe of Commons. Now (as before was made appear, in the firſt Part) it is no Mixture, which is not in the Root and Supremacy of Power; for, though it have a Subordination of inferior Officers, and though the Powers inferior be ſeated in a mixed Subject, yet that makes it not a mixed Government, for it is compatible to the ſimpleſt in the World to have ſubordinate Mixtures.

Secondly, That Monarchy, where the Legiſlative Power is in all three, is, in the very Root and Eſſence of it, compounded and mixed of thoſe three; for that is the Height of Power, to which the other Parts are ſubſequent and ſubſervient; ſo that, where this reſideth in a mixed Subject, that is, in three diſtinct concurrent Eſtates, the Conſent and Concourſe of all moſt free, and none depending on the Will of the other, that Monarchy is, in the moſt proper Senſe, and in the very Model of it, of a mixed Conſtitution: But ſuch is the State of this Monarchy, as appears in the former Queſtion, and is ſelf-apparent.

Thirdly, That Monarchy, in which three Eſtates are conſtituted, to the End that the Power of one ſhould moderate and reſtrain from Exceſs the Power of the other, is mixed in the Root and Eſſence of it; but ſuch is this, as is confeſſed in the Anſwer to the ſaid Propoſitions. The Truth of the *Major* will appear, if we conſider how many Ways Proviſion may be made, in a political Frame, to remedy and reſtrain the Exceſſes of Monarchy. I can imagine but three Ways: *Firſt*, By conſtituting a legal Power above it, that it may be regulated thereby, as by an over-ruling Power. Thus we muſt not conceive of our two Houſes of Parliament, as if they could remedy the Exorbitances of the Prince by an Authority ſuperior to his; for this were to ſubordinate him to the two Houſes, to ſet a Superior above the Sovereign, that is, to deſtroy the Being of his Monarchical Power. *Secondly*, By an original Conveyance to him of a limited and legal Power, ſo that beyond it he can do no poteſtative Act; yet conſtituting no formal legal Power to refrain, or redreſs his poſſible Exorbitances; here is Limitation without Mixture of another conſtituted Power: As the former of theſe overthrows the Power of the Sovereign, ſo this makes no Proviſion for the Indemnity of the People. *Thirdly*, Now the never-enough-to-be-admired Wiſdom of the Architects and Contrivers of the Frame of Government in this Realm (whoever they were) have found a third Way, by which they have conſerved the Sovereignty of the Prince; and alſo made an excellent Proviſion for the People's Freedom, by conſtituting two Eſtates of Men, who are for their Condition Subjects, and yet have that Intereſt in the Government, that they can both moderate and redreſs the Exceſſes and Illegalities of the Royal Power, which (I ſay) cannot be done but by a Mixture, that is, by putting into their Hands a Power to meddle in Acts of the higheſt Function of Government; a Power not depending on his Will, but radically their own, and ſo ſufficient to moderate the Sovereign's Power.

SECT. II.

NOW what can reaſonably be ſaid in Oppoſition to theſe Grounds, proving a fundamental Mixture, I cannot deviſe. Neither indeed is a Mixture in the Government denied by the greateſt Patrons of Irreſiſtibility; only ſuch a Mixture they would fain make it, which might have no Power of poſitive Reſiſtance. I will therefore ſet down what they probably may or do object to this Purpoſe, and will ſhew the Invalidity thereof.

Objection 1. This Mixture ſeems not to be of diſtinct Powers, but of a Power and a Council; Authority in the Prince to give Power to Acts, and Counſel in the two Houſes to adviſe and propoſe wholſome Acts; as if the Royal Power alone did give Life to the Law; only he is defined in this Power, that he cannot animate any Act to the Being of a Law, but ſuch as is propoſed unto him by this great and Legiſlative Council of Parliament. *Sol.* This were probable, ſuppoſing the Parliament were only in the Nature of a Council; but we know it is alſo a Court, the *High Court of Parliament*: Now it is evident that a Court is the Seat and Subject of Authority and Power, and not barely of Counſel and Advice.

Obj. 2. The two Houſes, together with the King, are the ſupreme Court of the Kingdom; but, taken diviſely from the King, it is no Court, and conſequently hath no Power. *Sol.* Suppoſe them no intire Court divided from the

the King, yet they are two Eſtates of the three which make up the ſupreme Court; ſo that they have a Power and Authority, though not complete and ſufficing to perfect an Act, without the Concourſe of the third: For it appears by the Acts of that Court, that every of the three Eſtates hath a Legiſlative Power in it; every Act being enacted by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, and by the *Authority of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament*.

SECT. III.

Obj. 3. THEY have an Authority, but in Subordination to the King, and derived from him, as his Parliament. Indeed, this is a main Queſtion, and hath very weighty Arguments on both Sides, *Whether the Authority of both the Houſes be a ſubordinate Authority, and derived from the King as its Original?* Three Reaſons ſeem ſtrong for the Affirmative: *Firſt*, Becauſe it is his Parliament, ſo called and acknowledged: If his Court, then the Power whereby they are a Court is his Power, derived from him, as the Power of other Courts is. *Secondly*, Becauſe he hath the Power of Calling and Diſſolving it. *Thirdly*, Becauſe he is acknowledged in the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to be the Head, and of ſupreme Authority in the Kingdom, and all ſubject to him.

And whereas ſome make Anſwer, That he is *Singulis major*, but *Univerſis minor*, ſo the Anſweret to Doctor *Fern* *, I wonder that the Propoſition of the Obſervator, that the King is *Univerſis minor*, ſhould be ſo much exploded. Every Member *ſeorſim* is a Subject, but all *collectim* in their Houſes are not: And he ſays ſimply, The Houſes are co-ordinate to the King, not ſubordinate; that the Lords Stile *Comites*, or *Peers*, implies in Parliament a co-ordinative Society with his Majeſty in the Government. I conceive this Anſwerer to avoid one Extream falls on another; for this is a very Overthrow of all Monarchy, and to reduce all Government to Democracy: For look, where the *apex poteſtatis* is, there is the Government. Alſo it is againſt common Reaſon: For the King, Is he not King of the Kingdom? And what is the Kingdom but all united? All the Particulars knit together in one Body Politick? So that, if he be King of the Kingdom, he is *Univerſis major* too; for the King is *major*, and the Kingdom is the united Univerſe of the People. Thus thoſe Expreſſions are ſome of them falſe, ſome though *ſecundum quid* true; yet ſpoken ſimply, and in that Manner, are ſcandalous, and incompatible to Monarchy. Thus you ſee what may be ſaid on the one Side, to prove the King to be the Original of all Power, even of that which is in the Houſes of Parliament aſſembled.

On the other Side are as weighty Arguments to prove the Contrary, *viz.* That the two Houſes Authority is not dependent, nor derived from the Royal Power. *Firſt*, The Authority of the Houſes, being Legiſlative, is the Supreme, and ſo cannot be derived. Three concurrent Powers producing one Supreme Act, as Con-cauſe, joint Cauſes of the ſame higheſt Effect, cannot have a Subordination among themſelves in reſpect of that Cauſality; it not being imaginable how a Power can cauſe the Supreme Effect, and yet be a ſubordinate and derived Power. *Secondly*, The End of conſtituting theſe two Eſtates being the limiting and preventing the Exceſſes of the third, their Power muſt not be totally dependent, and derived from the third, for then it were unſuitable for the End for which it was ordained: For to limit an Agent, by a Power ſubordinate and depending on himſelf, is all one as to leave him at large without any Limitation at all. *Thirdly*, That, which hath been ſpoken of a mixed Monarchy, doth fully prove, that the two other Powers which concur with the Monarch, to conſtitute the Mixture, muſt not be altogether ſubordinate to it, and derived from it. I muſt profeſs theſe Reaſons to prevail with me, that I cannot conceive how the Authority of the two Houſes can, in the whole Being of it, be a dependent and derived Power.

SECT. IV.

THAT we may find out the Truth amidſt this potent Contradiction of both Sides, Recourſe muſt be had to the Architecture of this Government, whereof I muſt declare myſelf to be ſo great an Admirer, that whatever more than Human Wiſdom had the

* Treatiſe intituled, *A fuller Anſwer to Dr. Fern.*

Contriving of it, whether done at once, or by Degrees found out and perfected, I conceive it unparalleled for Exactneſs of true Policy in the whole World; ſuch a Care for the Sovereignty of the Monarch, ſuch a Proviſion for the Liberty of the People, and that one may be juſtly allayed, and yet conſiſt without Impeachment of the other, that I wonder how our Fore-fathers, in thoſe rude unpoliſhed Times, could attain ſuch an accurate Compoſure. Firſt then, ſuppoſe a People, either compelled to it by Conqueſt, or agreeing to it by free Conſent, Nobles and Commons, ſet over themſelves by publick Compact one Sovereign, and reſign up themſelves to him and his Heirs, to be governed by ſuch and ſuch Fundamental Laws: There is a Supremacy of Power ſet up, though limited to one Courſe of Exerciſe. Secondly, Then, becauſe in all Governments after Caſes will come, requiring an Addition of Laws, ſuppoſe them covenanting with their Sovereign, that, if Cauſe be to conſtitute any other Laws, he ſhall not by his ſole Power do that Work, but they reſerve at firſt, or afterwards it is granted them (which is all one) a Hand of Concurrence therein, that they will be bound by no Laws, but what they join with him in the making of. Thirdly, Becauſe, tho' the Nobles may perſonally convene, yet the Commons (being ſo many) cannot well come together by themſelves to the doing of ſuch a Work, it be alſo agreed, that every Corporation of the Commons ſhall have Power to depute one or more to be for the Whole in this publick Legiſlative Buſineſs; that ſo, the Nobles by themſelves, the Commons by their Deputies aſſembling, there may be repreſentatively the whole Body, having Commiſſion to execute that reſerved Authority for eſtabliſhing new Laws. Fourthly, Becauſe the Occaſion and Need of making new Laws, and authentick Expounding the Old, would not be conſtant and perpetual, and it would carry an Appearance of a Government in which were three Heads and chief Powers. They did not eſtabliſh theſe Eſtates to be conſtantly exiſtent, but occaſionally, as the Cauſes, for which they were ordained, ſhould emerge and happen to be. Fifthly, Becauſe a Monarchy was intended, and therefore a Supremacy of Power (as far as poſſible) muſt be reſerved for one, it was concluded that theſe two Eſtates ſhould be Aſſemblies of his Subjects Sworn to him, and all former Laws; the New, which by Agreement of Powers ſhould be enacted, were to be his Laws, and they bound to obey him in them as ſoon as eſtabliſhed: And being ſuppoſed that he who was to govern by the Laws, and for the Furtherance of whoſe Government the new Laws were to be made, ſhould beſt underſtand when there was Need; and the Aſſembling and Diſſolving the two Eſtates meeting, was a Power of great Privilege, it was put into the Prince's Hand by Writ, to convocate and bring to Exiſtence, and to adjourn and diſmiſs ſuch Meetings. Sixthly, In Proceſs of Time, Princes not caring much to have their Government looked into, or to have any Power in Act but their own, took Advantage of this Power of convocating theſe Eſtates, and did more ſeldom, than Need required, make Uſe of it; whereon Proviſion was made, and a Time ſet, within which an Aſſembly of Parliament was to be had. Now, when you have made theſe Suppoſitions in your Mind, you have the very Model and Platform of this Monarchy, and we ſhall eaſily find what to anſwer to the Arguments before produced on either Side. For, Firſt, It is his Parliament, becauſe an Aſſembly of his Subjects, convocated by his Writ, to be his Council, to aſſiſt him in making Laws for him to govern by: Yet not his, as other Courts are, altogether deriving their whole Authority from the Fulneſs which is in him. Alſo his Power of Aſſembling and Diſſolving proves him thus far above them, becauſe in their Exiſtence they depend on him; but their Power and Authority, *quoad ſpecificationem*, the Being and Kind of it, is from Original Conſtitution: For they expect no Commiſſion and Authority from him, more than for their Meeting and Reducing into Exiſtence; but exiſting they work according to the Privileges of their Conſtitution, their Acts proceeding from their conjunct Authority with the King's, not from its Subordination to the King's. The Oath of Allegiance binds them, and reſpects them as his Subjects, to obey him, governing according to eſtabliſhed Laws: It ſuppoſes and is built upon the Foundations of this Government, and muſt not be interpreted to overthrow them: He is thereby acknowledged to be Supreme, ſo far as to rule them by Laws already made, not ſo far as to make Laws without them, ſo that it is no Derogation to their Power; and I believe of theſe Things none

none can make any Queſtion. Therein conſiſts the accurate Judgment of the Contrivers of this Form, they have given ſo much into the Hands of the Sovereign, as to make him truly a Monarch; and they have reſerved ſo much in the Hands of the two Eſtates, as to inable them to preſerve their own Liberty.

CHAP. IV.

How far forth it is mixed; and what Parts of the Power are referred to a mixed Principle?

I Shall be the briefer in this, becauſe an Anſwer to it may be eaſily collected out of the precedent Queſtions: For he who knows how far this Government is limited, will ſoon diſcern how far it is mixed, for the Limitation is moſtly affected by the Mixture: But diſtinctly, I conceive that there are three Parts of the Power referred to the joint Concourſe of all three Eſtates: So that, either of them not conſenting or ſuſpending its Influence, the reſt cannot reduce that Power ordinarily and legally into Act.

The *Firſt* is the Nomothetical Power, underſtanding by it the Power of making, and authentickly expounding Laws; ſo that I believe an Act cannot have the Nature and Form of a Law of the Land, if it proceed from any one or two of theſe, without the poſitive Concurrence of the third.

Secondly, The Power of impoſing Taxes and Payments on Men's Eſtates; that the King, by himſelf, cannot aſſume Men's Properties, by requiring Impoſitions not granted him by Law, is often confeſſed: And that the other Eſtates cannot do it by themſelves, I conceive it as unqueſtionable: For it were ſtrange to give that to the ſecondary and aſſiſting Powers, which is denied to the ſovereign and principal. If it be objected that every Corporation electing Deputies, and authoriſing them to be *vice totius Communitatis*, do thereby grant them Power, and intruſt them as to make Laws to bind them, ſo to diſpoſe of any Part of their Eſtate, either by a Rate or Payment for the Publick Good: I anſwer, that they are by that Deputation inabled as for one, ſo for the other; that is, according to the fundamental Uſage of the Kingdom; that is, by the joint Conſent of the other Eſtates; for, though the Houſe of Commons is choſen by the People, and they repreſent the People, yet the Repreſentation doth not give them a Power which was not in the People. Now the People have no Power to do an Act which either directly, or by Conſequence, doth put it in the Will and Pleaſure of any one or two of the Eſtates, to overthrow the other: But this Power of opening and ſhutting the Purſe of the Kingdom is ſuch a Power, that, if it be in one or two of the Eſtates, without the third, then they by that Power might neceſſitate that other to do any Act, or diſable it from its own Defence. This and the legiſlative Power have ſuch a Nearneſs, that they cannot be divided, but muſt be in the ſame Subject: This is ſo great a Power, that, put it abſolutely in any Eſtate ſingle, you make that Eſtate in Effect abſolute, making the reſt dependent and beholden to it for their Subſiſtence.

Thirdly, The Power of diſpatching the Affairs of the Kingdom, which are of greateſt Difficulty and Weight, the *Ardua Regni*, which the Writ for convocating the other Eſtates doth mention, ſuppoſing thereby that ſuch Difficulties are not to be diſpatched by the Power of one alone; for if they were, Why then are the two other convocated to be aſſiſting? I acknowledge many Matters of great Moment may be done by the regal Power, and in ſuch Caſe it may be ſaid, that the other Eſtates are gathered *ad melius tranſigendum*, that the Advice and Senſe of the Community may be for Direction. But I conceive there be two Sorts of Affairs, which ought not to be tranſacted without the Concurrence of all three. *Firſt*, Such as concern the publick Safety and Weal, ſo far as ſtable Detriment or Advantage comes to the whole Body, by the well or ill Carriage thereof; for then there is the ſame Reaſon as in making new Laws. For why was not the Power of making any new Laws left in the Hands of one, but reſerved for the Concurrence of all three? Save becauſe the End of the Architects was, that no new thing, which was of ſo much Concernment as the ſtable Good and Damage of the Kingdom, ſhould be introduced

without the Conſent and Advice of the whole: So that, if any Buſineſs be of that Moment, that it is equipollent to a Law in the publick Intereſt, it ſhould be managed by ſuch an Authority and Way as that is. *Secondly*, Such as introduce a Neceſſity of publick Charge, be it Matter of War or elſe, if to the Effecting of it the Purſe of the Kingdom be required, it is evident that it ought to be done by the Concurrence of all, becauſe they only jointly (as appears before) have Power to impoſe a publick Charge on the Eſtates of Men. And it were all one to put the Power of our Eſtates in the Hands of one, as to put the Power of ſuch Undertakings in his ſole Hands, which of Neceſſity bring after them an Engagement of publick Expence.

CHAP. V.

How far forth the two Eſtates may oppoſe and reſiſt the Will of the Monarch?

SECT. I.

THis Queſtion is in the General already handled in the firſt Part, ſo that it will be eaſy to draw thoſe Anſwers there to this Particular here: Therefore conformably to what I then affirmed, I will anſwer this Queſtion by divers Poſitions.

Firſt, The Monarch working according to his Power, not exceeding the Authority which God and the Laws have conferred on him, is no Way to be oppoſed either by any or all his Subjects, but in Conſcience to God's Ordinance obeyed. This is granted on all Sides.

Secondly, If the Will and Command of the Monarch exceed the Limits of the Law, it ought for the Avoidance of Scandal and Offence to be ſubmitted to, ſo it be not contrary to God's Law, nor bring with it ſuch an Evil to ourſelves, or the Publick, that we cannot be acceſſary to it by Obeying. This alſo will find no Oppoſition. Diſobedience in light Caſes, in which we are not bound, makes an Appearance of ſlighting the Power, and is a Diſreſpect to the Perſon of the Magiſtrate. Therefore Chriſt, to avoid ſuch Offence, would pay Tribute, though he tells *Peter*, He was free, and need not have done it.

Thirdly, If he command a Thing which the Law gives him no Authority to command, and if it be ſuch as would be inconvenient to obey, in this Caſe Obedience may lawfully be denied: This alſo finds Allowance from them which ſtand moſt for Royal Power. Doctor *Fern* in his Preface acknowledges Obedience to be limited and circumſcribed by the Eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land, and accordingly to be yielded or denied. And *Sect.* i. ſays he, *We may and ought to deny Obedience to ſuch Commands of the Prince as are unlawful by the Law of God, yea by the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Land.* Here he ſays more than we ſay, yea more than ſhould be ſaid, as appears in the ſecond Poſition: It is not univerſally true, that we ought.

Fourthly, If he exceed the Limits of the Law, and proceed in Courſes illegal, Means there are which it is agreed upon the Subjects may uſe to reduce him to legal Government, ſo much Doctor *Fern* allows *Sect.* iv. Cries to God, Petition to the Prince, Denial of Obedience, Denial of Subſidy, *&c.*

Fifthly, But the Point in Controverſy is about poſitive and forcible Reſiſtance, the Lawfulneſs of which ſome do utterly deny, and others do as confidently maintain: But yet this Point might be brought to a narrower State than, in the confuſed Handling of it, it uſually is: By diſtinguiſhing betwixt forcible Reſiſtance uſed againſt the King's own Perſon, or againſt inferior Officers and Inſtruments, adviſing to, or executing the illegal Commands.

SECT. II.

FOR the *Firſt*, As I have before expreſſed myſelf, Force ought not to be uſed againſt the Perſon of the Sovereign, on any Pretence whatever, by any or all his Subjects, even in limited and mixed Monarchies: For, if they be truly Monarchs, they are irrevocably inveſted with Sovereignty, which ſets their Perſons above all lawful Power and Force. Alſo, the Sovereign Power being ſo conferred on that Perſon, the Perſon and Power cannot be really ſundered, but the Force, which is uſed to the one, muſt alſo violate the other; for Power is not in the Sovereign as it is in inferior Officers:

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As Water is otherwiſe in the Spring than in the Channels, and Pipes deriving it: It is not inſeparably in them, and therefore, they offending, Force may be uſed againſt them without Violation of the Ordinance of Authority. Theſe Arguments prove it unlawful in any: That, which the Doctor brings, I approve as ſtrong againſt all private Force, where he allows Defence againſt the Perſon of the Prince himſelf, ſo far as to ward his Blows, but not to return Blows, no, though for natural Defence: Becauſe the Common-wealth is concerned in his Perſon, *Sect.* ii. And to divert a private Evil, by inducing a publick, is unjuſt and unlawful: So that, for this Point of Force againſt the Perſon of the Prince, I think there ought to be no Contention. If any have been ſo raſh to hold it lawful on theſe Grounds, that the whole Kingdom is above him, becauſe they make him King, and that by Miſcarriage he may make a Forfeiture, and ſo lay himſelf open to Force: I do judge theſe Grounds very inſufficient, unleſs the Kingdom reſerve a Superiority to itſelf, or there be a fundamental Clauſe of Forfeiture on ſpecified Cauſes; and then it is not properly a Monarchy: But all this hath been already handled in the general Part.

Secondly, For Inſtruments of Oppreſſion of publick Liberty, if the Wrong be deſtructive, and no other Means of Prevention, but Force, be left: I am perſuaded it may be uſed, and poſitive Reſiſtance made againſt them: And, if I find any Contradiction from the moſt rigid Patrons of Royalty, it muſt be only in this Point. And here I muſt complain of the indiſtinct Dealing of that Doctor in this Matter; who mingleth both theſe Points together, and ſcarce ſpeaks any thing to reſolve Men's Conſciences in this, but ſpeaks either in General, or elſe of Force againſt the Prince's own Perſon: Whereas I think, the Caſe, which ſticks moſt on the Conſcience at this Time, is this latter: Of oppoſing miſleading and miſemployed Subjects, which he ſpeaks very little to. Nay, he ſeems to me, after all his Diſclaiming of Reſiſtance, to come Home to us, and, though ſparingly, yet to aſſent to the Lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance in this Point. For *Sect.* ii. ſpeaking of *David*'s Guard of armed Men: He ſays, it was to ſecure his Perſon againſt the Cut-throats of *Saul*, if ſent to take away his Life: He means to ſecure it by Force, for Soldiers are for Force: He means no negative Securing by Flight, for that may be done even againſt *Saul* himſelf: But he ſpeaks of ſuch a Securing which might only be againſt Cut-throats. So then he grants Securing by Force againſt theſe: But they went on *Saul*'s Command, and moſtly with his Preſence. Again, in the Inſtance of *Eliſha*, he ſeems to acknowledge the Lawfulneſs of perſonal Defence againſt the ſudden and illegal Aſſaults of Meſſengers; he means by Force, for he ſpeaks of ſuch which he will not allow in publick, which can be underſtood of none, but by Force: But it appears the Doctor, in his whole Diſcourſe, hath avoided this Point of Reſiſtance of miſemployed Subjects; which yet is the alone Point which would have given Satisfaction: For, before it appears, we agree in all the reſt, and in this too for aught I know, he having not diſtinctly ſaid any Thing againſt it.

SECT. III.

Whether Reſiſtance of Inſtruments of Will be lawful.

NOW, concerning this Caſe of forcible Reſiſtance of inferior Perſons miſemployed to ſerve the illegal, deſtructive Commands of the Prince, I will do two Things. 1. I will maintain my Aſſertion by convincing Arguments. 2. I will ſhew the Invalidity of what is ſaid againſt it.

This, then, is my Aſſertion. The two Eſtates in Parliament may lawfully, by Force of Arms, reſiſt any Perſons, or Number of Perſons, adviſing or aſſiſting the King in the Performance of a Command illegal and deſtructive to themſelves or the Publick.

Firſt, Becauſe that Force is lawful to be uſed for the publick Conſervation, which is no Reſiſtance of the Ordinance of God, for that is the Reaſon condemning the Reſiſtance of the Powers. Now, this is no Reſiſtance of God's Ordinance; for, by it, neither the Perſon of the Sovereign is reſiſted, nor his Power; not his Perſon, for we ſpeak of Agents employed, not of his own Perſon, nor his Power, for the Meaſure of that, in our Government, is acknowledged to be the Law: And therefore he cannot confer Authority beyond Law; ſo that thoſe Agents, deriving no Authority from him, are mere Inſtruments of his Will, unauthoriſed Perſons, in their Aſ-

ſaults

faults Robbers, and, as Dr. *Fern* calls them, Cut-throats. If the Caſe be put, What if the Sovereign himſelf, in Perſon, be preſent with ſuch Aſſailants, joining his perſonal Aſſiſtance in the Execution of his Commands? It is much to be lamented, that the Will of the Prince ſhould be ſo impetuous in any ſubverting Act, as to hazard his own Perſon in the Proſecution of it: Yet, ſuppoſing ſuch a Caſe, all Counſels and Courſes muſt be taken, that no Violence be offered to his Perſon, and Profeſſion of none intended: But no Reaſon the Preſence of his Perſon ſhould privilege ruining Inſtruments from Suppreſſion, and give them an Impunity to ſpoil and deſtroy Subjects, better than themſelves: His Perſon being ſecured from Wrong, his Power cannot be violated in ſuch an Act, in which none of it it can be conferred on the Agents. And ſure *David*, though he avoided Laying Hands, or Uſing any Violence againſt the Perſon of *Saul*, and on no Extremity would have done it; yet, for the Cut-throats about him, if no other Means would have ſecured him, he would have reſcued himſelf by Force from their Outrage, though *Saul* was in their Company, eſpecially what intended he by all that Force of Soldiers, and his Enquiry of God at *Keilah?* By which it is plain he had an Intent to have kept the Place by Force, if the People would have ſtuck to him: Neither is it to the Purpoſe which the Dr. ſays, *Sect.* ii, That his Example was extraordinary, becauſe he was anointed, and deſigned to ſucceed *Saul*, for that, being but a Deſignation, did not exempt him from the Duty of Subjection, for the preſent, or leſſen it, as is plain by the great Conſcience he made of not touching *Saul:* But he knew it was one Thing to violate *Saul*'s Perſon and Power, and another to reſiſt thoſe Inſtruments of Tyranny, the Cut-throats which were about him.

Secondly, Becauſe, without ſuch Power of Reſiſtance in the Hands of Subjects, all Diſtinction and Limitation of Government is vain, and all Forms reſolve into abſolute and arbitrary; for that is ſo which is unlimited; and that is unlimited not only which hath no Limits ſet, but alſo which hath no ſufficient Limits; for to be ſtrained from doing what I will, by a Power which can reſtrain me no longer, nor otherwiſe than I will, is all one, as if I were left at my own Will. I take this to be clear: Now, it is as clear, that, unleſs, this forcible Reſiſtance of Inſtruments of uſurped Power be lawful, no ſufficient Limits can be to the Prince's Will, and all Laws bounding him are to no Purpoſe. This appears by enumerating the other Means, Prayer to God, Petition to the Prince, Denial of Obedience, Denial of Subſidy, a moderate Uſe of the Power of denying, as Dr. *Fern* calls it: Theſe are all; but what are theſe to hinder, if a Prince be minded to overthrow all, and bring the whole Government to his own Will? For Prayer and Petition, theſe are put in to fill up the Number: They are no Limitations; they may be uſed in the moſt abſolute Monarchy: For Denial of Obedience, that may keep me from being an Inſtrument of publick Servitude; but Princes Wills never want them which will yield Obedience, if I deny it; yea, enough to deſtroy all the reſt, if nothing be left them but to ſuffer: Then for Denial of Subſidy, if he may, by Thouſands of Inſtruments, take all, or what he or they pleaſe, and I muſt not reſiſt: What need he care whether the People deny or grant, if a Prince be taught that he may do it? Caſes and Reaſons will ſoon be brought to perſuade him, that in them he may lawfully do it, as late Experiences have given us too much Teſtimony: Thus it is apparent, that the Denial of this Power of Reſiſtance of Inſtruments overthrows and makes invalid all Government, but that which is abſolute, and reduces the whole World *de jure* to an abſolute Subjection, that is, Servitude; for the End of all Conſtitution of moderated Forms is not, that the Supreme Power might not lawfully exorbitate, but that it might have no Power to exorbitate.

The Doctor is conſcious hereof, and therefore tells us, in his *Sect.* v: This is the very Reaſon which is made for the Pope's Power of curbing and depoſing Kings in caſe of Hereſy, becauſe elſe the Church, ſays the Papiſt, hath no Means for the Maintenance of the Catholick Faith, and its own Safety: But who ſees not the vaſt Difference betwixt theſe two? And that the ſame Reaſon may be concluding here, which is apparently *non*-concluding there: For, 1. They thereby would draw to the Pope an authoritative Power, we no ſuch ſuperior Power, but only a Power of Reſiſtance for Self-conſervation, which Nature and the Law of Reaſon gives to every one, and may ſtand with the Condition of Subjection and

Inferiority. 2. They, on this Reaſon, give the Pope a Power over the very Perſon of the King, we only of reſiſting of unauthoriſed, invading Deſtroyers, coming under the Colour of an Authority which is not in the Sovereign to be derived. 3. They prove a Civil Right for ſpiritual Reaſons, we only for Civil Reaſons. 4. The Church and the Faith are conſtituted in their very formal Being from Chriſt himſelf, who is the Head and great Shepherd immediately in his own Perſon; and, as it is his own Family, ſo he keeps the Power of preſerving it in his own Hands, having made direct and particular Promiſes to aſſure us of their Upholding againſt all Subverſion by his own Power; ſo that here is Aſſurance enough without viſible Means of Force for a ſpiritual Body, which lives by Faith. But in a Civil State there is no ſuch Aſſurance, nor ſupporting Promiſes, Power only, in the undefined Being of it, being God's immediate Ordinance, and not in this ſpecificated or determinate Being; wherefore it hath no ſuch immediate Proviſion made for its Preſervation, no Promiſe of a divine Power for its Standing: But as it is left by God to Men's Wiſdom to contrive the Frame, ſo to their Providence to eſtabliſh Means of Preſervation. As the Body is outward and civil, ſo the upholding Means muſt be ſuch, ſpiritually and infallibly aſſuring a formed State hath not, as the Church and Faith have; if there be none of outward Force and Power neither, then none at all it hath, and is in ill Caſe indeed. But there is an Art full of Venom, when a Truth cannot be beaten down by juſt Reaſoning, then to make it odious by hateful Compariſons; ſo in this Caſe Aſperſions are caſt, as if the Patrons of Reſiſtance did borrow the Popiſh and Jeſuitical Grounds, and their Poſitions as dangerous to Kings, as the Jeſuits Hell-bred and bloody Principles: Whereas it appears, by all this Diſcourſe, and I am perſuaded is written in Capital Letters in the very Conſciences of them which deſpightfully object it, that there is no Congruity at all betwixt their Doctrines, no more than betwixt Light and Darkneſs.

Thirdly, Becauſe ſuch Power is due to a publick State for its Preſervation, as is due to a particular Perſon: But every particular Perſon may lawfully, by Force, reſiſt illegal deſtructive Miniſters, though ſent by the Command of a legal Sovereign, provided no other Means of Self-preſervation be enough. This Aſſumption the Doctor ſeems to grant; he denies it to be lawful againſt the Perſon of the Prince, but, in Effect, yields it againſt ſubordinate Perſons: But the Main is againſt the Propoſition; and the Doctor is ſo heavy a Friend to the State, that he thinks it not fit to allow it that Liberty he gives every private Man. But, whoſe Judgment will concur with his herein, I cannot imagine; for ſure the Reaſon is greater, the publick Safety being far more precious and able to ſatisfy the Damages of a publick Reſiſtance, than one particular Man's is of a private. But of this more in Anſwer to his Reaſons.

Fourthly, Becauſe it is a Power put into the two Eſtates by the very Reaſon of their Inſtitution; and therefore they not only may, but alſo ought to uſe it for publick Safety; yea, they ſhould betray the very Truſt repoſed in them, by the Fundamentals of the Kingdom, if they ſhould not. An Authority Legiſlative they have: Now, to make Laws, and to preſerve Laws, are Acts of the ſame Power; yea, if three Powers jointly have Intereſt in making of Laws, ſurely either of theſe ſeverally have, and ought to uſe that Power in Preſerving them: Alſo, that the Authority which the Houſes have is as well given them for Preſerving the Government by eſtabliſhed Laws, as for Eſtabliſhment of Laws to govern by, is a Truth proved by the conſtant Uſe of their Power to that End, in correcting the Exorbitance of inferior Courts, and queſtioning delinquent Judges and Officers of State for Violations; and much is done in this Kind by the ſole Authority of the Houſes, without the Concurrence or Expectance of Royal Power: So then, ſuppoſing they have ſuch an Authority for Safety of publick Government, to queſtion or cenſure inferior Officers for Tranſgreſſions, though pretending the King's Authority, Can it be denied but that their Authority will bear them out to uſe forcible Reſiſtance againſt ſuch, be they more or fewer?

Fifthly, The King's Warrant, under his Hand, exempts not a Malefactor from the Cenſure of a Court of Juſtice, nor Puniſhment impoſed by Law, but the Judge muſt proceed againſt him according to Law; for the Law is the King's publick and authoritative Will; but a private Warrant to do an unlawful Act, is his private and unauthoritative Will; wherefore the Judge ought to take no Notice of ſuch Warrant, but to deal with the Offender

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as no other than a private Man. This proves that ſuch Inſtruments, thus illegally warranted, are not authoriſed, and therefore their Violence may be, by Force, reſiſted, as the Aſſaults of private Men, by any; and then much rather by the Houſes of Parliament; which, ſuppoſing them divided from the King to have no complete Authority, yet, ſure they have two Parts of the greateſt Legiſlative Authority. But I fear I ſhall ſeem ſuperfluous, in producing Arguments to prove ſo clear a Truth: Is it credible that any one will maintain ſo abject an Eſteem of their Authority, that it will not extend to Reſiſtance of private Men, who ſhould endeavour the Subverſion of the whole Frame of Government, on no other Warrant than the King's Will and Pleaſure? Muſt they be merely Paſſive? Is Patience, and the Denial of their Votes to a Subverſion, all the Oppoſition they muſt uſe, if a King (which God forbid) ſhould, on his Royal Pleaſure, ſend Cut-throats to deſtroy them as they ſit in their Houſes? Is all their Authority (if the King deſert them or worſe) no more than to petition, and ſuffer; and, by a moderate Uſe of their Power of denying, diſſent from being willing to be deſtroyed? If the Power of reſiſting by Force Subverters armed by the King's Will (for by his Authority they cannot) be unlawful for them, all theſe Abſurdities muſt follow: Yea, the vileſt Inſtrument of Oppreſſion, ſhewing but a Warrant from the King to bear him out, may range and rage all his Days through a Kingdom, to waſte and ſpoil, tax and diſtrain, and at the utmoſt of his Inſolence, muſt have no more done to him by the Parliament itſelf, than to ſtay his Hand, as the baſeſt Servant may his Maſter's, or the meaneſt Subject the King's own Hand, by the Doctor's own Confeſſion. Conſider then, and admire, if any Man of Learning will deny this Power of forcible Reſiſtance of Miniſters, of ſubverting Commands to be lawful. I have, thus far, confirmed my Aſſertion, not that I find any openly oppoſing it, but becauſe the Doctor and ſome others ſeem to have a Mind that Way, and do ſtrike at it, though not profeſſedly and in open Diſpute.

For the ſeveral Proofs brought in Behalf of Reſiſtance, ſome of them prove as much as is here aſſerted; others are not to the Purpoſe: Particularly, that of the People's Reſcuing *Jonathan* from his Father's bloody Reſolution, proves the Lawfulneſs of hindering unreaſonable ſelf-deſtructive Purpoſes, even in abſolute Monarchies, if it prove any Thing. That of *Uzzah*'s thruſting out by the Prieſts, is not to the Purpoſe; but *David*'s Raiſing and Keeping Forces about him, and his Purpoſe at *Keilah*, proves the Point directly, *viz.* Lawfulneſs of forcible Reſiſtance of Cut-throats, even though *Saul* himſelf were in Preſence: This the Doctor ſees plainly, and therefore ſhuffles it off, by ſaying, His Example is extraordinary; as if he were not a preſent Subject, becauſe he was deſigned by God's revealed Counſel to be a future King. And he confeſſes *Eliſha*'s Example, of Shutting the Door againſt the King's Meſſenger, proves perſonal Defence againſt ſudden illegal Aſſaults of Meſſengers, which is the Thing in Queſtion.

SECT. IV.

Arguments on the Contrary diſſolved.

LET us now view the Strength of what is ſaid againſt Reſiſtance, whether any Thing comes Home againſt this Aſſertion. The Doctor's Proofs from the Old Teſtament come not to the Matter: *Moſes*, and afterwards the Kings, were of God's particular Deſignation, ſetting them abſolutely over the People, on no Condition or Limitation; ſo that, did they prove any Thing, yet they concern not us, reſpecting a Government of another Nature: But particularly, that of *Corah*, and the Princes, rebelling againſt *Moſes*, is not to the Matter: it was a Reſiſtance of *Moſes*'s own Perſon and Office; and, doubtleſs, Penury of other Proofs cauſed this, and the reſt here, to be alledged: For that, 1 *Sam.* viii. 18, how inconſequent is it to ſay, The People ſhould cry unto the Lord, therefore they had no other Means to help them but Cries to God; though, I confeſs, in that Monarchy they had not. That Speech, 1 *Sam.* xxvi. 9, was moſt true there, and is as true here, but not to the Purpoſe, being ſpoken of the King's own Perſon. But the main Authority, brought againſt Reſiſtance, is that, *Rom.* xiii, and on that Dr. *Fern* builds his whole Diſcourſe: Let us therefore ſomething more largely conſider what is deduced out of that Text: *Firſt*, He ſuppoſes the King to be the Supreme in St. *Peter*, and the Higher Power in St. *Paul*. *Secondly*, He collects all Perſons, every Soul is forbidden to reſiſt. *Thirdly*, That then was a ſtanding Senate, which, not long before, had the ſupreme Power in the *Roman* State, it is confeſſed;

feſſed; but that they could challenge more at that Time when St. *Paul* writ, than our great Council will or can, I deny; for, that State devolving into Monarchy by Conqueſt, they were brought under an abſolute Monarchy, the Senate itſelf ſwearing full Subjection to the Prince; his Edicts and Acts of Will were Laws, and the Senate's Conſent only *pro forma*, and at Pleaſure required. He who reads *Tacitus*, cannot but ſee the Senate brought to a Condition of baſeſt Servitude, and all Laws and Lives depending on the Will of the Prince: I wonder then the Doctor ſhould make ſuch a Parallel. Indeed, the Senate had been far more than ever our Parliaments were, or ought to be; but now, that was far leſs than our Parliament hath been, or, I hope, ever will be: They were become the ſworn Veſſals of an abſolute Emperor; ours, the ſworn Subjects of a Liege or legal Prince. Fourthly, he ſays, Then was more Cauſe of Reſiſtance, when Kings were Enemies to Religion, and had overthrown Laws and Liberties. I anſwer, There were no Cauſes for Reſiſtance; not their Enmity to Religion, had they but a legal Power, becauſe Religion then was no Part of the Laws, and ſo its Violation was no Subverſion of eſtabliſhed Government. And, for the Overthrow of Laws and Liberties, that was paſt and done, and the Government new, the Senate and all the reſt actually ſworn to abſolute Principality. Now an Ordinance of abſolute Monarchy was conſtituted, the ſacred Bond of an Oath had made it inviolate. But what would he infer hence, all being granted him? Sure this he doth intend, That every Soul amongſt us, ſeveral, and conjoined in a Senate, muſt be ſubject for Conſcience, muſt not reſiſt, under Pain of Damnation. All this, and whatever beſides he can juſtly infer out of this Text, we readily grant. But can any living Man hence collect, that therefore no Reſiſtance may be made to Fellow-ſubjects, executing deſtructive illegal Acts of the Prince's Will in a legal Monarchy? Will he affirm that the Ordinance of God is reſiſted, and Damnation incurred thereby? God's Ordinance is the Power, and the Perſon inveſted with that Power; but here, Force is offered to neither, as before I have made it appear. And herein we have Biſhop *Bilſon* conſenting, where he ſays, * That the ſuperior Power, here forbidden to be reſiſted, is not the Prince's Will againſt his Laws, but agreeing with his Laws. I think the Day itſelf is not more clear than this Satisfaction, to all that can be concluded out of that Text; ſo the Foundation of all that Diſcourſe is taken from it, if his Intent was thence to prove Unlawfulneſs of Reſiſtance of Inſtruments of Arbitrarineſs in this Kingdom.

Let us alſo conſider the Force of his Reaſons, whether they impugn this Point in Hand. He ſays, ſuch Power of Reſiſtance would be no fit Means of Safety to a State, but prove a Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſes. His Reaſons, 1. Becauſe it doth tend to the Overthrow of that Order, which is the Life of a Commonwealth; it would open a Way to People, upon the like Pretences, to reſiſt, and even overthrow Power duly adminiſtered. 2. It may proceed to a Change of Government. 3. It is accompanied with the Evils of Civil War. 4. On the ſame Ground the two Houſes proceed againſt the King, may the People proceed to Reſiſtance againſt them, accuſing them not to diſcharge their Truſt. Laſtly, ſeeing ſome muſt be truſted in every State, it is Reaſon the higheſt and final Truſt ſhould be in the higheſt Power. Theſe are his main Reaſons on which he builds his Concluſion againſt Reſiſtance.

To his Firſt, I ſay, It were ſtrange, if Reſiſtance of deſtructive Diſorder ſhould tend to the Overthrow of Order: It may, for the Time, diſturb, as Phyſick, while it is in Working, diſturbs the natural Body, if the peccant Humours make ſtrong Oppoſition; but ſure it tends to Health, and ſo doth this Reſiſtance of Diſorder to Order. Neither would it open a Way for the People to violate the Powers; for Doing Right can open no Way to the Doing of Wrong. If any wicked ſeditious Spirits ſhould make Uſe of the Veil of Juſtice to cover unnatural Rebellion, Shall a People's Right and Liberty be taken from them to prevent ſuch poſſible Abuſe? Rather let the Foulneſs of ſuch Pretences diſcover itſelf, ſo God and good Men will abhor them; ſuch Clokes of Rebellion have, in former Ages, been taken off, and the Authors brought to juſt Confuſion, without the Expence of the Liberties of this Kingdom.

To the Second, Muſt not Inſtruments be reſiſted, which actually intend, and ſeek a Change of Government, becauſe ſuch Reſiſtance may proceed to a Change of Govern-

* *Bilſon of Subjection*, P. 94, and 280.

ment? Is not an unlikely Poſſibility of Change to be hazarded, rather than a certain one ſuffered? But I ſay, It cannot proceed to a Change of Government, unleſs it exceed the Meaſure of lawful Reſiſtance; yea, it is impoſſible that Reſiſtance of Inſtruments ſhould ever proceed to a Change of Government; for that includeth the greateſt Reſiſtance and Violation of the Perſon and Power of the Monarch, the Lawfulneſs of which I utterly diſclaim.

Thirdly, It is not ever accompanied with the Evils of Civil War, but when the Prince's Will finds enough Inſtruments of their Country's Ruin to raiſe it; and then the Miſchiefs of that War muſt light on thoſe which raiſe it. But ſuppoſe it may enſue, yet a temporary Evil of War is to be choſen rather than a perpetual Loſs of Liberty, and Subverſion of the eſtabliſhed Frame of a Government.

In the Fourth, I deny the Parity of Reaſon; for the two Houſes are Bodies conſtituted and endowed with legiſlative Authority, and Truſt of Preſervation of the Frame, by the Fundamentals of the Kingdom; which the People, out of thoſe Houſes, are not. Again, the Government being compoſed of a threefold conſenting Power, one to reſtrain the Exorbitance of another: All three together are abſolute and equivalent to the Power of the moſt abſolute Monarch: The concurrent Will of all three makes a Law, and ſo it is the Kingdom's Law.

To the Laſt, I anſwer, In every State ſome muſt be truſted, and the higheſt Truſt is in him who hath the ſupreme Power. Theſe two, the ſupreme Truſt, and the ſupreme Power, are inſeparable; and ſuch as the Power is, ſuch is the Truſt; an abſolute Power ſuppoſes an abſolute Truſt! A Power, allied with the Connexion of another Power, as here it is, ſuppoſeth a Truſt of the ſame Nature: A joint Truſt, yet, ſaving the Supremacy of the Monarch, ſo far forth as it may be ſaved, and not be abſolute, and the other's Authority nullified. It may be further argued, That it being the Prerogative Royal to have the Managing of the Sword, that is, legal Force in the Kingdom; none can, on any Pretence whatever, uſe lawful Force, either againſt him, or any, but by his Will; for it is committed to him by Law, and to none but whom he aſſigns it to; ſo that the Laws of the Kingdom, putting all Power of Force and Arms into his Truſt, have placed him, and all thoſe who ſerve him, in a State of Irreſiſtibleneſs in Reſpect of any lawful Force. This is a Point much ſtood on, and on this Ground, the Parliament now aſſuming the Diſpoſing of the Militia by an Ordinance, it is complained on, as a Uſurping of what the Law hath committed to the King, as his Prerogative; the Oppoſing of which Ordinance, by a Commiſſion of Array, was the Beginning of this miſerable Civil War. I will diſtinctly lay down my Anſwer hereto, ſubmitting it to every impartial Judgment.

1. The Power of the Sword, being for Defence of the Laws, by puniſhing Violators, and protecting Subjects, it is ſubſervient to Government, and muſt needs belong to him who is intruſted with the Government, as a neceſſary Requiſite, without which he cannot perform his Truſt.

2. As it is an Appendix to the Power of Government, and goes along with it, ſo it goes under the ſame Terms, belonging to the Prince, as the other doth, *ſcil.* abſolutely, to uſe at Will, where the Monarchy is abſolute, or with Limitation, to uſe according to Law, where the Monarchy is limited; ſo that, in this Government, the Arms and Sword of the Kingdom is the King's, to a defined Uſe committed to him, *viz.* For Defence of the Laws and Frame of Government eſtabliſhed, and not for arbitrary Purpoſes, or to inable Miniſters to execute Commands of mere Will.

3. The two Houſes, in Vertue of the legiſlative Authority, in Part reſiding in them, are intereſted in the Preſervation of Laws and Government, as well as the King: And, in Caſe the King ſhould miſemploy that Power of Arms to ſtrengthen ſubverting Inſtruments; or, in Caſe the Laws and Government be in apparent Danger, the King refuſing to uſe the Sword to that End of Preſervation for which it was committed to him; I ſay, in this Caſe, the two Eſtates may, by an extraordinary and temporary Ordinance, aſſume thoſe Arms wherewith the King is intruſted, and perform the King's Truſt: And, though ſuch Ordinance of theirs is not formally legal, yet it is eminently legal, juſtified by the very Intent of the Architects of the Government, when, for theſe Uſes, they committed the Arms to the King. And no doubt they may command the Strength of the Kingdom, to ſave the Being of the Kingdom: For none can reaſonably imagine the architectonical Powers, when they committed the Power of Government and Arms to one, to

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preſerve the Frame they had compoſed, did thereby intend to diſable any, much leſs the two Eſtates, from preſerving it, in Caſe the King ſhould fail to do it in this laſt Need. And, thus doing the King's Work, it ought to be interpreted as done by his Will; becauſe, as the Law is his Will, ſo that the Law ſhould be preſerved is Will, which he expreſſed when he undertook the Government; it is his deliberate Will, and ought to be done, though at any Time he oppoſe it by an after Will, for that is his ſudden Will, as Dr. *Fern* himſelf, *Sect.* i, doth teach us to diſtinguiſh.

CHAP. VI.

In what Caſes the other Eſtates may, without, or againſt the King's perſonal Conſent, aſſume the Arms of the Kingdom?

SECT. I.

Whether it be lawful to take up Arms againſt the Magiſtrate, perverting his Power to a wrong End?

WHoever were the Authors of that Book lately publiſhed, ſtiled, *Scripture and Reaſon pleaded for Defenſive Arms*, have laid new and over-large Grounds for Reſiſtance. Two Aſſertions they endeavour to maintain: Firſt, *Thoſe Governors (whether ſupreme, or others) who, under Pretence of Authority from God's Ordinance, diſturb the quiet and peaceable Life in Godlineſs and Honeſty, are far from being God's Ordinance, in ſo Doing*, Sect. iii. Secondly, *This Tyranny, not being God's Ordinance, they, which reſiſt it even with Arms, reſiſt not the Ordinance of God.* Hereon, *Sect.* iv. They free Chriſtians, even in the Apoſtles Time, and ſo under the *Roman* Emperors, or any other Government, from a Neceſſity of paſſive Subjection in Caſe of Perſecution; affirming, That the Chriſtians, in thoſe firſt Perſecutions, had they been ſtrong enough, might have uſed Arms for Defence againſt the Tyranny of their Emperors. Their Ground is from the Reaſons uſed by the Apoſtle, *Rom.* xiii, where he commands Subjection, and forbids Reſiſtance to the higher Powers, becauſe they are God's Ordinance, his Miniſters, for Praiſe to Well-doers, for Terror to Evil-doers. But I muſt profeſs myſelf to diſſent from them in this Opinion, conceiving, that the Apoſtle, in urging thoſe Reaſons drawn from the Ends of Power, doth intend to preſs them to Subjection, by ſhewing them what Benefit comes to Men by Authority in its due Uſe; and not to ſhew them how far they are bound to be ſubject, and in what Caſes they may reſiſt: For, had he had ſuch a Meaning at that Time, when the Governors did altogether croſs thoſe Ends of their Ordination, he had taught them rather a Doctrine of Reſiſtance, than Subjection. Shall we conceive, that he would preſs Subjection to Powers in the Hands of Heathens and Perſecutors, if he had not intended they ſhould paſſively be ſubject unto them, even under thoſe Perſecutions? Rather I approve the received Doctrine of the Saints in ancient and modern Times, who could never find this Licence in that Place of the Apoſtle, and do concur with Maſter *Burroughs*, profeſſing againſt Reſiſtance of Authority, though abuſed: 'If thoſe (ſaith he, in his *Anſwer to Dr.* 'Fern, *Sect.* ii.) who have Power to make 'Laws, make ſinful Laws, and ſo give Au- 'thority to any to force Obedience, we ſay, 'here there muſt be either Flying, or paſſive 'Obedience.' And again: 'We acknow- 'ledge, we muſt not reſiſt for Religion, if 'the Laws of the Land be againſt it.' But what do they ſay againſt this? In making ſuch Laws againſt Religion, the Magiſtrates are not God's Ordinance; and therefore to reſiſt is not to reſiſt God's Ordinance: As an inferior Magiſtrate, who hath a Commiſſion of Power for ſuch Ends, is reſiſtible, if he exceed his Commiſſion, and abuſe his Power for other Ends; ſo Princes, being God's Miniſters, and having a deputed Commiſſion from him to ſuch Ends (*viz.* the Promotion of Godlineſs, Peace, and Juſtice) if they pervert their Power to contrary Ends, may be reſiſted, without Violation of God's Ordinance. That I may give a ſatisfactory Anſwer to this, which is the Sum of their long Diſcourſe, I muſt lay it down in ſeveral Aſſertions:

Firſt, I acknowledge, God's Ordinance is not only Power, but Power for ſuch Ends, *ſcil.* the Good of the People.

Secondly, It is alſo God's Ordinance, That there ſhould be in Men, by publick Conſent called thereto, and inveſted therein, a Power to chuſe the Means, the Laws, and Rules of Government conducing to that End; and a Judging, in Relation to thoſe Laws, who be the Well-doers, which ought to be praiſed, and who the Evil-doers, who ought to be puniſhed. This is as fully God's Ordinance, as the former; for, without this, the other cannot be performed.

Thirdly, When they, who have this final Civil Judicature, ſhall cenſure good Men as Evil-doers, or eſtabliſh Iniquity by a Law, to the Encouragement of Evil-doers; in this Caſe, if it be a ſubordinate Magiſtrate that doth it, Appeal muſt be made (as St. *Paul* did) to the ſupreme; if it be the ſupreme, which through Miſtake, or Corruption, doth miſcenſure, from whom there lies no Civil Appeal, then, without Reſiſtance of that Judgment, we muſt paſſively ſubmit: And he, who in his own Knowledge of Innocency, or Goodneſs of his Cauſe, ſhall by Force reſiſt, that Man erects a Tribunal in his own Heart againſt the Magiſtrate's Tribunal; clears himſelf by a private Judgment againſt a publick, and executes his own Sentence by Force againſt the Magiſtrate's Sentence, which he hath repealed and made void in his own Heart. In unjuſt Cenſures by the higheſt Magiſtrates, from whom there is no Appeal, but to God, the Sentence cannot be oppoſed, till God reverſe it, to whom we have appealed: In the mean Time we muſt ſuffer, as Chriſt did, notwithſtanding our Appeal, 1 *Pet.* ii. 23. and ſo muſt we, notwithſtanding our Appeal, 1 *Pet.* iv. 19. for he did ſo for our Example. If an Appeal to God, or a Cenſure in the Judgment of the Condemned, might give him Power of Reſiſtance, none would be guilty, or ſubmit to the Magiſtrate's Cenſure, any further than they pleaſe. I deſire thoſe Authors, before they ſettle their Judgment in ſuch Grounds (which, I fear, will bring too much Scandal) to weigh theſe Particulars: *Firſt*, Their Opinion takes away from the Magiſtrate the chief Part of God's Ordinance, *ſcil.* Power of definitive Judgment of Laws and Perſons, who are the Good, and who the Bad, to be held ſo in Civil Proceedings. *Secondly*, They juſtify the Conſcience of Papiſts, Hereticks, and groſſeſt Malefactors, to reſiſt the Magiſtrate, in Caſe they be perſuaded their Cauſe be good. *Thirdly*, They draw Men off from the Commands of Patience under Perſecution, and Conforming to Chriſt and his Apoſtles, in their patient Enduring without verbal, or real Oppoſition, though Chriſt could not have wanted Power to have done it, as he tells *Peter*. *Fourthly*, They deprive the primitive and modern Martyrs of the Glory of Suffering, imputing it either to their Ignorance, or Diſability. *Fifthly*, It is a Wonder, that ſince, in Chriſt's and his Apoſtles Time, there was ſo much Uſe of this Power of Reſiſtance, they would by no expreſs Word ſhew the Chriſtians this Liberty, but condemn Reſiſtance ſo ſeverely. *Sixthly*, There is, in the Caſe of the Parliament now taking up Arms, no Need of theſe offenſive Grounds, Religion being now a Part of our National Law, and cannot ſuffer, but the Law muſt ſuffer with it.

SECT. II.

1. *When Arms ought not to be aſſumed.*
2. *When they may be aſſumed.*

NOW to the propoſed Queſtion I anſwer, *Firſt*, Negatively, *ſcil.* 1. It ought not to be done againſt all illegal Proceedings, but ſuch which are ſubverſive and unſufferable. *Secondly*, Not publick Reſiſtance, but in Exceſſes inducing publick Evils: For to repel private Injuries of the higheſt Nature with publick Hazard and Diſturbance, will not quit Coſt, unleſs in a private Caſe the common Liberty be ſtruck at. *Thirdly*, Not when the Government is actually ſubverted, and a new Form (though never ſo injuriouſly) ſet up, and the People already engaged in an Oath of abſolute Subjection; for the Remedy comes too late, and the Eſtabliſhment of the new makes the former irrevocable by any juſtifiable Power, within the Compaſs of that Oath of GOD: This was the Caſe of the Senate of *Rome*, in St. *Paul*'s Time. *Secondly*, Affirmatively: I conceive three Caſes, when the other Eſtates may lawfully aſſume the Force of the Kingdom, the King not joining, or diſſenting, though the ſame be by Law committed to him: *Firſt*, When there is Invaſion actually made, or imminently feared, by

by a foreign Power. *Secondly*, When by an inteſtine Faction the Laws and Frame of Government are ſecretly undermined, or openly aſſaulted: In both theſe Caſes, the Being of the Government being endangered, their Truſt binds, as to aſſiſt the King in ſecuring, ſo to ſecure it by themſelves, the King refuſing. In extreme Neceſſities, the Liberty of Voices cannot take Place, neither ought a Negative Voice to hinder in this Exigence, there being no Freedom of Deliberation and Choice, when the Queſtion is about the laſt End: Their Aſſuming the Sword, in theſe Caſes, is for the King, whoſe Being (as King) depends on the Being of the Kingdom; and, being interpretatively his Act, is no Diſparagement of his Prerogative. *Thirdly*, In caſe the Fundamental Rights of either of the three Eſtates be invaded by one or both the reſt, the Wronged may lawfully aſſume Force for its own Defence; becauſe elſe it were not free, but dependent on the Pleaſure of the other. Alſo the Suppreſſion of either of them, or the Diminiſhing of their Fundamental Rights, carries with it the Diſſolution of the Government: And therefore thoſe Grounds, which juſtify Force to preſerve its Being, allow this Caſe, which is a direct Innovation of its Being and Frame.

CHAP. VII.

Where the Legal Power of Final Judging in theſe Caſes doth reſide, in caſe the three Eſtates differ about the ſame?

SECT. I.

The Queſtion Stated. Determination of the Queſtion.

IN this Queſtion (for our more diſtinct Proceeding) ſome Things are neceſſarily to be obſerved: *Firſt*, That we meddle not here with the Judicature of Queſtions of an inferior Nature, *viz.* Such as are betwixt Subject and Subject, or the King and a Subject, in a Matter of particular Right, which may be decided another Way, without Detriment of the publick Frame, or Diminution of the Privileges of either of the three Eſtates. *Secondly*, Difference is to be made even in the Queſtions of utmoſt Danger. *Firſt*, For it may be alledged to be either from without, by Invaſion of foreign Enemies, or by a Confederacy of inteſtine Subverters, in which neither of the three Eſtates are alledged to be intereſted, and ſo the Caſe may be judged without Relation to either of them, or Detriment to their Privileges. Here I conceive a greater Latitude of Power may be given to ſome to judge without the other; for it infers not a Subordinating of any of the three to the other. *Secondly*, Or elſe it may be alledged by one or two of the Eſtates againſt the other, that, not contenting itſelf with the Powers allowed to it by the Laws of the Government, it ſeeks to ſwallow up, or intrench on the Privileges of the other, either by immediate Endeavours, or elſe by Protecting and Intereſting itſelf in the ſubverſive Plots of other Men. *Thirdly*, In this Caſe we muſt alſo diſtinguiſh betwixt, *firſt*, Authority of raiſing Forces for Defence againſt ſuch Subverſion, being known and evident: *Secondly*, and Authority of Judging and final Determining, that the accuſed Eſtate is guilty of ſuch Deſign and Endeavour of Subverſion, when it is denied and proteſted againſt. This Laſt is the Particular in this Queſtion to be conſidered; not Whether the People are bound to obey the Authority of two, or one of the Legiſlative Eſtates, in reſiſting the ſubverſive Eſtates of the other, being apparent and ſelf-evident? Which I take in this Treatiſe to be clear. But, when ſuch Plea of Subverſion is more obſcure and queſtionable, Which of the three Eſtates hath the Power of ultimate and ſupreme Judicature, by Vote or Sentence to determine it againſt the other? So that the People are bound to reſt in that Determination, and accordingly to give their Aſſiſtance, *eo nomine*, becauſe it is by ſuch Power ſo noted and declared.

For my Part, in ſo great a Cauſe, if my earneſt Deſire of publick Good and Peace may juſtify me to deliver my Mind, I will preſcribe to the very Queſtion; for it includes a Soleciſm in Government of a mixed Temperature;

perature: To demand which Eſtate may challenge this Power of final Determination of fundamental Controverſies ariſing betwixt them, is to demand which of them ſhall be abſolute: For I conceive, that, in the firſt Part hereof, I have made it good, that this final utmoſt Controverſy, ariſing betwixt the three Legiſlative Eſtates, can have no legal conſtituted Judge in a mixed Government: For, in ſuch Difference, he who affirms, That the People are bound to follow the Judgment of the King againſt that of the Parliament, deſtroys the Mixture into Abſoluteneſs. And he who affirms, That they are bound to cleave to the Judgment of the two Houſes againſt that of the King, reſolves the Monarchy into an Ariſtocracy, or Democracy, according as he places this final Judgment. Whereas I take it to be an evident Truth, That, in a mixed Government, no Power is to be attributed to either Eſtate, which directly, or by neceſſary Conſequence, deſtroys the Liberty of the other.

SECT. II.

Diſſolution of the Arguments placing it in the King; and of the Arguments placing it in the two Houſes.

YET it is ſtrange to ſee how, in this Epidemical Diviſion of the Kingdom, the Abettors of both Parts claim this unconceſſible Judgment. But let us leave both Sides, pleading for that which we can grant neither, and weigh the Strength of their Arguments.

Firſt, Dr. *Fern* lays down two Reaſons, why this final Judgment ſhould belong to the King: 1. Monarchy, ſays he, *Sect.* V, ſettles the chief Power and final Judgment in one. This *Poſition* of his can be abſolutely true no where, but in Abſolute Monarchies: And, in Effect, his Book knows no other than Abſolute Government. 2. Seeing ſome one muſt be truſted in every State, *It is Reaſon*, ſays he, Sect. V, *the higheſt and final Truſt ſhould be in the higheſt and ſupreme Power.* I preſume, by final Truſt, he means the Truſt of Determining theſe ſupreme and final Diſagreements: And accordingly I anſwer, It is not neceſſary that any one be truſted with a binding Power of Judicature in theſe Caſes; for, by the Foundations of this Government, none is, yea, none can be truſted with it; for to intend a mixed Government, and yet to ſettle the laſt Reſolution of all Judgment in one, is to contradict their very Intention. Neither in a conſtituted Government muſt we diſpoſe of Powers according to the Gueſs of our Reaſon, for Men's Apprehenſions are various: The Doctor thinks this Power fitteſt for the King; his Anſwerers judge it fitteſt for the two Houſes, and give their Reaſons for it too. Powers muſt there reſide, where they are *de facto* by the Architects of a Government placed: He who can bring a Fundamental Act, ſtating this Power in any, ſays ſomething to the Matter; but, to give our Conjectures where it ſhould be, is but to provide Fuel for Contention.

On the contrary, The Author of that which is called, *A full Anſwer to the Doctor*, hath two main Aſſertions placing this Judgment in the two Houſes.

1. The final and caſting Reſult of this State's Judgment concerning what theſe Laws, Dangers, and Means of Prevention are, reſides in the two Houſes of Parliament, ſays he, p. 10.

2. In this final Reſolution of the State's Judgment, the People are to reſt, *ibidem*, Page 14. Good Lord! What extreme Oppoſition is between theſe two Sorts of Men? If the Maintenance of theſe Extreams be the Ground of this War, then our Kingdom is miſerable, and our Government loſt, which Side ſoever overcome: For I have, more than once, made it good, that theſe Aſſertions are deſtructive on both Sides: But I am rather perſuaded, that theſe officious Propugners overdo their Work, and give more to them whoſe Cauſe they plead, than they ever intended to aſſume: Nay, rather give to every one their Due; give no Power to one of theſe three to cruſh, and undo the other at Pleaſure: But why doth this Anſwer give all that to the two Houſes which heretofore they would not ſuffer, when the Judges in the Caſe of Ship-money had given it to the King? Sure, when they denied it to him, they did not intend it to themſelves. 1. He tells us, In them reſides the Reaſon of the State: And that the ſame Reaſon and Judgment of the State, which firſt gave this Government its Being and Conſtitution; therefore all the People are to be led by it, and ſubmit to it as their publick Reaſon and Judgment.

I anſwer: If by State he mean the whole Kingdom, I ſay, the Reaſon of the two Houſes, divided from the King, is not the Reaſon of the Kingdom, for it is not the King's Reaſon, who is the Head and Chief in the Kingdom. If by State be meant the People, then it muſt be granted, that, as far forth as they repreſent them, their Reaſon is to be accounted the Reaſon of the Kingdom, and doth bind ſo far forth as the publick Reaſon of the Kingdom can bind, after they have reſtrained their Reaſon and Will to a Condition of Subjection; ſo that, put the Caſe it be the Reaſon of the State, yet not the ſame which gave this Government its Being; for then it was the Reaſon of a State, yet free, and to uſe their Reaſon and Judgment in ordaining a Government: But now the Reaſon of State bound by Oath to a Government, and not at Liberty to reſolve again; or to aſſume a ſupreme Power of judging, deſtructive to the Frame of Government they have eſtabliſhed, and reſtrained themſelves unto. Their Reaſon is ours, ſo far as they are an ordained Repreſentative Body: But I have before demonſtrated, that, in this Frame, the Houſes could not be ordained a legal Tribunal to paſs Judgment in the laſt Caſe: For then the Architects, by giving them that Judicature, had ſubordinated the King to them, and ſo had conſtituted no Monarchy. 2. He argues, the Parliament being the Court of Supreme Judicature, and the King's great and higheſt Council, therefore that is not to be denied to it, which inferior Courts ordinarily have Power to do, *viz.* to judge Matters of Right between the King and Subject, yea, in the higheſt Caſe of all: The King's Power to tax the Subject in Caſe of Danger, and his being ſole Judge of that Danger, was brought to Cogniſance, and paſſed by the Judges in the *Exchequer*. I anſwer, 1. There is not the ſame Reaſon betwixt the Parliament and other Courts. In theſe the King is Judge, the Judges being deputed by him, and judging by his Authority; ſo that, if any of his Rights be tried before them, it is his own Judgment, and he judges himſelf; and therefore it is fit he ſhould be bound by his own Sentence: But, in Parliament, the King and People are Judges, and not by an Authority derived from him, but originally inveſted in themſelves. So that, when the two Eſtates judge without him in any Caſe not prejudged by him, it cannot be called *his* Judgment (as that of the other Courts, being done by his Authority) and, if he be bound by any Judgment of the two Eſtates without him, he is bound by an external Power which is not his own; that is, he is ſubordinated to another Power in the State where he is ſupreme, which is contradictory. 2. In other Courts, if any Caſe of Right be judged betwixt him and the Subject, they are Caſes of particular Rights, which diminiſh not Royalty, if determined againſt him: Or, if they paſs Caſes of general Right (as they did in that of Ship-money) it is but declaratively to ſhew what is by Law due to one and the other; yet their Judgment is revocable, and liable to a Repeal by a ſuperior Court, as that was by Parliament. But, if the King's Prerogatives ſhould be ſubjected to the Judgment of the two Eſtates, the King diſſenting, then he ſhould be ſubject to a Sentence in the higheſt Court, and ſo irremediable; a Judicatory ſhould be ſet up to determine of his higheſt Rights without him, from which he could have no Remedy. Thus main Cauſes may be alledged, why, though other Courts do judge his Rights, yet the two Eſtates in Parliament (without him) cannot; and it is from no Defect in their Power, but rather from the Eminency of it, that they cannot. If one deputed by common Conſent of three doth, by the Power they have given them, determine Controverſies between thoſe three, it is not for either of them to challenge Right to judge thoſe Caſes, becauſe one who is inferior to them doth it. Indeed if the Power of the two Houſes were a deputed Power, as the Power of other Courts is, this Argument were of good Strength; but, they being Concurrents in a ſupreme Court by a Power originally their own, I conceive it hard to put the Power of final Judgment in all Controverſies betwixt him and them excluſively or ſolely into their Hands.

SECT. III.

What is to be done in ſuch a Contention?

IF it be demanded, then, How this Cauſe can be decided? And which Way muſt the People turn in ſuch a Contention? I anſwer, If the Non-deciſion be tolerable, it muſt remain undecided, whilſt the Principle of legal Deciſion is thus divided, and by that Diviſion each ſuſpends the other's Power. If it be ſuch as is deſtructive, and neceſſitates a Determination,

tion, this muſt be evident; and then every Perſon muſt aid that Part, which, in his beſt Reaſon and Judgment, ſtands for publick Good againſt the deſtructive. And the Laws and Government which he ſtands for, and is ſworn to, juſtify and bear him out in it, yea, bind him to it. If any wonder I ſhould juſtify a Power in the two Houſes, to reſiſt and command Aid againſt any Agents of deſtructive Commands of the King, and yet not allow them Power of judging when thoſe Agents or Commands are deſtructive: I anſwer, I do not ſimply deny them a Power of judging and declaring this; but I deny them to be a legal Court ordained to judge of this Caſe authoritatively, ſo as to bind all People to receive and reſt in their Judgment for Conſcience of its Authority, and becauſe they have voted it: It is the Evidence, not the Power of their Votes, muſt bind our Reaſon and Practice in this Caſe: We ought to conceive their Votes the Diſcoveries made by the beſt Eyes of the Kingdom, and which, in Likelihood, ſhould ſee moſt: But, when they vote a Thing againſt the Proceedings of the third and ſupreme Eſtate, our Conſciences muſt have Evidence of Truth to guide them, and not the ſole Authority of Votes, and that for the Reaſon ſo often alledged.

England's Calamities * diſcovered: With the proper Remedy to reſtore her ancient Grandeur and Policy. Humbly preſented by *James Whiſton*.

What Captain and Mariners, when they find the Ship driven by a violent Hurricane amongſt the Rocks, full of Leaks, and much diſabled, will be ſo obſtinately inſenſible of the Conſequence of ſuch fatal Circumſtances, as not to uſe their own, and embrace the good Endeavours of others, for their Preſervation? The only Means of Hope left, whereby themſelves and Ship may at laſt be conducted into a ſafe Harbour.

London, printed for the Author, and are to be ſold by *Joſeph Fox* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, *R. Clavel* at the *Peacock* in *Fleetſtreet*, and *T. Minton* at the *Anchor* under the *Royal-Exchange*, 1696. *Quarto*, containing forty Pages.

IT is not unknown to the World, what a difficult Taſk is here undertaken; and we may, without Pretence to the Gift of Prophecy, foretel how many, and what Sort of Enemies, an honeſt Man is to grapple with, in Defence of this one uſeful and unqueſtioned Principle, *viz.*

That every happy Government muſt be ſupported by juſt Means; and that State which has been ſo far miſtaken in its Politicks, as to practiſe a contrary Method, has always drawn upon itſelf its own Ruin and Deſtruction.

And, upon this Obſervation, it has been granted in all Ages, That a Throne, that would flouriſh, muſt be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs; but we never heard of any that has

* *Vide* the 361ſt Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

been

been long ſupported by Iniquity: For Iniquity itſelf muſt be obliged to Juſtice; or, at leaſt, to thoſe that fill the Seats of Juſtice, for its Support and Maintenance. And, where the Execution of this fails, all Combinations or Societies of Men, however formed, naturally fall into Diſorder and Diſſolution.

Now, ſince neither the Apprehenſion of Enemies, the Power or Malice of Men, who have by any Means wriggled themſelves into the pretended Service of the Government, nor the Difficulty of the Undertaking, which is to beget in Mankind a Belief of ſuch Truths and Qualities, as this corrupt Age has hardly Virtue enough to put in Practice, ought to deter a true *Engliſhman* from laying open, as Occaſion ſerves, thoſe Miſchiefs and Miſcarriages, which, if not timely prevented, will overwhelm us: I thought it an indiſpenſable Duty, to give theſe freſh Teſtimonies of Love to my Country, and Allegiance to King *William*, by Rendering both inexcuſable; when the conſequential Miſeries of the Abuſes, and Corruptions here complained of, ſhall have reduced us to a too late Repentance.

A chief Means for the Preſervation of a State or Government in good Order is, That particular Care be taken, not to ſtifle and diſcountenance, but admit and cheriſh the juſt Impeachments, and reaſonable Accuſations, which are the unqueſtionable Right of the Subject againſt thoſe, who, being byaſſed by Ambition, Avarice, or Pride, ſhall either contrary to Law, or by Eluſion, and corrupt Practice of the Law, ſeek to invade and deſtroy their Liberties, Properties, and Native Rights.

The Want of a due and impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice, in this Particular, has been the grand Cauſe of all the Cruelty, Oppreſſion, and Extortion that have ſo often interrupted the publick Peace, and now hang over the Nation, as a ſevere Judgment.

I would not be miſunderſtood, as if I intended to fill the Kingdom with perpetual Clamours and Informations, and deſigned to open a wide Door of Acceſs for every little Whiffler to alarm the Magiſtrate's Quiet, with petty vexatious Complaints, and malicious Suggeſtions. I abhor that Sort of Cattle, and the Indulging them, as much as any Man alive. But it is unjuſt in itſelf, and of fatal Conſequence to a Government, to reproach and ſtigmatiſe every honeſt Man, with the Scandal of a common Informer, who out of a true Senſe of his Duty, and an unbyaſſed Zeal for his King and Country, ſhall endeavour to detect the wicked Practices of ſuch, who, by corruptly Abuſing the honourable Employments they are intruſted with, directly ſtrike at the Life and Happineſs of both. I ſay ſuch Informations as theſe ought to be aſſiſted with the Encouragement of the Magiſtrate; eſpecially if the Complaints are grounded upon reaſonable Evidence, or even upon probable Suſpicion: Except they will tell us they have made ſuch good Proviſion before-hand, to ſupply the Executive Part of the Government with honeſt and able Officers, that it is morally impoſſible for a Man in Office, to act againſt his Conſcience, or betray his Truſt for Money. This would be good News indeed, and at once diſcharge the People of their Complaints and Fears, and eaſe his Majeſty of the greateſt Part of his Care and Danger.

But alas! our preſent Circumſtances afford us apparent Reaſons to believe the contrary; and the Evils and Diſaſters, that have continually attended us, take away the very Pretence, or Umbrage of any Excuſe whatever. This is too viſible to be denied, when the Diſpoſal of Truſt and Power, in too many Places in the Government, is ſet to Sale to the higheſt Bidder; or, what is as bad, beſtowed upon Favourites, or private Minions, though never ſo unqualified; many Offices being only to be obtained by Money: Which infamous Practice intails theſe two fatal Calamities upon the Nation, the very Source and Spring of unavoidable Miſchief and Diſorder: For, by this Means, many Perſons, utterly incapable of Diſcharging the Duty of the Employments they hold, by Vertue of a ſtrong Purſe, though never ſo weak Capacity, are admitted into ſuch Part of the Publick Adminiſtration, where this Ignorance and Inability render them wholly unſerviceable, and conſequently Truſt notoriouſly miſmanaged, to the Government's irreparable Prejudice.

And, though we will ſuppoſe ſome Purchaſer to be fitly qualified, and of honeſt Principles, yet, by Reaſon of this heavy Fine for his Admiſſion, he lies under the daily Temptation of ſtretching the Duty of his Office, in raiſing his Fees to re-advance his Purchaſe Money. By which Means, too many Places, wherein the Honour of the Truſt, with a moderate Salary, would otherwiſe be an ample Gratification, are now become a perfect Mart of Uſury and Intereſt;

Intereſt; with this farther Inconvenience, That all the Sub-Miniſters and inferior Officers lying under their Maſter's Circumſtances, being wholly ſwayed by Lucre and Profit, are likewiſe expoſed to the very ſame Temptations in their lower Claſs of Truſt. And what is ſtill more calamitous, their Miſdemeanors and Faults muſt be but very ſlenderly inſpected, or, at beſt, but mildly puniſhed, leſt otherwiſe you ſtrike at the Offender's Farm, I may ſay his Fee-Simple, his downright Purchaſe and Penny-worth.

This is Deflouring the Virgin Purity of Juſtice, Checking and Curbing her in the nobleſt Exerciſes of her Dominion, and Adminiſtering a plauſible Colour for defending Injuſtice, Bribery, Extortion, and Oppreſſion. But to double and treble the Value, to manage them for the beſt Advantage to the Seller, and put him upon the Rack of Improvement too; What is it but to beſpeak the unfitteſt Men, either through Want of Honeſty or Experience, that can be met with to manage thoſe Affairs and Places, in which Juſtice and Reaſon require the moſt upright and judicious Perſons?

But that the Deformity, as well as Iniquity of ſuch an abominable Practice, may become more odious, by being made more viſible and conſpicuous, though there are too many other Grievances in the Nation to be lamented, for Brevity Sake, we ſhall make ſome particular Remarks, and commence our Reflexions from the honourable City of *London*, the grand Pattern, by whoſe Meaſures ſmaller Corporations are apt to make their Precedents.

Inexpreſſible are the daily Complaints and Miſchiefs, that ariſe through the exceſſive Straining and Advancing the exorbitant Fees of Counſellors, Attornies, Clerks, Serjeants, Gaolers, and other Officers in this City, by Reaſon of the too frequent, malicious, and impertinent Actions, and general Corruption among them: Occaſioned chiefly by their being forced to buy their Places with Money, without Regard to Merit: For never any Man came into an Office by the Mediation of his Gold, but he was compelled to exerciſe his Authority wickedly. He that buys muſt ſell, or he loſes by the Bargain; which makes the publick Offices to be like Briars, to which Sheep repairing for Shelter, muſt unavoidably be forced to part with ſome of their Fleece.

Now to conſider the Conſequences, and thoſe very pernicious ones, of ſuch Purchaſe, we will begin with the Serjeant, who, at this Time, pays the Sheriff near five-hundred Pounds for his Place: It is true, it has been at a far lower Rate, as well as all other Places, but the Prices riſe, as the World degenerates, and conſequently Corruptions improve and increaſe.

Well, ſuppoſe, here is five-hundred Pounds given for a Place for Life, which at ſeven Years Purchaſe, the cuſtomary Value of a Life, buys ſeventy Pounds *per Annum* in a dead Rent upon Land, where the Purchaſer has no more to do, than receive his Annual Revenue, as the Money becomes due. But, in a Place or Office purchaſed, where there is conſtant Toil, Attendance, and Buſineſs to ſupply that Office, it is modeſtly computed, that a Man ought in all Reaſon and Equity to make double as much *per Annum* of his Money, as in a lazy Annuity. So that, for his five-hundred Pounds, a Serjeant ſeems to have a juſtifiable Pretenſion to get about a hundred and fifty Pounds a Year, a very round Income, for a Man that, in his Poſt, is ſworn but a Varlet; an Income much larger than that of many an honeſt Gentlemen of good Birth and Quality, with a much fairer Blazon in his Coat of Arms, than a Blood-ſucking Serjeant. This hundred and fifty Pounds *per Annum* is three Pounds a Week, about ten Shillings a Day; and how muſt the Serjeant raiſe this Money? If by Taking only the now cuſtomary Fees of his Office, as allowed in Court, *viz.* Half a Crown for every Arreſt, and no more, of which his Yeoman, who gives above two-hundred Pounds for his Place, goes one Third Snack with him; by Conſequence, he muſt arreſt ſix Men every Day one with another, all the Year round, to raiſe the Profits of his Purchaſe-Money, *viz.* ten Shillings, *per Diem*, for his own Share.

But, ſuppoſing this Serjeant inſtead of ſix Arreſts in one Day, does not make above ſix, and half ſix more in the whole Week, and a good Week's Work too; How muſt the Money riſe then? Inſtead of Half-Crowns from the poor Priſoners, here muſt be Half-Pounds, and whole Pounds too, extorted for Civility-Money, as they call it, and ſeveral other unreaſonable Pretences and Demands, to make up the Sum.

And what, I pray, are the Conſequences of theſe Pounds ſo extorted? Only this: The poor Debtor is ſo much the leſs enabled to ſatisfy his Creditor's juſt Debt itſelf; and all

by ſuch unwarrantable Extortions, from the Serjeant firſt, and then from the Goaler afterwards, not only to the intire Defrauding the Creditor, but many Times to the utter Ruin of the poor Priſoner, that periſhes in Gaol under no other Load.

Who then (the Caſe thus fairly ſtated) lays all this Oppreſſion upon a poor Debtor? The Serjeant and Goaler? No; but Mr. Sheriff, that ſells them their Places: For they, good Men, do no more than raiſe the Effects and Perquiſites anſwerable to their own fair Purchaſe-Penny.

If the common Right of *Meum* and *Tuum* thus manifeſtly ſuffers, by the Creditor's Want of his legal Satisfaction, occaſioned by theſe Arreſt or Impriſonment Extortions; Do the Serjeant and Goaler obſtruct that Right? Not in the leaſt. Mr. Sheriff has borrowed a round Sum of Money of the Serjeant and Yeoman for their Admiſſion, and their great City Lords and Maſters poſſibly ſix Times as much of the Goaler; and therefore their Tallies and Loans muſt be ſatisfied firſt.

If a poor Priſoner, through ſuch extorted Sums, is reduced to Starving in Gaol, are his Catch-poles and Turnkeys in Fault? No, not they. For their Head Office Jobbers, their great Sales-maſters have ſqueeſed firſt, and it is their Turn to ſqueeſe next. In fine, the Face of the Poor is ground, but the Serjeants, Gaolors, Attornies, *&c.* only turn the Grind-ſtone, the Grind-ſtone itſelf is the Magiſtrate.

The Keeper's Place of *Newgate* was lately ſold for 3500 *l.* Now upon ſuch a prodigious Sum paid only for the Head Tyrant's Juriſdiction of thoſe Stone Walls, and Iron Grates; conſidering likewiſe the numerous Turnkeys, Sutlers, and all his Sub-Janizaries, to be all fed and fattened alſo from the Fees of their lower Poſts, What annual Income muſt that one Gaol raiſe, and how raiſe, to anſwer ſuch a ſaucy Purchaſe? Why truly thus:

Firſt, For the Criminal Priſoners:

If a Thief, or Houſe breaker, would get unloaded of ſo many Pounds of Iron, or purchaſe a Sleeping-hole, a little free from Vermin, or with wholeſome Air enough to keep his Lungs from being choaked up; he muſt raiſe thoſe extravagant Sums to pay for it, as can no Ways be furniſhed but from Theft and Vice, ſupplied by his Jades or Brother-Rogues abroad, who muſt rob or whore, to ſupport him even with the common Neceſſaries of Life. Nay, inſtead of employing their Time in Amendment of Life, and a religious Preparation for their Tryal, they are forced to drink, riot, and game, to curry Favour with the Gaoler, and ſupport his Luxury.

Thus a Gaol, which ſhould be a Check to Roguery and Wickedneſs, in a high Meaſure, by its Extortion and Oppreſſion, encourages it.

And next, for the poor Debtor committed thither (for it is the County-Goal) he receives much the like ſevere Treatment and Hardſhips: For Extortion and Oppreſſion, like the Grave, make no Diſtinction.

Now let us enquire by what Right the Magiſtrates ſell that Keeper's Place, together with thoſe of *Ludgate* and the *Compters*. It is well known that thoſe Places, as well as all others, were formerly given *Gratis*. Now, if they had then any inherent Power of ſelling them, it is preſumed that the then Magiſtrates were not ſo extravagantly generous to part with ſuch a conſiderable Feather in the City Cap for nothing, provided they had a Title to ſell. Then, as they took nothing, ſo we may reaſonably preſume they could rightfully demand nothing for them.

By what Pretenſion then does the Chair demand it now? We know of no Donation or Conceſſion granted by Law to intitle them to ſuch a Sale. And, without ſuch a Donation, it is all but Incroachment, Iniquity, Injuſtice, and Uſurpation, where there was no original or fundamental Claim to warrant and introduce their Pretenſions: Nay it is expreſly againſt the Commands of God, and the Laws of the Land, as is here made appear.

Now for the Effects of this Corruption. How often have the ſuffering Priſoners remonſtrated againſt all this Cruelty, and petitioned the Magiſtracy for a Redreſs of their Grievances, and a Retrenchment of the exorbitant Demands of a Gaol? But all their Prayers have either never been heard, or never minded. For the Magiſtracy is deaf to ſuch a Work of Reformation, by Reaſon his own Intereſt is concerned in the Matter, and therefore the Abuſes and Oppreſſions of the Gaoler (who not only repays himſelf, but acquires often-times a great Eſtate to Boot) are ſtill connived at.

Having been thus more particular in the Gaoler's and Serjeant's Caſe, we ſhall leave the Reader himſelf to judge, what no leſs hard

Meaſures we daily groan under, without Relief, from Counſellors, Attornies, and Clerks, *&c.* in their Sphere of Law, when about 1500*l.* is paid for a City-Council or Attorney's Place (and divers other Officers) which, by the ſame fore-mentioned Proportion of annual Advantage, muſt raiſe near 500*l. per Annum* to balance the exceſſive Price they pay for them. And, tho' they live at very extravagant Rates, yet, if they enjoy their Places any conſiderable Time, they leave great Eſtates behind them.

It is by this Means that purchaſed Cruelty grows bold, and plumes itſelf in its Extortion, being not only countenanced, but juſtified by the Magiſtrate, who raiſes the Value of an unlawful Sale, becauſe he finds a numerous Sort of People thriving and doing well, by living and doing ill. It is Example that corrupts us all: For how commonly do the Under-Officers, Gaolers, *&c.* excuſe their Barbarity, and unreaſonable Exactions, in alledging that they have no other Way to make up the Intereſt of their Purchaſe-Money? So that they are hereby forced to lay the whole Deſign of their Advantage upon the Calamities of the Miſerable; which Inhumanity is too frequently connived at by the Magiſtrate, ſuffering Juſtice to be over-ruled by the Perſuaſion of many golden Temptations. A degenerate and unworthy Practice! quite contrary to the Office of a good Magiſtrate, whoſe Duty and Glory conſiſt in Curbing the Growth of Oppreſſion, Retrenching Exorbitances, and in Searing away the proud Fleſh of Rapine and Violence, and not in Selling Impunity to the Evil-doer.

It is this alone that ſteels and caſe-hardens a Gaoler's Conſcience againſt all Pity and Remorſe, giving him the Confidence to demand extortionary Fees and racked Chamber-Rent from his Priſoners, or elſe crowding them into Holes, Dungeons, and Common-ſides (deſignedly made more naſty, to terrify the Priſoner, who for Preſervation of his Life is thereby forced to part with his Money; or) there to be devoured by Famine and Diſeaſes.

This makes him let his Tap-Houſes at ſuch prodigious Rates, that, where poor People ought to have the Beſt and Cheapeſt, they have the Worſt in Quality, and Smalleſt in Quantity, at exceſſive Prices: Alſo Farming his Beds to mere Harpies, and his great Key to ſuch Pieces of imperious Cruelty, as are the Worſt of Mankind, to the eternal Reproach of the City's Honour, and Scandal of the Chriſtian Religion, while the bloated Patron himſelf, all the While, maintains his Family in Pride, and an imperious Wife, or perhaps impudent Miſtreſs, in Exceſs and Luxury, with what he has unconſcionably drained from the Ruin of the Unfortunate. But ſee I pray, Whither will not theſe lewd and infamous Precedents at laſt lead us, when even the common Hang man, encouraged no Doubt by theſe Examples, will ſcarcely give a Malefactor a Caſt of his Office without a Bribe, very formally, forſooth, demanding his Fees, and higgling too, as nicely with him, as if he was going to do him ſome mighty Favour?

I will appeal now to the Tribunal of Juſtice itſelf, By what Law or what Authority, not claiming under the bad Title of illegal Cuſtom, any Sheriff, who is the immediate Gaoler himſelf, and ought (as we ſhall hereafter prove by reciting the Law) to receive the Priſoner *Gratis* into Cuſtody, can ſo unjuſtly preſume to ſell the Deputation of any Man's Liberty and Life to the Controul of ſordid and imperious Avarice? I would fain know by what Surmiſe of Common Senſe (and it would be very hard, if Common Law and Common Senſe ſhould not agree) a Keeper of a Priſon can demand a Recompence or Fee of a Priſoner for Detaining him in Priſon.

There is an Admiſſion-Fee, he cries; as if any Perſon can deſerve a Reward for Opening the Door of Miſery and Deſtruction to his Neighbour and common Friend: For being ſo civil as to admit him into the horrid Grave and Abyſs of Impriſonment.

There is a Diſmiſſion-Fee too: As if it were reaſonable to demand Money for Letting him go, whom the Law has ſet free.

Abundance of ſuch Abſurdities muſt of Neceſſity follow; to which no Law of God or Man, nor no Senſe or Reaſon, can afford the leaſt Shadow or Pretext of Countenance (nay they all forbid and condemn it) beſides that unanſwerable one before-mentioned, *viz. That the Officers buy their Places, and therefore it is reaſonable in them they ſhould make the beſt of them.*

But let that be once remedied, and the whole *Babel* Superſtructure, erected upon ſo abominable a Foundation, will ſoon tumble down, to the unſpeakable Joy of all good Men, the infinite Honour of the City-Magiſtrates, the comfortable Relief of the Poor, and to the long deſired

ſired Triumph and Reſtoration of baniſhed Juſtice and Charity.

Now for a due Redreſs of all thoſe crying Miſchiefs, What could be more eaſily reformed?

For Inſtance, if the Council, Attorney, Clerk, Serjeant, Gaoler, &c. had their Places *Gratis*, the very Retrenchments of their exorbitant Fees would be a Favour rather than Grievance; for, whilſt the one keeps his Hundreds in his Pockets, and the other his Thouſands, he is neither under the Temptation, nor Want of Extortion. This eſtabliſhed Fee would not only be enough for his Maintenance, but be infinitely more to his Eaſe and Satisfaction. For in this Caſe he would lie under no Care, or Neceſſity, to fetch up the large Sums given for his Place, which, till recovered, are reckoned as ſo much Bread taken out of his Children's Mouths.

Beſides, a moderate Perquiſite in an Office, that comes free from a kind Patron's Gift, is gratefully received, whilſt, on the Contrary, there is no Thanks owing for a Purchaſe, tho' with never ſo large Profits. But, above all, every Man would be then naturally careful of a legal Diſcharge of his Truſt, becauſe he holds by the Tenure of a *Quam diu ſe bene geſſerit*, viz. As long as he does honeſtly demean himſelf: And lies liable to be turned out for Miſdemeanors, when neither the Patron, or Lord he holds from, would uphold him in Injuſtice, nor indeed could he himſelf reaſonably complain of being puniſhed for it.

And *Laſtly*, What could the City ſpeak more magnificent in Hiſtory, than to beſtow her Places upon good Men, ſome of her own Members, unfortunately fallen to Decay, who would naturally be content with the lawful and modeſt Gains of their Employment? On the Contrary, What more diſhonourable than to ſell her poor Citizens to be dilaniated and macerated by the Hand of Injuſtice; and for Money to make Slaughter-Houſes and Shambles of her Houſes of Reſtraint, which were built at the City's Charge? For a City, ſo fairly decked with the Jewels of Freedom and Privilege, to ſell the laſt Remains of a Priſoner's Comfort? For in Selling a Gaoler's Place, &c. it ſells the Liberty, the Eſtate, the Perſon, nay the very Life of the Priſoner under his Juriſdiction: Seeing that, through the Cruelty of the Priſon-keepers, ſuch great Numbers of poor People have been ſtripped to their naked Skin, and, when all was gone, have been ſuffocated in Holes and Dungeons, to the Loſs of many of their Lives, Diſhonour of our Nation, and Scandal of the Chriſtian Religion.

For is it not, think ye, a goodly Sight, to behold the Tears of the Poor, congealed by a Froſt of neglected Charity and Injuſtice, into a Pearl, glittering in the Ears of ſuch or ſuch a Lady? To ſee the Scarlet of the Receiver's Magiſtracy dyed with the Blood of helpleſs Innocents, or the Purchaſe of Extortion? And, to ſee ſome, that ought to be the chief Puniſhers of Iniquity, drinking Healths of forgetful Plenty in hundred Pound Goblets, the Price of their own Infamy?

One conſiderable Advantage that would follow the ſo much deſired Prevention of the Sale of Places is, That the Civil Government would not find her Offices ſo overſtocked with her mortal and implacable Enemies, I mean ſuch as, in the late Reigns, employed their utmoſt Power in introducing upon the Nation an arbitrary and tyrannick Sway; and, ſince this Revolution, have endeavoured to obſtruct the Kingdom's true Intereſt and Welfare.

Is it not an indelible Reproach to the Government to ſee ſo many of her Offices now filled and ſupplied with thoſe very Men, who, for ſeveral Years together, were throwing Dirt in her Face, and ridiculing and deriding the Conſtitution itſelf? Neither have they yet, though employed by the Government, given any Evidence of their Change of Principles, but retain ſtill the ſame Sentiments and Inclination to ſerve their old Maſter, as they frequently call him, when a favourable Opportunity preſents itſelf on his Behalf! Is it poſſible to believe that theſe Vipers thus every where croud themſelves into Places of Truſt, for any other Purpoſe, but only to carry on the ſame Deſigns clandeſtinely, which they found they had not Power enough to effect openly? It is, indeed, their Maſter piece of Policy; and that which has done their curſed Cauſe more Service than all the Strength and Courage of the Faction could otherwiſe be ever able to accompliſh: By this Means, the King and Parliament's Endeavours have been ſo continually diſappointed, our publick Undertakings embarraſſed, our Counſels diſcovered, and Deſigns defeated. Thus does the Government indiſcernibly receive her mortal Wound from the very Hand ſhe nouriſhes, who, under the hypocritical Maſk of Serving her Intereſt, ſtrikes her to the very Heart.

And,

And, in fine, it is by this Door only that Men, of whatever Denomination, are admitted into a Government. And this Conſideration is of greater Importance than moſt are aware of: For, as it is a certain Inlet to unavoidable Dangers, which every prudent State would endeavour to prevent; ſo it reflects on the Wiſdom of our Government, to ſuffer the Safety of their Perſons, and the Peace and Happineſs of the Subjects, to be expoſed to the Luſt and Malice of every rich and villainous Purchaſer.

Another Inconvenience, that follows the Allowance of what is here complained of, is: That not only many of the King's Enemies are let into Places of Truſt, but, what is more deplorable, many of his real Friends are utterly locked out. There are ſeveral, even in this City, who have given ſuch Inſtances of their Affection to his Majeſty, and firm Adherence and Fidelity to the Conſtitution of the preſent Government, as cannot poſſibly fall under any Doubt or Queſtion; who, partly by their Expences in Serving the Publick, and partly by other occaſional Accidents, are reduced almoſt to inſupportable Neceſſities. Now, is it not inhuman, as well as unreaſonable, to ſuffer ſo many honeſt, well-affected Perſons to ſtarve for Want of Employment (who would be glad to accept of any of the meaneſt Offices for a mere Livelihood and Subſiſtence) only becauſe their Pockets are not large enough to purchaſe that, to which their Virtues and Abilities had before given them an unqueſtionable Right and Claim? Is not this ſufficient to diſcourage any Man from Deſerving well of a Government, which makes no Diſtinction between her Friends and Enemies, but indifferently ſells her Favours to the faireſt Chapman?

The prodigious Multiplication of Officers, alſo, is no inconſiderable Grievance of the Publick, and the natural Reſult of the corrupt Practice of Selling of Offices. For, when the Superiors have once taſted the Sweets of this Sort of Dealing, they are eaſily induced to believe, that Buſineſs may better be diſpatched by more Hands, and ſo unneceſſary Officers are trumped up, as often as they have Occaſion to give a Portion with a Daughter, or match a Son, or want to make up a Sum, to purchaſe the remaining Part, perhaps, of a poor Client's Eſtate, after the former has been ſpent in Council's Fees, and Paying the extravagant and exacted Fees and Charges of their ſeveral Courts and Offices.

And, by this Means, all the numerous Officers belonging to, and depending on the Law, who were at firſt, no Doubt, deſigned for the Service of the Publick, in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the Defence of the Rights and Liberties of the People, are now, by this lewd Toleration of the Buying and Selling of Places, become ſo deſperately wicked, that they ſeem to be joined in unanimous and direct Conſpiracy to rob and defraud the reſt of Mankind, and violate all the Rules of Juſtice and good Policy.

But, though we have been ſo earneſt and vehement in pleading the Cauſe of the poor oppreſſed Priſoners, *&c.* yet, let us not altogether paſs by, without ſome juſt Reflexions, the heinous Injuſtice that is every Day done to the Poor, and helpleſs People at Liberty.

There is one Remark that we have made, that very well deſerves the moſt ſerious and ſolemn Conſideration of the Magiſtracy of the honourable City of *London*; it is this: Before this City was ſo miſerably overſpread with Corruption and Covetouſneſs, it was a Cuſtom no leſs honourable in its Inſtitution, than extremely uſeful and Chriſtian in its End, for the two and fifty Companies, to have their particular Granaries, where they uſed to ſtore up great Quantities of Sea-Coal, and Thouſands of Quarters of Corn, which were bought with the Charity of thoſe who were brought upon the Livery, the Company at the ſame Time giving them a Receipt, with a Promiſe, That, if ever they ſhould be reduced to Want, they ſhould have the Value of the Money laid down in Corn and Coals, *Gratis*; which Fund was mightily advanced by many dying Perſons Bequeſts, and Legacies, and the Fines of Aldermen, Sheriffs, Livery-men, and others, which annually amounted to vaſt Sums.

This was of infinite Advantage to the whole City, both rich and poor: For, buying theſe Commodities, when cheapeſt, and going to Market with ready Money, they were obliged, in Times of Scarcity, to ſell them out to the Poor at a very moderate Price. Which commendable Practice has been, for ſeveral Years, diſcontinued to the unſpeakable Prejudice and Diſſervice of the Poor, many of whom, by Neglect of ſo good a Cuſtom, are reduced even to Starving in Winter, and Times of Scarcity,

yet

yet the ſaid Money is ſtill exacted, as due by Law, and converted to other Uſes.

The inexpreſſible Advantage of this laudable and never to be forgotten Cuſtom is further evidenced in the frequent Scarcity of Corn: For, ſince the City and Suburbs have near doubly increaſed the Number of Inhabitants; and the Corn now coming into the Hands of a very few Factors, and ſeveral notorious Huckſters, moſt of them *Joſeph*'s Brethren, there being, in all, rarely a Month's, and ſometimes a Week's, Store in *London*: So that, upon contrary Winds, Froſts, Want of Convoys, or any other true or pretended Reaſons, they unjuſtly raiſe the Market upon the Poor, on Purpoſe to improve their own Profit, although there be enough in the Nation; an Inconvenience the City ſeldom ſuffered under in thoſe charitable Times, when the abovementioned Cuſtom was duly obſerved and practiſed.

The ſame may be affirmed in the Caſe of Coals, *&c.* And this, as well as the other, was an Advantage likewiſe to the Sellers, who were under no Apprehenſion of having their Goods lie upon their Hands, becauſe they were ſure to come to a certain, though not always an equal Market, which kept the Plough continually going, and the Collier's Ships ſailing, to the vaſt Improvement of Navigation, and the general Satisfaction of the Nation.

And this Contagion, like the fretting Leproſy, has ſpread itſelf over all the petty Corporations and Companies in this City, where they daily exact extravagant Sums of Money from the Subject, taking ſometimes ſixteen, twenty, thirty, and forty Shillings; and oftentimes much more, for the Admittance of every Freeman, whereas, by the Statute of 22 *H.* VIII. *cap.* 40, they are to receive but three Shillings and Four-pence for the Entry of a Freeman, and two Shillings and Six-pence for the Entry of an Apprentice.

But, which is much worſe and grievous, are the arbitrary and prodigious Fines, of fifteen, twenty, and thirty Pounds, more or leſs, which they ſqueeſe out of their Members, for Coming on the Livery, and for Places of Stewards, Aſſiſtants, Maſter-Wardens, and divers other Offices, to the intolerable Oppreſſion of poor Citizens, and to their utter Ruin: Contrary to thoſe moſt ancient and excellent Laws of *De Tallagio non Concedendo*, the Petition of Right, *&c.* intended for the great Bulwarks and Barriers of the Liberties and Properties of the People of *England*.

This Corruption is likewiſe crept into leſſer Societies, even into the Pariſhes where the Parſons, Churchwardens, Overſeers, and the reſt of thoſe Parochial Officers, exerciſe the greateſt Injuſtice imaginable, in taking exceſſive and arbitrary Sums of Money, for Burying in Churches and Churchyards; and for Chriſtenings and Marriages; and alſo in taxing and exacting Money on Pretence of Relieving the Poor, with a true Deſign, at the ſame Time, to expend it in Luxury, *&c.* and forget the Miſeries of their afflicted Neighbours.

A Kin to theſe Iniquities is that of the City's Farming out the Markets at three-thouſand ſix-hundred Pounds a Year, whilſt the Farmers have made the Burden intolerable to the People by Extortion and Oppreſſion; and moſt unconſcionably ſwelled the Income to above ten-thouſand Pounds a Year, as has lately been fully proved againſt them, at the Inſtance and Pains of divers well-affected Citizens. Thus is the Right and Intereſt of the Poor and Needy farmed out to a Parcel of unmerciful Harpies, and Vultures, the inhuman Miniſters of Cruelty and Violence.

The Caſe of the Orphans alſo ought not to be paſſed over in Silence. We queſtion whether there has yet been Repentance enough teſtified, ſufficient Reſtoration made, to clear them from the Guilt of ſuch horrible Injuſtice. We ſhall but juſt touch the Point, becauſe it is ſo well known already. Was it not ſcandalous, as well as abominably ſinful, and injurious, for the City to aſſume a Right to force the Eſtates of deceaſed Citizens into their own Hands, as Guardians to the poor Orphans, and others: And, when they had got about ſeven-hundred thouſand Pounds into their Cuſtody and Clutches, unrighteouſly refuſed to pay the Monies where they became due, to the utter Ruin of great Numbers of diſtreſſed Children (great Part of whom have been forced to take extravagant Courſes to maintain themſelves, having been neceſſitated to ſell their Eſtates to Men of Money at very ſmall and inconſiderable Rates) they afterwards pretending to make Atonement, by procuring an Act of Parliament, as is well known, to levy a Tax upon all the Perſonal Eſtates in *London* for ever? We pray God they may repent and find Mercy.

It is not that we are ignorant of the Abuſes committed in ſeveral other Offices throughout the Kingdom, that we have principally confined ourſelves to repreſent the Miſmanagement of ſome of thoſe in the City of *London*, but only to avoid the being too voluminous: Theſe few Papers would have ſwelled into many *Folio's*, if particular Notice had been taken of all the Corruptions and Miſcarriages under which the Nation groans, and by which our publick Affairs have ſo miſerably ſuffered, and been ſo treacherouſly defeated.

Beſides, our Tenderneſs, in Launching out further into theſe troubled Waters, has been directed by this Conſideration, that the Gentlemen in Places and Offices not here mentioned (who have, by their ſiniſter Practices, prejudiced the Intereſt, or obſtructed the Happineſs of the preſent Settlement) may, by contemplating the Deformity and evil Attendances of the City exorbitant Corruptions, be timely made ſenſible of their Sin, and endeavour to make ſome Reparation for the Injuries they have done the Kingdom, as an Atonement and Expiation of their crying Guilt.

Thus, I think, we have made it undeniably apparent from what Grounds our Calamities and Miſchiefs have ſprung, and by what Means they have continued their daily Progreſs to that fatal Heighth we now ſo juſtly complain of, and which requires all the Application of the Wiſdom and Power of the Government to reſtrain and remedy. It is by Vertue of this golden Key alone, or the Favours of unjuſt Partiality, that little or no Regard has been had to Induſtry and Merit: That the Halt and Blind, and, what is worſe, oftentimes the Malicious, have been let into the Knowledge and Management of our publick Affairs, whilſt the Able and Honeſt, for Want of that powerful Charm, are ſhamefully excluded and contemned.

This Sale of Offices is a Practice ſo infamous, that it has been condemned and deteſted by the beſt Men, and beſt Governments in all Ages, as a curſed Omen, foreboding the certain and inevitable Deſtruction of that State, where it has been in the leaſt tolerated and connived at. It is a Shackling Juſtice herſelf, a direct Uſurpation upon the native and inconteſtable Rights of Mankind, and Giving a publick Licenſe for the Exerciſe of Extortion and Bribery.

If we at all valued ourſelves as Chriſtians (but that great Name is too much become a mere Cant or Term of Art to flatter ourſelves, and impoſe upon the Credulous) our Holy Religion would ſufficiently inform us of the Sinfulneſs and Danger of this abominable Practice. What dreadful Judgments has the God of impartial Juſtice thundered out againſt the Sale of Publick Juſtice, or its Dependencies? What exceſſive and aſtoniſhing Penalties has he threatened upon all Manner of Extortion? Nay, ſo ſevere are the terrible Denunciations of his Wrath, poured out upon all that ſhall dare to ſuffer or encourage it, as are able to ſtagger and confound the Confidence of the moſt hardened Sinner, but his who lies under the Curſe of final and incorrigible Unbelief.

The very Heathens themſelves abhorred the Connivance and Countenance of ſuch baſe and unworthy Proceedings: They thought it a Degree below the Dignity of Human Nature, to deſcend to the contemptible Practice of taking Bribes, and ſelling Licenſes to Iniquity. We find theſe two Maxims, like two golden Pillars, ſupporting the moſt flouriſhing and victorious Cities in the World, which *Ariſtotle* has not been a little induſtrious to maintain, *viz.* That the Sale of Offices is the greateſt Wrong and Affront that can be offered to a Commonwealth. And that Money ought not to buy thoſe Places, which may, nay, ought to be the Reward of Virtue; and are the fitteſt Means to ſupply the Neceſſities of good Men. The Sale of Offices in the Meridian and Glory of the *Athenian* Government (where Arts and Arms equally flouriſhed, to the Delight and Satisfaction of all the World) was ſtrictly forbidden, and continually declaimed againſt. The *Lacedemonians*, a People the moſt obſtinately virtuous of all the other Cities of *Greece*, utterly exploded it, as a Practice altogether inconſiſtent with their ſtrict Morals, and deſtructive of the Fundamental Rules of their Policy: And I hardly believe there was ever a Human Government better founded than that of *Sparta*. The *Roman* Empire, when it ſeemed to be in its greateſt Beauty, and moſt happy Condition, ſeverely fined and puniſhed thoſe who fought Offices unjuſtly, by Bribery, *&c.* And it is remarkable, that ſhe then firſt foſtered Diſſenſion, and laid Foundations for her after Ruin

and

and Calamities, when ſhe brooked ſo patiently the ſarcaſtic Scoff of *Jugurtha*, That all Things at *Rome* are to be had for Money. It was then that *Rome* became ſo enfeebled by her daily Corruptions, that ſhe, whoſe Virtues had made her Miſtreſs of the World, had not Power enough left to conquer herſelf; nor could ſhe hinder her own Streets from being the Stage, whereon ſo many diſmal Tragedies of inteſtine Diſcord were acted. Their Hiſtorians aſſign the Reaſon, *viz.* They made Juſtice a Pimp to Covetouſneſs, and Virtue a Stalking-horſe to Extortion. Yet there was not any other City, in the World, more jealous of her Honour in this Point than *Rome*, or more careful to relieve the Poverty of her Citizens; of which, in the Times of her Innocency, ſhe had many. And what other Fate can *London*, &c. expect, if you dam up the Current of her *Meum* and *Tuum?* If ſhe thus continue ſelling of Juſtice, her Sun-ſhine and Splendor will ſoon be eclipſed. In ſhort, unavoidable Ruin is an inſeparable Subſequent of antecedent Unrighteouſneſs.

It is very obſervable what is reported of the *Perſian Cambyſes*, how he flead one of his Judges for Bribery. Certainly it had been a very unjuſt Puniſhment, if he had firſt ſold him his Place, much more if he had farmed it to him at a racked Rent: Can we believe that this Judge's Son would have been willing to pay an exacted Sum to ſit upon his Father's Skin? Which however he was forced to receive for his Cuſhion (being preferred to his Father's Seat upon the Bench) in order to terrify him from the like Offence; which the King very honeſtly told him would deſerve the ſame Puniſhment. This Inſtance is enough to convince us of the Neceſſity of an univerſal and equal Adminiſtration of Juſtice, ſince even the *Perſians* themſelves, one of the moſt delicate and effeminate Nations in the World, found the due Execution thereof ſo eſſentially requiſite to the Preſervation of the publick Peace, that they thought no Puniſhment too ſevere for the Tranſgreſſion of ſo inviolable a Law, upon which the Welfare of all Government depends.

In fine, there neither are, nor have been any Nations ſo barbarous, nor any Conjunctions or united Bodies of Men ſo inhuman, who, though they have exerciſed all Manner of Violence and Oppreſſion towards their Neighbours, or their Enemies, have not at the ſame Time eſtabliſhed and required an exact Obſervation of Juſtice among themſelves, as fundamentally neceſſary for the Maintaining the true Intereſt of their own Community.

But our ancient *Engliſh* Law-makers ſeem to have a deeper Apprehenſion of the Neceſſity of this Truth, than any others; and, by thoſe noble and never-to-be-forgotten Laws, they have left us, one would think they had a prophetick Reſpect to the Degeneracy of the preſent Times, particularly in Relation to the Grievances, againſt which this Diſcourſe is deſigned, as abundantly appears from the Inſtances and Citations immediately annexed.

This Act was made Anno 5, 6 Edw. VI. *Cap.* 16, *Againſt the Sale of Offices.*

THE Penalty for Buying or Selling of ſome Sort of Offices, for the Avoiding of Corruption, which may hereafter happen to be in the Officers and Miniſters in thoſe Courts, Places, or Rooms, wherein there is requiſite to be had the true Adminiſtration of Juſtice, or Services of Truſt: And, to the Intent that Perſons, worthy and meet to be advanced to the Place where Juſtice is to be miniſtered, or any Service of Truſt executed, ſhould hereafter be preferred to the ſame, and no other:

'Be it therefore enacted by the King our 'Sovereign Lord, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of 'the ſame, That if any Perſon or Perſons, at 'any Time hereafter, bargain or ſell any Office 'or Offices, or Deputation of any Office or Offices, or any Part or Parcel of any of them; 'or receive, have, or take any Money or 'Fee, Reward, or any other Profit, directly 'or indirectly; or take any Promiſe, Agreement, Covenant, Bond, or any Aſſurance 'to receive or have any Money, Fee, Reward, or other Profit, directly or indirectly, 'for any Office or Offices, or for the Deputation of any Office or Offices, or any Part 'of them, or to the Intent that any Perſon 'ſhould have, exerciſe, or enjoy any Office 'or Offices, or the Deputation of any Office 'or Offices, or any Part of any of them; 'which Office or Offices, or any Part or 'Parcel of them, ſhall in any wiſe touch or 'concern the Adminiſtration or Execution of 'Juſtice;

' Juſtice; or the Receipt, Comptrolment, ' or Payment of any of the King's Highneſs's ' Treaſure, Money, Rent, Revenue, Ac- ' count, Aulneage, Auditorſhip, or Survey- ' ing of any of the King's Majeſty's Ho- ' nours, Caſtles, Manners, Lands, Tene- ' ments, Woods, or Hereditaments; or any ' the King's Majeſty's Cuſtoms, or any Ad- ' miniſtration, or neceſſary Attendance to be ' had, done, or executed in any of the King's ' Majeſty's Cuſtom-houſes or Houſes; the ' Keeping of any of the King's Majeſty's ' Towns, Caſtles, or Fortreſſes, being uſed, ' occupied, or appointed for a Place of Strength ' or Defence, or which ſhall concern or touch ' any Clerkſhip to be occupied in any Man- ' ner of Court of Record, wherein Juſtice is ' to be miniſtered: That then all and every ' ſuch Perſon and Perſons, that ſhall ſo bar- ' gain or ſell any of the ſaid Office or Of- ' fices, Deputation or Deputations; or that ' ſhall take any Money, Fee, Reward, or ' Profit, for any of the ſaid Office or Offices, ' Deputation or Deputations of any of the ' ſaid Offices, or any Part of any of them; ' or that ſhall take any Promiſe, Covenant, ' Bond, or Aſſurance for any Money, Re- ' ward, or Profit, to be given for any of the ' ſaid Offices, Deputation or Deputations of ' any of the ſaid Office or Offices, or any ' Part of any of them, ſhall not only loſe and ' forfeit all his and their Right, Intereſt, and ' Eſtate, which ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſhall ' then have, of, in, or to any of the ſaid ' Office or Offices, Deputation or Deputa- ' tions, or any Part of any of them; or of, ' in, or to the Gift or Nomination of any of ' the ſaid Office or Offices, Deputation or ' Deputations; for the which Office or Of- ' fices, or for the Deputation or Deputations ' of which Office or Offices, or for any Part ' of any of them, any ſuch Perſon or Perſons ' ſhall ſo make any Bargain or Sale, or take ' or receive any Sum of Money, Fee, Re- ' ward, or Profit; or any Promiſe, or Cove- ' nant, or Aſſurance to have or receive any ' Fee, Reward, Money, or Profit: But alſo ' that all and every ſuch Perſons, that ſhall ' give or pay any Sum of Money, Reward, ' or Fee; or ſhall make any Promiſe, Agree- ' ment, Bond, or Aſſurance for any of the ſaid ' Offices, or for the Deputation or Deputa- ' tions of any of the ſaid Office or Offices, ' or any Part of any of them, ſhall immedi- ' ately, by and upon the ſame Fee, Money, ' or Reward given or paid, or upon any ſuch ' Promiſe, Covenant, Bond, or Agreement, ' had or made for any Fee, Sum of Money, ' or Reward to be paid, as is aforeſaid, be ' adjudged a diſabled Perſon in the Law, to ' all Intents and Purpoſes, to have, occupy, ' or enjoy the ſaid Office or Offices, Deputa- ' tion or Deputations, or any Part of any of ' them *; for the which ſuch Perſon or Per- ' ſons ſhall ſo give or pay any Sum of Money, ' Fee, or Reward, or make any Promiſe, ' Covenant, Bond, or other Aſſurance, to ' give or pay any Sum of Money, Fee, or ' Reward.

' And be it alſo enacted by the Authority ' aforeſaid, That all and every ſuch Bargains, ' Sales, Promiſes, Bonds, Agreements, Co- ' venants, and Aſſurances, as before ſpecified, ' ſhall be void to and againſt him and them, ' by whom any ſuch Bargain, Sale, Bond, ' Promiſe, Covenant, and Aſſurance ſhall be ' had or made.'

Cook, Rep. *Lib.* xii. 78. *Hil.* 8. *Jac.*

' IN this very Term, in the Caſe of Dr. ' *Trevor*, who was Chancellor of a Biſhop ' in *Wales*, it was reſolved, That the Office ' of a Chancellor and Regiſter, *&c.* in the ' Eccleſiaſtical Courts, are within the Statute ' 5 *Edw.* VI, *cap.* 16. The Words of which ' Statute are, " Any Office, *&c.* which ſhall " in any wiſe touch or concern the Admini- " ſtration or Execution of Juſtice." And the ' Words are ſtrongly penned againſt Corrup- ' tion of Officers; for they are, " Which " ſhall in any wiſe touch or concern the " Adminiſtration, *&c.*" And the Preamble: " And for Avoiding of Corruption, which " may hereafter happen to be in the Of- " ficers and Miniſters of thoſe Courts, Places, " and Rooms, wherein there is requiſite to be " had the true Adminiſtration of Juſtice, in " Service of Truſt: And to the Intent that " Perſons, worthy and meet to be advanced to " the Places where Juſtice is to be mini- " ſtered, in any Service of Truſt to be exe- " cuted, ſhall be preferred to the ſame, and " none other." Which Act, being made for ' Avoiding of Corruption in Officers, *&c.* and ' for the Advancement of Perſons more wor- ' thy and ſufficient for to execute the ſaid Of- ' fices, by which Juſtice and Right ſhall be ' alſo advanced, ſhall be expounded moſt be-

* *Cook*, Lib. xii. 78.

' neficially

'neficially to ſuppreſs Corruption. And, in-'aſmuch as the Law allows Eccleſiaſtical 'Courts to proceed in Caſe of Blaſphemy, 'Hereſy, Schiſm, Incontinence, *&c.* and 'the Loyalties of Matrimonies, of Divorce, 'of the Right of Tithes, Probate of Wills, 'Granting of Adminiſtrations, *&c.* And that 'from theſe Proceedings depend not only the 'Salvation of Souls, but alſo the Legitima-'tion of Iſſues, *&c.*

'And that no Debt or Duty can be re-'covered by Executors, or Adminiſtrators, 'without Probate of Teſtaments, or Letters 'of Adminiſtrations, and other Things of 'great Conſequence: It is moſt Reaſon that 'Officers which concern the Adminiſtration 'and Execution of Juſtice in theſe Points, 'which concern the Salvation of Souls, and 'the other Matters aforeſaid, ſhall be within 'this Statute, than Officers which concern 'the Adminiſtration or Execution of Juſtice 'in Temporal Matters; for this, that Cor-'ruption of Offices, in the ſaid Spiritual and 'Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, is more dangerous than 'the Officers in Temporal Cauſes; for the 'Temporal Judge commits the Party convict 'to the Gaoler, but the Spiritual Judge com-'mits the Perſon excommunicate to the De-'vil. Alſo thoſe Officers do not only touch 'and concern the Adminiſtation of Juſtice, '*&c.* but alſo are Services of great Truſt for 'this, that the principal End of their Pro-'ceedings is, *Pro Salute Animarum*, *&c.* and 'there is no Exceptor or Proviſo in the Sta-'tute for them.'

It was reſolved that ſuch Offices were with-in the Purview of the ſaid Statute.

Here follows the Duty of a Gaoler to his Priſoners, with his and other Officers Fees due by Law.

BY the Common Law we find, as *Bracton*, *Lib.* iii. *fol.* 105. 'Gaolers are ordained 'to hold Priſoners, not to puniſh them.' For Impriſonment by the Law is (neither ought to be) no more than a bare Reſtraint of Liberty, without thoſe illegal and unjuſt Diſtinctions of cloſe and open Priſon (as is uſual.) See *Stamf. Plac. Cor. fol.* 70.

Therefore *Cook*, in his 3 Inſt. 91, ſaith, 'That, if the Gaoler keep the Priſoners more 'ſtraightly than he ought of Right, whereof the 'Priſoner dieth, this is Felony in the Gaoler 'by the Common Law *. And this is the 'Cauſe, That, if the Priſoner die in Priſon, 'the Coroner ought to ſit upon him †'. See alſo the ſaid *Cook*, *fol.* 34. *cap. Petty-Treaſon*; how Priſoners are to be uſed, wherein is alſo an Account of an Indictment of a Gaoler for evil Uſage of his Priſoner, *fol.* 35. in *Trin.* 7 *Ed.* III. *cor. Rege Rot.* 44.—That whereas one *R. B.* of *T.* was taken and detained in the Priſon of *Lincoln* Caſtle, for a certain Debt of Statute-Merchant ‡, in the Cuſtody of *T. B.* Conſtable of the Caſtle *L.* afore-ſaid; that the ſaid *T. B.* put the ſaid *R.* into the common Gaol amongſt Thieves in a filthy Priſon, contrary to the Form of the Statute, *&c.* and there detained him till he had paid him a Fine of forty Shillings. Whereupon *Cook* makes this Obſervation, 'So as hereby it 'appeareth, where the Law requireth that a 'Priſoner ſhould be kept in ſafe and ſure Cu-'ſtody, yet that muſt be without any Pain or 'Torment to the Priſoner.'

So *Cook* 3 Inſt. 52. ſaith, 'If a Priſoner by 'Dureſs, *that is*, hard Uſage of the Gaoler, 'cometh to untimely Death, this is Murder 'in the Gaoler; and in the Law implieth Ma-'lice in Reſpect of the Cruelty.'

Horn, in the *Mirror of Juſtice*, p. 288, ſaith, 'That it is an Abuſing of the Law, 'that Priſoners are put into Irons, or other 'Pain, before they are attainted.' See alſo *Cook* 3 Inſt. 34, 35. And *Horn* alſo, p. 34, 36, reckons the Starving of Priſoners by Famine, to be among the Crimes of Homicide in a Gaoler. *Vox Plebis*, Part I. f. 55, 56.

Which alſo *Cook*, in his 3 Inſt. *cap.* 29. Tit. Felony in Gaolers by Dureſs of Impri-ſonment, *&c.* by Statute and by the Common Law, *fol.* 91.

And, next, let us ſee what the Law ſaith for the Fees due to Gaolers: The *Mirror of Juſ-tice*, pag. 288, tells us, That it is an Abuſing of the Law, that Priſoners, or others for them, pay any Thing for their Entries into the Gaol, or for their Going out. This is the Common Law, there is no Fee due to them by the Common Law. See what the Statutes ſay:

* *Britton*, fol. 18. † *Flet.* Lib. i. cap. 26. ‡ 1 *Ed.* III. cap. 7.

The Statute of *Weſtm.* 1. *cap.* 26. ſaith, 'That no Sheriff, or other Miniſter of the 'King, ſhall take Reward for Doing their Of-'fices, but what they take of the King; if 'they do, they ſhall ſuffer Double to the 'Party aggrieved, and be puniſhed at the Will 'of the King.' Under this Word, *Miniſter* of the *King*, are included all Eſcheators, Coroners, Gaolers, *&c.* as *Cook*, 2 *Inſt. fol.* 209. affirms; and agreeable is *Stampf. Placit. Coron.* 49. Nay, by the Statute of 4 *Ed.* III. *cap.* 10, Gaolers are to receive Thieves and Felons, taking nothing by Way of Fees for the Receipt of them. So odious is this Extortion of Gaolers, that very Thieves and Felons are exempt from Payment of Fees.

And we find in our Law-books, That no Fees are due to any Officer, Gaoler, or Miniſter of Juſtice, but only thoſe which are given by Act of Parliament; for, if a Gaoler will preſcribe for any Fees, the Preſcription is void, becauſe againſt this Act of Parliament, made 3 *Ed.* I, being an Act made within Time of Memory, and takes away all Manner of pretended Fees before, and we are ſure, none can be raiſed by Colour of Preſcription ſince; and therefore we find, by the Books of 8 *Ed.* IV, *fol.* 18, 'That a Marſhal or 'Gaoler cannot detain any Priſoner after his 'Diſcharge from the Court, but only for the 'Fees of the Court (the Court being not barr'd 'by this Statute of *Weſtm.* 1. aforementioned) 'and, if he do, he may be indicted for Ex-'tortion.' And agreeable to this is the Book of 21 *E.* VII, *fol.* 16, where, amongſt other Things, it is held for Law, 'That, if a 'Gaoler, or Guardian of a Priſon, takes his 'Priſoner's proper Garment, Cloke, or Mo-'ney from him, it is a Treſpaſs, and the 'Gaoler ſhall be anſwerable for it.' So that we may undeniably conclude, That there is no Fee at all due to any Gaoler, or Guardian of a Priſon, from the Priſoner, but what is due unto him by ſpecial Act of Parliament. And, if a Gaoler, or Guardian of a Priſon, ſhall take any Thing as a Fee of his Priſoner, he may and ought to be indicted of Extortion, and, upon Conviction, to be removed from his Office; and, if his Priſoner, by Conſtraint, Menace, or Durels, be forced to give him Money, he may recover that Money againſt the Gaoler again, in an Action of the Caſe at Common Law.

Item, The King, conſidering the great Perjury, Extortion, and Oppreſſion, which be and have been in this Realm, by his Sheriffs, Under-Sheriffs, and their Clerks, Bailiffs, and Keepers of Priſons, *&c.* hath ordained by Authority aforeſaid, in eſchewing all ſuch Extortion, Perjury, and Oppreſſion, That no Sheriff * ſhall let to Farm, in any Manner, his County, nor any of his Bailiwicks. Nor that any of the ſaid Officers and Miniſters, by Occaſion, or under Colour of their Office, ſhall take any other Thing by them, nor by any other Perſon to their Uſe, Profit, or Avail, of any other Perſon by them, or any of them, to be arreſted or attached, for the Omitting of any Arreſt or Attachment to be made by their Body, or of any Perſon by them, or any of them (by Force or Colour of their Office arreſted or attached) for Fine, Fee, Suit of Priſon, Main-prize, Letting to Bail, or Shewing any Eaſe or Favour (to any ſuch Perſon arreſted or to be attached) for their Reward or Profit, but ſuch as follow; that is to ſay, for the Sheriff 20 *d.* The Officer which maketh the † Arreſt or Attachment 4 *d.* And the Gaoler of the Priſon, if he be committed to to Ward, 4 *d.*——And that all Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Gaolers, or any other Officers or Miniſters, which do contrary to this Ordinance, in any Point of the ſame, ſhall loſe to the Party, in this Behalf, indamaged or grieved, his treble Damages, and ſhall forfeit the Sum of 40 *l.* ‡ for every ſuch Offence; the one Moiety to the King, the other to the Proſecutor, to be recovered at Common Law, in either of the Courts of *King's-Bench*, or *Common-Pleas*, at *Weſtminſter*.

This is a perfect Account of the Gaoler's Fees in all Caſes, where Perſons are laid in Priſon upon Civil Matters and Cauſes, which Fee of 4 *d.* is more than any other Statute or Law allows them to take from their Priſoners: But, in ſuch Caſes where the King is Party, it is eſtabliſhed, 'That the Priſoners in all the 'King's Priſons ſhould be maintained at the 'King's Charge, and out of the King's Re-'venues, according to the old Law of the 'Land:' Much leſs to have Money extorted from him by the Gaoler. But look into the

* Stat. 23. *H.* vi. Cap. 10. Stat. 4. *H.* iv. 5. *Raſt.* Prædict. fol. 318. *Cook* Prædict. 365. 21 *H* vii. 7. fol. 16. † *Raſt.* Prædict. fol. 371. ‡ Stat. 21. *Ed.* iii.

Priſons

Priſons in and about the City of *London*, What horrible Oppreſſions, Extortions, and Cruelties, are exerciſed upon the free-born People of *England*, yea in moſt Priſons throughout this Kingdom?

So that by the Law of the Land it appears, that thoſe who ſell, or take any Manner of Reward for any publick Office or Place, or thoſe who do receive any greater Fee than therein is expreſſed, have no more Property, Right or Intereſt to do it, than the Pirate has to the peaceable Merchant's Ship, a Robber to the innocent Traveller's Purſe, or the Wolf to the Blood of the harmleſs Lamb.

Thus we have traced our Diſtempers to their very Spring and Original. We have ſhewn you the Danger of our preſent Condition, the true Cauſe from whence it aroſe, and preſcribed an effectual Remedy againſt it for the Future. It is the Magiſtrate's Duty now to accompliſh and perfect the Cure. I confeſs a great deal of Reſolution is requiſite to make a thorough Reformation, and ſtop all thoſe bleeding Wounds through which the Government is inſenſibly breathing out its very Life. Yet we are willing to aſſume more than an ordinary Confidence of the good Succeſs of this Undertaking, conſidering that our great Senate, to their immortal Glory, in their laſt Addreſs to his Majeſty, have ſo eminently ſignaliſed their vigorous Zeal, and unſhaken Reſolution, of reducing not only our own, but the grand Enemy of *Europe*, to Reaſon. I am perſuaded that no one Thing can contribute more to the Accompliſhment of ſo glorious a Deſign, than a timely and general Redreſs of the Grievances here expoſed and complained of. How chearfully would the People of *England* receive the News of the Parliament's Going about a Work of this Nature, in relieving them from an Oppreſſion, under the Weight of which every Individual, at one Time or other, has more or leſs ſuffered? This would not only enlarge their Hearts, but make their Purſes, too, more free and open, in furniſhing the neceſſary Supplies which his Majeſty's Affairs at this Time ſo earneſtly require.

It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged, That (through the Negligence or Remiſſneſs of the Magiſtrates) an evil Cuſtom may ſometimes obtain and fix itſelf ſo firm in the Intereſt or Opinion of the People, that there ſhall be leſs Danger in conniving at it, than in endeavouring to ſuppreſs it. But then it muſt not be ſuch as directly and deſignedly aims at the very Being of Government itſelf, as this does, which we now ſo juſtly regret. In ſhort, the Redreſs of this fatal Calamity can offend none but ſuch contemptible Creatures, whom it is more honourable and ſafe to diſtaſte than oblige; and ſure it can reflect no Blemiſh upon a Government to ſay, They have taken away from Villains the very Means and Temptation of being unjuſt and diſhoneſt.

But, as the Eaſing of Oppreſſion, and Unloading the Shoulders of the Poor, is the main Argument of this Treatiſe, ſo, to puſh on the great Cauſe before us yet a little further, the Author hereof declares he is ready to demonſtrate thoſe reaſonable Methods for employing all the neceſſitous Poor, and likewiſe for encouraging many Thouſands of idle Perſons to ſet themſelves to Work, though they are not reduced to the Neceſſity of the former; which will be of ſuch publick Service and general Advantage, that even the Profits of their Labours and Induſtry ſhall more than advance the whole Taxes now raiſed; with ſeveral other uſeful Propoſals, abundantly conducing to the Benefit of Trade, Improvement of Navigation, Increaſe of Seamen, *&c.* which, too long to be here ſet down, would require a Treatiſe of itſelf.

Now, to conclude, I cannot but a little take Notice of the great Neglect of the Pulpit, when thoſe ſpiritual Pilots at the Helm of Religion, who preach, or at leaſt ought to preach univerſal Charity, and denounce the Comminations and Judgments againſt all Oppreſſions and Injuſtice, have not publickly bore their Teſtimony againſt this crying Sin, in the particular national Grievances before mentioned. Nor does the Duty of this publick Remonſtrance lie leſs upon the great Stateſmen of the Nation, the Steerers at the temporal Helm, but rather more, by ſo much as the immediate Care and Welfare of the national Intereſt is their nearer and more particular Charge and Province.

But, if all we have here urged in ſo juſt a Cauſe, ſhall be utterly neglected, we have one farther unhappy Circumſtance to add to theſe deplorable Calamities now threatening us, which is, That Oppreſſion and Extortion will receive an Encouragement even from theſe very Papers, when the Cry of Juſtice, unheard and unredreſſed, will but harden their Iniquity;

quity; whilſt their Impunity, like an *Ignoramus* to a capital Indictment, will be looked upon as their Juſtification.

And then what Aſſurance can we poſſibly have of enjoying our Rights, Liberties, and Eſtates ſafe from the Invaſion of ravenous and mercenary Extortioners, who make no Scruple of turning Butchers to the People's Privileges, and Conſpirators againſt their Rights and Properties? Or, What Proſpect can we flatter ourſelves with, of bringing our national Endeavours to a ſucceſsful Concluſion, while Judgment is turned back, Juſtice ſtands afar off, our ancient and fundamental Laws of Mercy, as well as the expreſs Commands of God are turned into a Shadow; and thoſe who would reclaim theſe Evils (in order to avert the juſt Judgment and Indignation of God, ready to break out againſt us) only draw on themſelves the Frowns and Diſpleaſure of inraged Violence, as a Recompence of their Pains and Labour?

Labour in Vain: Or, What ſignifies Little or Nothing? *Viz.*

I. The Poor Man's Petitioning at Court.
II. Expectation of Benefit from a covetous Man in his Lifetime.
III. The Marriage of an Old Man to a Young Woman.
IV. Endeavours to regulate Men's Manners by Preaching or Writing.
V. Being a *Jacobite*.
VI. Confining an Inſolvent Debtor.
VII. Promiſe of Secrecy in a Conſpiracy.
VIII. An Enquiry after a Place.

London: Printed and Sold by moſt Bookſellers in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, 1700. *Quarto*, containing thirty-two Pages.

A Dialogue between the Author and the Printer.

Printer. WHAT Title do you deſign to give this Book?

Author. Labour in Vain: Or, What ſignifies Little or Nothing?

Printer. Then I am like to make a very hopeful Bargain this Morning; and grow rich like a *Jacobite*, that would part with his Property, for a Speculative Bubble.

Author. Be not angry; for the ſame Eſtimate and Epithet the greateſt Divines give to the whole World.

Printer. I do not like their Characters, or Epithets; for I believe there is a real Value in our Coin; and I know little of their Spiritual Notions, neither will I puzzle my Head about what they tell me, I cannot rightly underſtand.

Author. I could convince you, that you are in the Wrong; in being ſo indifferent about Enquiring into the Cauſe, Nature, and Value of Things.

Printer. I am, in this Point, a Quaker; and will not by Reaſon be convinced. Pray, Sir, tell me, Am I to buy a Shop full of empty Paſteboard-Boxes, or not?

Author.

Author. Sir, they are full.

Printer. Why, then do you put over the Door, That the Goods *Signify Little, or Nothing?* It is a ſtrange Sort of Information, to expect to get Cuſtomers by.

Author. I had ſeveral Reaſons that induced me to put this Title to my Book; and, not to keep you longer upon the Fret, I will tell you ſome of them: Firſt, The natural inquiſitive Humour, that reigns in all Mankind, after Novelty; for no ſooner will the Title be read, or cried, but the Reader, or Hearer, will query what it is about, conclude it ſome Maggot or other, and, to be ſatisfied, will buy it; ſo, you will gain by his Curioſity. Then I have known many dull Books, that have ſold well, by the Help of an ingenious, or whimſical Title. *Puffe me, Puffe me, Puffe cannot ſtay, Colle melle Puff*; the Odneſs and Maggot of that Cry has ſold the Fellow many a Tart; for many Perſons, who only out of Curioſity have peeped into his Baſket, have found ſomething or other that pleaſed them. Beſides the Title is *apropo*, becauſe the Subjects I write about, though they make a great Buſtle in the World, yet their Concluſions, or Produce, are very frivolous, inſignificant, and anſwer not the End deſigned.

Printer. To what Purpoſe, did you ſpend your Time in Writing on ſuch Subjects? And why ſhould I be at the Labour of Printing, or Charge of Paper?

Author. Print it by all Means; it may employ ſome to add to it the Hiſtory of the Printer.

Printer. What, that my Pains was Labour in Vain, and Charge ſignified Little or Nothing? I am mightily obliged to you, for the Method you have taken, to expoſe me to Laughter: But let it prove as it will, if I buy the Devil, I will try to ſell him. But, if your Whim does not take, I will never buy Goods again, before I have looked over the Parcel.

The Poor Man's Petitioning at Court.

HOW fruitleſs and empty the Requeſts of the Poor have returned at Court, whether they have been for Juſtice or Mercy, is apparent from a thouſand Inſtances: And one I will relate to you, without a peeviſh Deſign of Reflecting upon any particular Court, for the *Pauper*'s Petition is alike neglected, by what I have ſeen, heard, or read, in every Court. A Gentleman, fitly qualified, who by Permiſſion had purchaſed an Employ for Life, under a King, and to his Succeſſors, upon a Succeſſor's Coming to the Crown (though he had taken Oaths of Allegiance, and done what was requiſite, according to Law, for Qualification) to feed the Avarice, or gratify the wicked Bounty of a certain Perſon, to whoſe Care the Managery was intruſted, was turned out, with only the Madman's humorous Reaſon, *Sic jubeo, ſic volo*. By which unjuſt, at leaſt, unkind Uſage, he had very little left to maintain himſelf, Wife, and four Children.

At once, his *Quondam* Friends ſounded Retreat,
Would ſcarce afford good Words, and much leſs Meat:
To ſee his Face, they'd never after care,
As if his very Looks infectious were:
Like careful Bees, to their own Hives, they flew,
As he from Fortune, they from him withdrew.

I cannot forbear, in this Place, Putting the Epithet *wicked*, to that generous Virtue, Bounty; ſince here it was a powerful Robbery committed upon one Man's Right, to ſeem bounteous in a Bequeſt to another. The deprived Man, hurt, complained with all the Reſpect, a Supplicant ſhould uſe; but his Prayer was anſwered with a Negative. Afterwards he ſerved that King without Pay in his Army Abroad, and, upon the Death of the Poſſeſſor of his Employ, he again prayed to be reſtored; upon which Prayer, he had an Order for the next Vacancy, which when happened, a certain Gentleman, who but a ſhort Time before had preſented the deprived Man to the King, in the Army, and had given it under his Hand, that he had been turned out, without Cauſe, and that he ſerved as a Volunteer; gave it again under his Hand, That the poor Petitioner's Alledging to have ſerved in the Army, was a Miſtake; and his laſt Act (the former, in good Manners, I will believe, being forgot) was credited; ſo Order and Petition were both diſmiſſed, to the Ruin of the Man, and his Family.

OBSER-

OBSERVATION.

By this true Relation, is evident the little Succeſs, that is to be expected from the poor unhappy Man's Petitioning againſt a Man in Power; for, when he pleaſes, he blackens and miſrepreſents an Underling; and what a Favourite ſays is eaſily believed.

Then tell me how the Poor ſhall find Relief,
Or gain a Cure for undeſerved Grief,
Their Fate depending on a King's Belief.

In ſuch a Caſe, a Prince is the eaſieſt Man in the World to be impoſed on, conſidering the vaſt Multitude of Affairs, that center in his Ordering and Manage, the particular Cogniſance of all which it is impoſſible for him to take; for, upon a Kind of Neceſſity, he is obliged to have his Knowledge of ſeveral Affairs, from the Report that thoſe about him are pleaſed to make; and what Man will tell a Story to his own Diſadvantage? And who can tell it but the Favourite, whilſt the poor Petitioner is debarred Acceſs?

Before a Fav'rite, none ſhall be believ'd,
And 'gainſt the Rich, 'tis hard to be reliev'd:
In Vain you offer up an empty Prayer,
Which fattens not the Courtier, or his Heir;
Something that's ſolid, and of real Good
(At leaſt for ſuch by Worldlings underſtood)
Muſt be preſented, if you'd Favour find,
Which rarely warms th' Endowments of the Mind:
But to the Fortunate, and Rich, are kind.
Since Money weighs down Juſtice and Deſert,
The Poor's Deſires don't ſignify a Fart.

Expectations of Benefit from a covetous Man, in his Life-time.

QUIS Pauper? Avarus: An admirable and proper Anſwer to the Queſtion; becauſe the covetous Man wanteth that which he hath, as well as that which he hath not; as proves true, by the following Relation: A Friend of mine, if a covetous Man can be ſo, of genteel Extraction, and ſuitable Education, having a competent Eſtate of four-hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and a thouſand Pounds in Money, left him; which Revenue as far exceeding his Deſire of Living, as it came ſhort of his Deſire of Acquiring; for he no ſooner had the Poſſeſſion, but he retrenched the uſual Expences of the Family; he ſaved Charge, by putting away the Mouths that cauſed it; and the only Servant that he kept lived almoſt like a Bear in *Greenland*, on the Nouriſhment he had got in the Summer of the Father's Life-time. In ſhort, no *Anchorite* lived more ſparing than he, unleſs it were upon another's Coſt, and then it was a covetous Humour made him eat and drink like a Glutton and a Drunkard. In all his Actions he was baſe; he would ſteal his own Goods, to make his Servant pay for them: By ſuch ſordid Ways his Wealth was accumulated; he ſold the Manſion-Houſe, becauſe the Purchaſe-Money would yield a greater Profit, than the Rent amounted to; and retired from a great Houſe (not from Plenty and Abundance) to a leſs, that he could not rent out: By ſuch niggardly Methods, in Proceſs of Time, he had heaped up a very great Treaſure.

There was a young hopeful Gentleman, his Nephew, who expected to reap the Fruits of his Covetouſneſs, that often came to viſit him, and was always complaiſant, ſooched, and commended every Humour, which I take to be the right Way of Pleaſing; for certain (at leaſt, during the Time of prevailing Fancy, or Action) every Man is pleaſed with his own Sentiments, or Doings; ſo conſequently loves to have them approved and applauded.

He gratified the Miſer's Appetite at his own Expence, his Pantry and his Cellar were always ready to gratify his leaſt Motion of Deſire, his Coach and Horſes attended his Occaſions; he baulked his own Humour, neglected his pleaſant and facetious Companions, and confined himſelf to oblige his ſordid Temper. Though, it muſt be confeſſed, Self-Intereſt moved him, yet it pleaſed the Wretch, when he adviſed him to ſecure his Treaſure, that no *Rachel*, or other, might ſteal his God. He chriſtened his Son of the *Jew*'s Name, he did, What not? to oblige him. He defended him from Robbers, at the Peril of his own Life: Nay more, he juſtified his baſe Principles, contrary

trary to his Conſcience; but all the Returns, that were paid to theſe Services, were Mountain-Promiſes, whilſt in his Cups; but Mole-hills, or no Performances, when ſober.

Afterwards this obliging Gentleman fell by Misfortune into Straits and Neceſſities, ſo that his Family wanted convenient Subſiſtence; yet the other pitileſs, and unconcerned, returned no good Nature, no Charity, no grateful Act, for all his generous Obligations; not ſo much as even common Humanity would, out of Mercy, oblige a very *Jew* to ſhew to a Stranger in Miſery. After the Miſer had bought what he had left, for Half the Value, he forbid him his Houſe, and, whenever he met him, he paſſed by him, as a Stranger. At laſt, inteſtate the miſerable Raſcal dies; for the very Thought of Diſpoſing of his Riches would have been as mortal as a Cannon-Shot: So *Volens Nolens*, what he left, fell to this Gentleman. But I had almoſt forgot to tell you, That his jealous Temper, which muſt accompany the Covetous, let their Avarice be fixed on what it will, made him bury a great Part of his Money and Writings; ſo that a great Deal was loſt, for Want of the Knowledge of the Concealments.

OBSERVATION.

A covetous Deſire is properly applicable to Self, for, even when I ſeem to deſire the Advantage of another, there is ſomething of Self in the Matter; and it muſt be allowed, that he, I wiſh well, is my Friend; though another's being my Enemy only makes him ſo; ſo, by my Deſire, I gratify my own Inclination, in my Friend's Advantage, or pleaſe my Anger, in my Enemy's Diſadvantage: A covetous Man's Thoughts center in his own Profit, and what Good goes beſides him, he counts by Providence wrong applied; then it is idle to expect, that he, that covets all, ſhould fruſtrate his vaſt Deſign, by giving me a Part; as Covetouſneſs is a ſelfiſh Humour, it is impoſſible it ſhould be diffuſive.

The Miſer's Wiſh is of a vaſt Extent,
And would engroſs, beneath the Firmament,
All that it likes; ſtill covetous, would try
To merchandize with Spirits of the Sky.
His Wiſhes only to Advantage tend,
From Self's their Origin, in Self they end;
So cannot be diffuſive to a Friend.
In vain a Favour you expect from ſuch,
You may as well expect one from the *D*——.

The Marriage of an old Man to a young Woman.

THE mutual Diſappointments, that commonly thwart, and hinder the Happineſs expected by the Marriage of an old Man to a young Woman, the following Story ſets forth: An ancient Gentleman, whoſe Head Age had powdered like a Beau's, who in his ſprightly Youth could at Sight anſwer the Expectations of the moſt laſcivious Female, as *Doctor's-Commons*, and Pariſh-Books could witneſs; he had lived a Libertine Life, and had never Thoughts of Marriage, till he was Threeſcore and Ten, when he happened into the Company of a beautiful young Woman, whoſe Charms and Behaviour blew away the Aſhes that covered the Fire that remained in the Brand's End; ſo that it made a faint Blaze, which (of late unaccuſtomed) Warmth made the (willing to be deceived) Senior fancy that there was yet a great Stock of Vigour in his Veins, that would anſwer the Ends of Marriage: Thus, when Lechery had left his Tail, and, agitated only by Deſire, he fancied mighty Performances in his luſtful Brain, he courts this Lady for his Bride, who had not the Charms to renew an old *Æſon*'s Age; ſenſible that his expiring Flame could not long laſt, he was impatient of Delay; ſo, by continual Courtſhip, he tried to watch his Miſtreſs, like a Hawk, into Compliance; but it was perſuaſive Money that made her conſent to endure a *Lenten* Penance, in Expectation of an happy *Eaſter* after his Death. In ſhort, ſhe for filthy Lucre married him, and ſubmitted herſelf to his feeble Threeſcore and Ten Years Attempts; after his Fluttering all the Wedding-Day, they were put to Bed (I think that Word ſuitable to his Age) and after Sack-Poſſet eat, and Stocken thrown, the Company withdrew, and left them to themſelves. When he failed in Performance, ſhe was fruſtrated in her Expectation, ſo that their Marriage ſignified little or nothing.

OBSERVATION.

The Anſwer I make, to thoſe that will ſay, Every body knew this Story before, is, That, though I pretend to write Novels, I do not

Novelties, but to dreſs up ſomething that for one Meal may be pleaſing, and of grateful Guſt; and, perhaps, ſome Obſervation may be made from this Story worthy Self-Application: But, though the Reader do not, I will, to continue the Method I firſt deſigned.

To attempt any Thing, which nothing but (almoſt) a Miracle can make ſucceſsful, is Folly and Madneſs; and little leſs can move a Man of Threeſcore Years and Ten to do—— to any Purpoſe. An old Man's Marrying a young Woman is like Laying down a good Joint of Meat, to an almoſt conſumed Fire, which will blaze a while, but by the ſudden Decay, for Want of Fuel, will make it but lukewarm: He is counted a Blockhead that pretends to ſet up a Trade, when he is paſt Labour, unleſs he takes an able Journeyman; and I believe, in this Caſe, no Man will willingly admit of a Journeyman to manage his Commodity, and without one (by Effects may be judged) the Marriage will ſignify little towards Procreation. Diſappointments muſt happen to the Man from Natural Conſequence, notwithſtanding the mighty Belief of his Abilities. I have known, from powerful Fancy, when a Child has been tired with Walking, yet, imagining he rode when he had a Switch between his Legs, would imitate the Trot and Gallop, for a ſmall While, without Complaining; but preſently the Weakneſs and Imbecillity of his Feet made him ſenſible his Natural Strength (though agitated by Deſire) could not carry him to his deſired Home: So the Old, whoſe vigorous Heat is ſpent, may imagine, if he get a Cock-horſe, how ſuriouſly he will ride; but, like the tired Child, his Natural Decay will appear.

The Man being deceived, by Conſequence the Woman muſt; and what ſad Effects do ſuch Diſappointments cauſe, are evident from the future Carriage of both Man and Woman: He grows jealous, unwilling another ſhould feed, tho' he himſelf cannot make Uſe of the Dainties; then the poor abuſed Woman is watched, perhaps confined, and her whole Life made uneaſy.

Like a poor Man (cajolled by mighty Promiſes) tranſported to the *Weſt-Indies*; when he comes there, finding himſelf a Slave to the Beck and Rod of an imperious Patron, being faſt bound by Contract, has no Hopes of Liberty, but from the Expiration of Time: Such is the Condition of a young Woman, who, flattered with the Belief of fond doating Dalliance, and Plenty, is betrayed into the Slavery of Marriage, with an old Fellow, ſhe has no Hopes of Deliverance from, but by the Expiration of her diſagreeable Husband's Life; her youthful Heat, meeting with the icy Coldneſs of his Age, cauſes Thunder in the Houſe: Continual Jars forbid all Hopes of Peace.

When Waves ſwoln high by Force of mighty Wind,
They fiercely meet, and are in Battle join'd;
The frothy Salt, with Motion, 's ſet on Fire;
But, waſh'd with native Water, ſoon expire:
So toſs'd by Billows of remaining Luſt,
Which ſhuffles up and down the aged Duſt,
Salt Sparks are blown into a ſudden Flame,
But Age's Moiſture ſoon does quench the ſame.
The old Man's boaſting Promiſes, in Love,
Do little ſignify, as Women prove;
'Tis Vapour all, and limber as my Glove.
In Vain the aged Man hopes to receive
Bleſſings, which only ſprightly Youth can give;
In Vain a Woman does expect a Trade,
From one whom ſtingy Age has Bankrupt made;
Such Diſappointments happen to them both,
Which makes the Marriage prove of little Worth.

The Reverſe of this Story, which is an old Woman's Marrying to a Young Fellow, is to the Full as ridiculous, and ſignifies as little to a mutual Content.

Endeavours to regulate Men's Manners by Preaching or Writing.

THE preſent Age is not ſo very virtuous, but that we may meet with Examples in almoſt every Company and Converſation, that demonſtrates the little Efficacy the well deſigned Writings and Publick Teaching of good Men have had, towards Reformation of Manners, and the Practice of Virtue. But not being willing to expoſe particularly the Inſenſibility that appears either in my own Life, by not Amending, and Correcting my reproved Actions, or in the general Practice of any Fellow Countrymen; I have pitched upon the

Hiſtory of *Socrates*, ſo far as it agrees with my Deſign; that is, to ſhew how little the good Documents he taught ſignified to the Reform or Benefit of the *Athenians*, and the *Odium* they cauſed from thoſe he endeavoured to amend.

Socrates, who was born in a ſmall Village called *Halopex*, under the *Athenian* Juriſdiction, is commonly called the *Athenian*, to diſtinguiſh him from ſeveral others, of that Name, one of which wrote the Hiſtory of *Argos*; another was a *Bithynian*, &c. This *Socrates*, the *Athenian*, was taught Philoſophy under *Anaxagoras*; he was a Man of great Temperance, of a ſtrong Conſtitution, one who inquired into the Nature of ſublime Things, ſtudied Humanity, practiſed and publickly preached, to Poor and Rich, Virtue and good Manners; to be ſilent, and not to reprove wicked Men, he counted a Crime againſt the Gods; to diſcourſe of Virtue, he eſteemed as a great Happineſs; and, employing himſelf almoſt conſtantly in Inſtructing of the Citizens, he neglected mightily his private Affairs, ſo that he was poor, and told the *Athenians*, that he ought to be maintained out of the *Prytaneum*, or publick Store-houſe; that he ought to be rewarded more than a Victor, for the Conqueror could but make them appear to be happy, when, by his Inſtructions in Virtue, if practiſed, they would really be ſo, not only from preſent Serenity of Mind, but in *Futuro*; for he believed an Immortality of the Soul, and, the very Day he died, he employed in Diſcourſing of, and, by convincive Arguments to his Friends, proved the Soul's Indiviſibility, and, conſequently, Immortality; he taught as he believed, that Nothing of Evil could happen to a good Man, his Concerns being taken Care of by the Gods; but, notwithſtanding his eloquent perſuaſive Speeches upon ſo noble a Subject, as Virtue, which, for its own Sake, ought to attract Men's Inclinations, and Affections, the *Athenians* were ſo far from Reforming from their accuſtomed Immoralities, that *Miletus*, *Anytus*, and others, accuſed him, as guilty of a capital Crime, for Inſtructing the People in the Ways of Virtue, and for Reproving them, when they acted contrary to Morality and good Manners: They were ſo exaſperated againſt him for his good Endeavours to introduce Honeſty and Piety, inconſiſtent with their Practice, that, without a confronting Witneſs, they condemned him to Death; which Sentence was put in Execution by a Draught of Poiſon. By which barbarous Uſage, it is apparent, that all his Teachings ſignified little towards the Reformation of the Lives of his Fellow Citizens.

OBSERVATION.

Though Licentiouſneſs is more agreeable and facile to the depraved Nature of Mankind; yet almoſt every Age hath produced a preaching experienced *Solomon*, a *Socrates*, a *Plato*, or ſome ſuch good Men, who have endeavoured, by Writing and Teaching, backed with the inducing Reaſons of a preſent Serenity of Mind, that muſt, upon Neceſſity, accompany virtuous Actions, or the glorious Proſpect of an unconceivable Reward hereafter; to perſuade Men by Arguments, conducing to Self-intereſt (which, in all other Caſes, is prevalent) to practiſe Piety, Honeſty, and Civility; yet, what poor Crops have the ſtony Soil produced, every Age, againſt itſelf, is Witneſs. The Libertiniſm of an Heathen I do not ſo much wonder at, becauſe he has no Thoughts of Futurity to check his mad Career; but that Men who are daily taught, and inſtructed in Piety and Morality, and who, upon a ſelf Query, will own that they really believe to do Good is for their Advantage, ſhould act directly contrary to their Belief, is an extravagant Madneſs not to be paralleled: Is there no Remedy for ſo great and contagious an Evil to be found? Yes, an Heathen teaches me one, *Trahimur Exemplis plus quam Præceptis*; for, if thoſe in Power and Greatneſs practiſed Virtue, the Underlings would imitate; if it was cuſtomary, every one would be in the Faſhion: But, whilſt Vice and Immorality are countenanced by the Great, Orders for Keeping the Sabbath, and againſt Profaneneſs, are of little Efficacy; for, when the great Fiſh break the Net, the little Ones will go out at the Rent. Though Arguing for Virtue, and good Manners, is highly to be commended, yet the little Reformation we find ſhews, that hitherto it has ſignified little or nothing.

He that would bar me of a coming Joy,
And by ſtrict Rules my Liberty deſtroy,
In Trammels makes me pace away my Life,
'Twixt Nature and his Rules is conſtant Strife;
So irkſome and uneaſy I muſt be,
By Reaſon of their great Antipathy;
This is the Language of th' unthinking Man,
Who, led by Cuſtom, loves to be profane;

And will not change his Road, whate'er you teach,
Scarce, tho' a *Jonah* once again ſhould preach:
But ſtill that Monkey, Man, would imitate,
And Virtue practiſe, copy'd from the Great.

Examples, wanting Precepts, are but vain;
And moving Arguments, in florid Strain,
Won't make the blockiſh Croud from Ill refrain.

Being a Jacobite.

ONE, whom, out of good Manners, I muſt ſtile a Gentleman, becauſe he juſtly claims that Title from his Anceſtors; and it muſt be allowed him now, even in his Adverſity, ſince his accounted Crimes of Omiſſion, in not actually complying to the Laws in Force, proceed from the Dictates of his Conſcience, and not from an obſtinate Spirit of Contradiction; for, though this Gentleman's Opinion will not permit him to comply in the active Part, yet, out of Submiſſion to the Laws of his Country, without Refractorineſs, he is obedient in the Paſſive. This Gentleman, as many others, is at this Time termed a *Jacobite*, as being the Title cuſtomarily uſed, in Oppoſition to *Williamite*; concluding, that he, that is not for me, is againſt me.

Upon the Revolution, in the Year 1688 (which, by unfathomed Providence was brought about, ſo contrary to rational Appearance, that after Ages will heſitate at the Belief of the heroick Attempts of the preſent King, and the unaccountable Manage of the laſt) this Man was turned out of ſeveral conſiderable Employs (or rather he turned himſelf out, for it cannot be expected, that any will be Maſter, unleſs by Power, to thoſe that will not ſerve them) ſtripped of his Incomes, he, for a While, handſomely ſubſiſted; but, feeding conſtantly upon laſt Year's Crops, without Sowing for another Harveſt, his Granary was emptied without Hopes of Repleniſhing, without a Miracle: Reduced, he herded with thoſe of his own Opinion, that, by the Benevolence of Fortune, were able to relieve him, and did, generouſly, for a Time; but, continual Dependance made him ſenſible of the Bitterneſs of the Curſe: The undervaluing Slights, the tiring Attendance, often Refuſals, beggarly Loans, Reprimands, Advice too late given, all which, with appearing Patience, by Force he was obliged, if he would eat, to undergo, made him almoſt diſtracted in his Thoughts. The impending Miſery of Want, by its near Approach, appearing dreadful and affrighting, put him upon the ſtudious Thoughts, how to ſubſiſt for the Future. He conſidered the many Reaſons drawn from Self-Intereſt, and other powerful Motives, for Conforming to the preſent Government; the general Conſent, and Practice of many, whoſe Learning and Integrity he could not call in Queſtion, unleſs he ſhould contradict his own Experience, made him bring his Manage into Examination, and his rational Arguments made him often waver, and query the Prudence of his Opinion; ſo far, that he had ſome Thoughts of conforming to what the Repreſentatives of the Nation had agreed; but, having ſo long ſtood out, he could have no Hopes of being received with that Favour, ſo as to be truſted in any conſiderable Employ, either Civil, Military, or Eccleſiaſtical; he was too poor, and of too little Intereſt, to expect an honourable Title; too illiterate to be made a Dean, too well known to be truſted with the Managing of a Secret in National Affairs; ſo he ſtuck to his old Principles, though he reaped no Advantage by them, for Poverty, like Ivy, twines to the *Jacobite*, and ſpoils his Growth; his Opinion contradicting, in general, the Sentiments of the greateſt Part of the Nation, was ſo far from being any Ways advantageous to him, that it expoſed him to Want, and debarred him from the Hopes of Repairing his ruined Fortunes.

OBSERVATION.

This Story is equally applicable to *Jacobite*, *Williamite*, *Whig*, *Tory*, or what other Name of Diſtinction is given to any Man, who rows not with the common Stream that the River of his Country runs; he tugs againſt the Tide, and makes very little Progreſs. To oppoſe the general Sentiments of a Country, is Drawing up Hill by Choice, and gives juſt Cauſe for People to call a Man's Judgment in Queſtion, ſince there is a nearer and down-Hill beaten Path at Hand; it is ſomething like

Going

Going in the *Strand*, towards the Horſe-Guard, on a *Sunday* in the Evening, when one has the Trouble of meeting the Current of the City-Gentry going from the *Park*; he, that complies not to the Practice of a Nation, appears like one in a ſad-coloured Coat, bearing Arms amongſt the Guard at *Whitehall*, he is ſtared at; and, if obſerved by a Superior, will be puniſhed.

Relating to a Man's Compliance, or Non-compliance, it ought to be conſidered, Whether what is required be conſonant to Juſtice and Self-preſervation, argued *pro* and *con* in Reference to ſpiritual and temporal Affairs, the laſt not contradicting the former's poſitive Commands. And ſure I am, or muſt appear to be, to rational Men, much wiſer, or more blockiſh than the reſt of the Nation, in a general Council conſenting, if I oppoſe, or refuſe Conformity to its Agreement. Parallel Examples ought to be ſearched for, and the Method of Proceedings that have been commonly taken by others, approved of by future Allowance to have been juſt, and fitting to be done, ought to guide, and mightily ſway me to concord to ſuch approved Precedents; for, if a Man diſagrees out of a particular Opinion, or Intereſt, he, as far as in him lies, calls the Diſcretion of a great many in Queſtion, and battles a Number with his opiniated Reaſon; from ſuch Proceeding, one can expect no Benefit or Reputation. No Advantage, becauſe none will truſt another (in any Thing of Weight) that is of a contrary Perſuaſion, becauſe it is reaſonable to believe, that every Man is inclinable to act what ſuits beſt to his Fancy, and moſt conduces to bring to Effect his deſired Aim: So, inſtead of ſerving that Intereſt by which intruſted, to gratify his real Sentiments, he will betray the Secrets to him committed.

What is in Vogue carries a preſent Reputation (then being a *Jacobite*) muſt conſequently cauſe an Undervaluing, and ſo *ſignify Little or Nothing*.

Allow Sentiments offer'd, right or wrong,
If Judge and Jury too join with the Throng;
In Contradiction to the preſent Thought,
My ſole Opinion ſignifieth Nought.
'Tis over-rul'd, and I am ſurely caſt,
Which proves the Fate of Separiſts at laſt;
For to oppoſe the Torrent of a Stream,
Reſiſt a greater Power, is like my Dream,
Which fancies mighty Riches, mighty Power,
But, poor and weak, I meet the waking Hour;
With a *Probatum eſt* ſome ſadly tell,
What once they were, to what they now are fell.

Confining an Inſolvent Debtor.

A Grave Citizen, an Alderman's Fellow, by Loſſes and Croſſes, and God knows what, was reduced to the Neceſſity of leaving his Houſe, and moving himſelf and Effects into the Sanctuary for Bankrupts, *White-Friars*; where for a While he confined himſelf to his Chamber, and, when he went out, the Company ſeaſoned to the Place, who were no proud Men, but would quickly be acquainted without Ceremony, made him aſhamed, and bluſh like a young Sinner, the Curtains undrawn; with Care he ſoon caſt up his Books, and, ſubtracting his Debtors from his Creditors, he found a greater Balance due, than he was able to pay; but, willing (as it is natural for all Creatures) to be at Liberty, he ſummoned his Creditors, and offered them ten Shillings for every Pound, reſerving for himſelf but a ſmall Pittance to ſubſiſt on, or lay a new Foundation for freſh Credit: But ſome (*Jews* in Practice) refuſed a Compliance to any Abatement, and reſolved to make Dice of his Bones: Their Cruelty grieved and afflicted him ſo much, that his Sorrow and Concern was apparent in his Face, and, being aſked the Reaſon, he told, That his Creditors Non-compliance was the Cauſe of it: Upon which, a Doctor in the Civil Laws, of the Place, took him to Taſk; told him his Security there; brought Examples and Precedents, how *Tom* ſuch an one and Sir *John* ſuch an one had uſed their Creditors, and brought them to Compliance: Unmerciful Rogues! What, refuſe to take ten Shillings in the Pound? If I might adviſe you, they ſhould not have above Half a Crown, I intend to give mine but eighteen Pence; ſure you are not ſuch a Fool to part with all, and ſuffer yourſelf and Family to want. Such Company, ſuch Examples, ſuch Documents have

washed away the honeſt firſt Intents of many a Man, but it could not float his; for he ſtill deſigned, to his Power, to ſatisfy every Body; but, unwilling to be caged in a cloſer Priſon, he there lived, and, ſpending upon the main Stock conſtantly, it waſted ſo faſt, that, at his next Propoſal to his Creditors, he could offer but five Shillings; which was alſo rejected: And ſome Time after, not being watchful of his Ways, the Catchpoles ſeized him, at the Suit of an old proteſting Friend of his, a Neighbour, for whom he would have ſent, hoping Mercy from their former intimate Acquaintance; but, the Officers telling him it would be to no Purpoſe, ſince that Warrant, which they named to him, was but one amongſt twenty they had againſt him; ſo, after Squeeſing him out of twenty Shillings for Dinner, Ale, and Brandy, they lodged him in the *Compter*; where his Fellow-priſoners flocked about him, ſome pulling this Way, ſome that, like Watermen at Turn of Ebb at *Billingſgate*, all calling for Garniſh; which clamorous Demand never ceaſed, till he had paid it. The Want of Liberty made him value it more than ever, and, deſiring next to Life his Liberty, he, with Prayers, intreated his Creditors to accept of all that he had; but they refuſed it, and would not believe that he gave a true or juſt Account, though he offered to make Oath of it; ſo, by Lying there, the poor Man, for Neceſſaries, conſumed what merciful Men would have been contented with; when the Parliament, out of Conſideration of the Miſery, that many (not able to pay their Debts) in Priſon endured, ordered a Diſcharge upon ſuch and ſuch Conditions, under the which he was comprehended, and conſequently diſcharged without Paying one Farthing; whereas, if the Creditors had formerly complied, they might have had Half their Debts, and the Man his Liberty; ſo their Confining him proved their Detriment. And the like happens to others, when the Inſolvent die in Cuſtody; for, where it is not to be had, the King muſt loſe his Right.

OBSERVATION.

Such has been the Fate of many inſolvent Debtors, and ſuch has proved the Return to many uncharitable and cruel Creditors; and, I believe, all merciful Men will think the Laſt deſerved it: Expectation to recover Debts by Confining an inſolvent Man, whereby he is debarred of Opportunity to acquire wherewithal to pay his Debts, is an *Egyptian* Propoſal, to make Brick without Straw; *quod ultra poſſe non eſt eſſe*.

It is a very good Law, in the Seigniory of *Biſcay*, That no Native *Biſcayner* ſhall be impriſoned for Debt above forty-eight Hours; but the Creditor, in that Time, ſhall have Judgment againſt whatſoever Effects ſhall be found to be his, or what afterwards he, either by Labour, Art, or otherwiſe, ſhall acquire, yet, upon Giving Security not to depart the Seigniory, he ſhall be diſcharged out of Cuſtody, to get his Livelihood.

I have heard, that, in *Holland*, no Creditor ſhall keep in Priſon an inſolvent Debtor, unleſs he will maintain him there, with Subſiſtence to preſerve his Life; but here in *England*, in this Point, we out-do the *Dutch* in Cruelty, confining People to ſtarve, contrary to Humanity, Mercy, or Policy. One may as reaſonably expect his Dog ſhould catch an Hare, when chained to a Poſt, as that a poor Debtor ſhould, in a Gaol, get wherewithal to pay his Debts.

Aſk but the cruel Man, What he would have
From his poor Debtor, to his Will a Slave
Confin'd in Priſon? Preſently he'll ſay,
My Money; yet acts quite contrary Way
To gain his End; for, How can one expect,
Where no Cauſe moves, there ſhould be an Effect?
What ſilly Farmer will confine his Cow
From needful Herbage, for no harder Low
For Food? Or, In Reaſon can he believe,
By ſuch Confinement, he ſhall Milk receive?
As ſilly is the Hope, when you confine
A Man inſolvent, for to raiſe the Coin.

Promiſe of Secrecy in a Conſpiracy.

THough I could produce Variety of Inſtances, out of ancient Hiſtory, ſuitable to this Subject, yet I have choſe one, which has come to the Knowledge, and is ſtill freſh in the Memory of almoſt every *Engliſhman*, to ſhew the little Truſt and Confidence, that is to be given to the ſolemn Promiſes of Secrecy in a Conſpiracy, or wicked Deſign.

In

In the Year 1699, ſeveral angry diſcontented Men clubbed to the Hatching a Plot or Conſpiracy for Subverting the preſent Government; and, for the more Certainty of effecting it, deſigned, contrary to Honour, and common Humanity, to take off the preſent Head, that the Limbs might be in Confuſion, wanting an immediate Director for their Motion; ſo in the Hurly-burly to have proclaimed one, who unhappily has too much proclaimed himſelf.

There is no Need of mentioning their Deſign at large, or the Progreſs they had made, every Man knowing the Drift of their Conſpiracy, and the Conſpirators; ſo I will only take Notice, that, after their Plot was laid, the Aſſaſſinators agreed on, and Secrecy ſworn to, at the *Sun-Tavern*, and other Places, ſome of them (falſe, firſt to their Country, then to their Adherents) diſcovered the Conſpiracy. I wiſh it were done out of a repentant Principle, and believing a Promiſe to do Evil ought not to be kept; but their covetous Solliciting for Rewards induces me to believe, that the Principle of Self-intereſt was the chief Motive of their Diſcovery; but, let it proceed from what Cauſe ſoever, it is apparent, that the Obligations, under which they were engaged, were not of Force to keep the Secret undiſcovered; the like Diſcoveries have been made at *Venice*, at *Rome*, at *Genoa*, and in almoſt all the Kingdoms on the Earth, tho' the greateſt Cautions and Securities that Self-preſervation, or aſpiring Ambition could invent, to tie up the confeſſing Tongue, have been made Uſe of; he that will be a Villain, in attempting a great Evil, is not to be truſted; for it is probable he would be ſo in a leſſer, eſpecially if he expects to reap Advantage by it.

OBSERVATION.

SEldom any Reſolution is ſo fixed, but that apparent Benefit, as Self-preſervation, or Riches, will alter it, eſpecially when the Reſolve is evil, for no Man, though never ſo much prompted by Ambition, Avarice, Luſt, or Revenge, but has a Monitor within, which dictates to him, that his Reſolve and Attempt is evil in itſelf; and, from what one's Reaſon informs to be bad, a Man is eaſily drawn from Effecting: So we find many Men who dare undaunted look Death in the Face, in a juſt Cauſe, will recant and appear Cowards, when Ill is to be attempted; from whence has proceeded many Diſcoveries of Plots and Conſpiracies, to the Secrecy of which, Men have obliged themſelves by all the Ties that are counted ſacred and binding; ſuch are to be counted Repentants, becauſe they diſcover the Deſign out of an *Odium* to the Evil. But ſome, without Conſidering Good or Evil, in Relation to Futurity, diſcover the ſecret Conſpiracies with them intruſted, not for Conſcience, but for Lucre Sake; others, when their firſt Heat is over, grow puſillanimous, and confeſs to ſave their Lives; ſometimes infinite Wiſdom confounds their Counſels and Devices, leads them into Errors and Miſtakes, and, by Ways unimaginable, brings to Light the hidden Things of Darkneſs.

Whilſt a protecting Providence does ſway,
Whilſt Men inſpir'd Dictates do obey,
Whilſt Life has Value, and Reward has Love,
Proteſted Secrecy in Ill does prove
Of ſmall Validity; the firſt will act
What's conſonant to Juſtice of a Fact:
The ſecond by impulſive Power command,
What wo'n't Man do to keep his waſting Sand?
And bountiful Reward makes Men betray
Their deareſt Kin, and Friendſhip wipes away.
Subject to Power, and tempted by a Bait,
Too pleaſing to deny, of little Weight
Proves promis'd Privacy; then why ſhould I
Meddle in Pots, in Hopes of Secrecy?

The Progreſs of an Enquirer after Places.

THough Diſappointments are, in ſome Degree or other, moſt commonly the Companions that attend and thwart the Hopes and Expectations of all Mankind; yet have I not obſerved more Diſappointments generally to accompany any Attempt, than I have the Endeavours, and Deſigns, to get into reputable Places and Employments, as by the Sequel will appear.

An *Engliſh* Gentleman, who, by Hoſpitality amongſt his Country Neighbours, had ſpent the greateſt Part of his Eſtate; having very little, beſides

beſides the Manſion-Seat of his Family left, ſeeing himſelf ſlighted by thoſe very Men who had largely taſted of his Bounty, ſeriouſly began to conſider, how he ſhould ſtill ſupport himſelf in ſome credible Reputation; and after he had run over ſeveral deſigning Thoughts, and built Caſtles in the Air, he at laſt fixed upon the common Hopes of getting a Place, or Employ, at *London*. To effect which, he preſently ſold the remaining Part of his Eſtate; and to *London* he came, to put in Practice the Scheme he had drawn, for Raiſing once again his Fortune. His firſt Application was, to be ſure, to one of the worthy Burgeſſes that ſerved for a Neighbouring Corporation, who by the Charms of Bribery, and by Vertue of his ſtrong Drink, had carried the Election *Nemine Contradicente*; him he acquainted with his Deſign, and deſired his kind Aſſiſtance, who preſently promiſed fair for Country Sake, tho' he was an *Iriſhman*; upon his Promiſe, every Morning he danced Attendance, at the Levee of my Dear Joy; and, when he walked, he kept cringing on his Larboard Quarter, not preſuming to go Cheek by Jowl with one of the Repreſentatives of the Nation; who had the ſame Buſineſs during the whole Seſſions of Parliament, that he had during the Term-time, two Motions a Day, to *Weſtminſter* and back again; but finding his Waiting, and the other's Promiſes, would ſignify the ſame Thing, and the Senator being gone to *Tunbridge*, where the Proverb was on his Side, he bethought himſelf what farther Methods were to be taken; and luckily finding, on a Coffee-houſe Table, a Paper intituled, *A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, by* John Houghton, *F. R. S.* Wherein he found, that he knew of ſeveral that wanted Men ſo or ſo qualified or recommended, and ſeveral that were ſo and ſo qualified and recommended, that wanted the Employments which others wanted to have officiated. At firſt View, he thought this Paper as a Pillar of Light to guide him in the Dark: But, upon examining the Inquiries after Places and Employs, and thoſe that wanted Agents, found they anſwered one another's Occaſions, and that there was not one Agent inquired after, but there was the ſame Place ſought for; ſo he deſpaired of Succeſs from that, ſeeing every one's Occation might be ſupplied.

Though his Sleep, or rather Slumbers, was unquiet and ſhort, occaſioned by the Concern that hagged his Thoughts about his future earthly Well-being, yet his Lying awake was more tormenting to him, as much as impending Want had then a more lively Impreſſion, than his drowſy Fancy could repreſent; ſo trying, as if it were to avoid himſelf, he aroſe, ſlighting beauiſh Formality, ſoon dreſſed himſelf, and went to *Man*'s Coffee-houſe; where, though it was early in the Morning, he found talkative *Will*, a tall elderly Man, with his own Hair, diverting the Company, ſometimes in *Engliſh*, ſometimes in *French*; in both Languages he told Stories as improbable to be true as all D. *O*'s Narrative. He took upon him the Statesman, and told the Company he knew of Funds that would have raiſed Money enough to defray the Charge of the War, without being any Preſſure to the Subject: He blamed all that he was pleaſed to think Miſmanagement in the Concerns of the Nation; and then gravely told them, how all might have been prevented, which every Blockhead can do, after the Act is paſt; and, for the Future how he would have Things managed; but Mercy upon us, if Affairs were to be ordered by his Managery (looking upon his Conduct) it may reaſonably be believed, they would have been ten Times worſe directed. After he had railed at ſeveral particular Perſons, whoſe Names he did not tell (but deſcribed them plainer than I do him) he grumbled at the Bounty beſtowed upon Favourites; but I ſuppoſe his Couſin *Harry*'s Humour then poſſeſſed him, who always rails when he is poor; but whilſt a *Bounty* is in his Pocket (which never wears it out) he is as much for Praiſing, as when pennileſs in Railing and Reflecting. If Variety be pleaſing, ſure Mr. *William*'s Diſcourſe was diverting; for he run over Stories (as much as the Time would allow) of Men and Women, of all Qualities, all Sorts of Countries, Governments, Languages, Horſes, Dogs, Cocks, Wine, Snuff, *&c.* as poſitively as if he had been an Eye or Ear-Witneſs, had travelled them all over, been a Privy-Counſellor in every one of them; a Profeſſor of Languages, owned, or laid Wagers, drank, taſted, or ſnuffed of every Sort: But at laſt took Opportunity (tho' no Occaſion offered) to tell how nigh he was related to, and how he was beloved and reſpected by a *Dutch Engliſh* Nobleman; which at laſt ſtartled my Inquirer from the Confuſion the Medley of his Diſcourſe had put him into, and brought into his Thought, that this Gentleman's Intereſt might do him a Kindneſs.

His

His approaching Neceſſity having made him confident beyond his natural Temper, he preſently enquired the Gentleman's Name and Lodging, and that Day waited upon him, and, in ſhort, deſired his Favour towards helping him to an Employ fit for a Gentleman, and, at the ſame Time, promiſed to be grateful; Mr. *William*, who never wants complimental Civility, told him, that he would aſſiſt him in what lay in his Power, and mentioned to him ſeveral Places that he might endeavour to get; but, knowing none then vacant, he deſired he would meet him on the Morrow, when he would bring a Man (meaning his Couſin *Harry*) whom the Cobweb Laws cannot confine (though in cloſe Confinement) who knew of forty to be diſpoſed of. The next Day, according to Appointment, they all met, and *Harry* cajoled my Enquirer, and fitted his Humour to a T——; indeed, he muſt be of a very ſtingy Temper whom he cannot pleaſe, for he is really a very ſenſible Gentleman. My Enquirer's Deſires were made known to him; and *Harry*, who never parts with a Man but he leaves him a plauſible Proſpect of effecting his Deſigns, laid down ſuch Aſſurances upon Promiſes made in his Favour, that my Gentleman began to believe at ſuch a Day he might enter into Pay or Salary; but, before he parted, *Harry* had nicely examined, though at a Diſtance, how his Stock was, either to bribe or purchaſe, and, in a Day or two, was to give my Enquirer a poſitive Anſwer; but I had almoſt forgot to tell you, that, juſt at Parting, *Harry* bore up to him, and told him, that, though he would ſerve a Gentleman *gratis* with his Labour, yet there would be Expences; to defray which, he expected he ſhould bring him ten Guineas the next Morning. My Enquirer, buoyed up with Hopes, came the next Morning with ready Rhino in his Pocket, had immediately Admittance into a Room ſpread with old Carpets, that the Man at the *Three Roſes* had refuſed to ſtitch Cards on. Preſently honeſt *Harry*, who, like the hungry *Jew*, watched the falling Manna, came in, and accoſted him with, Sir, I have done your Buſineſs, for I was with my Lord laſt Night, and, to ſerve you, ſpent my own Intereſt, ſo effectually, that I had his Promiſe on your Behalf: Upon theſe Words the Manna dropped into his Hand, which *Harry* never kept till the following Day, for Fear it ſhould turn ſowre: My Enquirer's moving Hand having reached Ten, at which Number *Harry*'s Alarm ſtood, it immediately rung a Peal in Diviſion about Places, for half an Hour together, That he that wrote the Preſent State of *England*, in the Year 1694, was a Block-head, compared to him; for he has not mentioned a Quarter of the Places and Employs that *Harry* named to my Enquirer, and gave him the Choice of any of them: He, that put an Advertiſement for the Sale of Horſes, cannot in a Month's Time name ſo many Horſes to be ſold, as he pretended to know Employs: My Enquirer, amongſt the many Texts this Parſon quoted, pitched upon two or three which ſerved to his Liking; and, when Mr. *Harry* had done Talking, he told him, ſuch or ſuch would ſuit his Education, and agreed with his Humour. Oh, ſays *Harry*, thoſe are not as yet vacant, but they will be, perhaps, before the Parliament riſes; for they are reſolved to ſuffer very few Members of the Houſe be in Employs, wherein any Branch of the Revenue is to be managed; and, ſince it is certain ſome will part with their Places rather than be turned out of the Houſe, your Study muſt be how to get into one of thoſe they abdicate; to effect which, you muſt try to ingratiate yourſelf with a S—— of S——, with three of the L—— of the T——, at leaſt: And the thoughtful Gentleman, who, by much Labour of his Brain, hammers out Things in a great Perfection, to be known and well-recommended to the P—— C——; for ſome Employs muſt be granted in C——: Now, the fitteſt Man upon Earth, to be your Sollicitor there, is *W. F.* who, though he is foundered in his Feet, has a natural Aſſurance to tell a Story plauſibly to any Nobleman, though it is ſeldom minded; he is old Dog with the Ladies and Boys, and their conſtant Sollicitor: Beſides, he may be, from his own Intereſt, very ſerviceable to you; for I know, the other Day, he helped a Footman to a Place, and took but Half a Crown for his Labour.

It will alſo be requiſite for you to learn Decimals and Gauging, and make Application to the C—— of E——; or to the L—— of the A——: Or to the C—— of the C——. But you muſt not neglect making Application to ſeveral particular Perſons, who always ſeem in an Hurry, as if they had the whole Concerns of the Nation to manage: Amongſt which there is honeſt *Tony*, who ſeldom gives the

the C—— of P——, and E——, much Trouble to draw up a Report; *A. R. is not duly elected.* I muſt beg Pardon when I ſay, it is hard, that ſo underſtanding a Gentleman, one that knows how to take all Advantages, ſhould not be in the Houſe, no Man being fitter to caution againſt Deceits than the——He has been ſerviceable to the Nation by the Project of Packing of Hay; by the Manage of which, Horſes eat leſs than uſual, and their Bellies were taken up, without Belly-cloaths, the Smell did their Buſineſs; yet *Tony* had but 3 *l.* a Load for what coſt him 25 *s.*

His Principles may be gueſſed by his Practice, and he has declared his Sentiments, how People, that would thrive, ſhould manage themſelves; and deſigns, if he may be believed, to inſtil the ſame Principles into his Children; for he told an honeſt Gentleman, that, if he had a Son, he would adviſe him to flatter and diſſemble with all Mankind, never to ſpeak Truth but when it was for his Advantage: With this worthy Gentleman it will be neceſſary to be acquainted, if you have Money to purchaſe an Employ under the M—— of the H——; for every one of them, that were in his Reach, he has either ſold, or been a Broker in the Matter: You need make no Intereſt to him by Interceſſion of Friends; for he has no Reſpect to Perſons, Principles or Qualities; but, like a late deceaſed Knight, whoſe Wit (by Miſtake ſo called) lay in bold Examinations of Scripture-paſſages, buffoonly ridiculing what was beyond his ſhallow Capacity to underſtand, has Regard only to the Money, let it come from *Williamite*, *Jacobite*, or Devil: Beſides him, there is another you ſhould be acquainted with, that is a blinking Fellow, a mere Pretender to the Law, who could ſcarce read (allowing Breviations) at the *Exchequer* Bar: He, by his Pretenſions, one would think had the Diſpoſal of forty conſiderable Places; indeed, he has moſt of the Gentry at his Beck, though it is a Shame to ſee how poor-ſpirited ſome of them are, to cringe and creep to him, whom moſt Men avoid; though there is a broad Mixture in this Man of Knave and Fool, yet he ſo manages, by Tricks and Lyes, a certain Perſon, in whoſe Power it is to make you one extraordinary, that a Trial ought to be made of his Intereſt: And ſure, by ſome of theſe, with my Aſſiſtance (which you ſhall never want) a Man of your Birth, Education, and Ingenuity, cannot miſs of ſome Employ or other. Now, Sir, I have told you what is to be done, uſe your Endeavour; and, when you have fixed upon your Particular, come again to me, and I (as Mr. *Houghton* ſays) can help. My Enquirer, with his Head full of this Counſel, takes Leave, reſolving to meditate on it, and put it in Practice; but, going down Stairs, he ſaw a written Paper which *Harry*'s Servant had dropped; and, being curious, took it up, and put it in his Pocket to read at Leiſure; the firſt Opportunity he had, he opened the Paper, and found as follows: 'Anſwers, 'Excuſes, and Obſervations, to be got by 'Heart, and uſed, as Occaſion offers, by my 'Servant *Robin*.

'If a Man knocks hard early in a Morn-'ing, with a Cane in his Hand, believe him 'to be a Creditor, and the firſt Time anſwer 'him, that I am not well, and you dare not 'diſturb me; to countenance which, be ſure, 'two or three Days in a Month, tie a Rag 'upon the Knocker of the Door. The ſecond 'Time, I was ſent for about earneſt Buſineſs, 'to any buſy Nobleman you firſt think of. 'Afterwards ſay for me as you would have 'others ſay for you to whom you owe Money; 'but be ſure you be not catched in a *Lye*, for 'People are too apt to believe that Courtiers 'Servants lye, though they ſpeak Truth, if 'their Deſires be not complied with. If it be 'one that wears a Sword, it is ten to one but 'it is either ſome Body I am in Combination 'withal to cheat another, or that he himſelf 'is to be cheated; him preſently admit, for 'from ſuch, Corn comes to the Mill. If it 'be one whoſe Company I have ſhunned, ſend 'him to ſome Tavern or Coffee-houſe out of 'the Verge of the Court, where, to be ſure, I 'never go but on a *Sunday*.'

Some Part of the Paper had been torn off, but one may be certain, he had learned the whole Leſſon by the Variety of Shams and Excuſes he had conſtantly ready. Bleſs me! How was my Enquirer ſurpriſed at the Reading it? And began to conceive that he was fallen into the Hands of a tongue padding cheating Courtier; but, finding his Counſel, in ſome Meaſure, ought to be followed, he was reſolved to make Applications as he was directed. In a ſhort Time, by Friends or Money, he was little or much recommended to almoſt all Fortune's Darlings, that had the Diſpoſal of any Employs; one or other of them he was almoſt continually wait-

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ing on with the Recommendation of my Lord such an one, Sir such an one, or honeſt Mr. such an one; and every one to whom he was recommended, like true Courtiers, ſpoke him fair: One promiſed the next Thing that fell; another promiſed to take Care of him; a third, out of Kindneſs, would have him qualify himſelf, that, upon any Opportunity, he might jump in; a fourth took Money in Part; and, a fifth invited him to Dinner, which Gentleman, it muſt be ſaid of him, did him more Kindneſs than all the reſt; for, after he had waited Half a Year, he found their Promiſes to be only Air; for, when the firſt had Power, by a Vacancy, to be ſure he ſaid, He was pre-engaged. The ſecond's Care was to avoid him. The third Gentleman would not give him Opportunity to jump, continually ſelling Reverſions. The fourth did his Buſineſs but in Part, for he could never get all his Money again. Thus ſhuffled off from one to another, by fair Words and Promiſes, he ſpent a great Deal of Time, and all his Money, to no Purpoſe; meeting with ſo many Diſappointments, and really wanting Neceſſaries, and reflecting on the Uſage he had met withal, and dreading the Poverty he ſaw approaching, he had fallen into Deſpair, but that he had ſtill the Happineſs to carry in his Mind the Thoughts of Futurity, from which he reſolved as much as poſſible to be content; and, to ſtrengthen him in his Acquaintance and Reſignation to a ſupreme Will, he often went to Church; but, one Day going into St. *Martin's*, though early, the ſurly Clark refuſed him Admittance into a Pew, which ſo mightily concerned him, that he went to his Lodging, and, whilſt the Thought continued, he wrote the following Verſes:

To what Extremities am I driven,
When Pariſh-Clarks bar my Converſe with Heav'n,
As much as in the ſurly Raſcals lie?
Who, by the Face, the Pocket do deſcry,
And, *Sine Pence*, Admittance they deny!
Theſe under-graduate *Peters* of the Church
Would ſell to *Simon* the heavenly Gift,
If to their Avarice and Humour left;
Perhaps, the Men did my Misfortunes know,
Afraid to truſt me, who ſo much did owe;
Deny'd Admittance, leſt that I ſhould pray
Bleſſings, for which they thought I'd never pay.

Having long racked his Brains, and ſpent his Money and Time in Vain, his peery Landlord, by a Writ, ſecured him a ſafe Place in the *Marſhalſea*, *durante Vita*, unleſs a compaſſionate Parliament releaſe him by an Act of Grace.

Fed up with Hope by ſuch, his Money's ſpent,
But has no greater *Proſpect*, than if lent,
To needy Noblemen, of its Return,
Who ſeldom pay a Debt, but to the Urn.
Place Brokers to Enquirers ſtill ſpeak fair,
Blow up a bubble Globe, which turns to Air;
Like Lottery-Projectors, draw a Scheme,
How Thouſands may be got,
If, if they draw the Lot;
But hit, or miſs, there's Profit ſtill to them.

A View of the Court of *St. Germain*, from the Year 1690 to 95. With an Account of the Entertainment Proteſtants meet with there. Directed to the *Malecontent Proteſtants* of *England*. *London*, printed for *R. Baldwin*, near *Oxford-Arms-Inn*, in *Warwick-Lane*, 1696. *Quarto*, containing thirty Pages.

The PREFACE.

THE Ages to come will hardly believe, that, in England, *there ſhould be found one ſingle* Proteſtant Jacobite, *at this Time of Day: And the Reformed Nations Abroad are at a Loſs what to make of that unaccountable Species of Men.*

When moſt of the Roman Catholick *Princes have heartily embraced the late Revolution in* Britain, *as the laſt Effort for the common Liberty of* Europe, *and have entered into the ſtricteſt Alliance, with thoſe of an oppoſite Religion, to ſupport it: It looks like a Dream, to meet with any* Engliſh *Proteſtant in an Intereſt contradictory to, not only the Publick Liberty of their Country, but to the Religion they profeſs.*

It was indeed no great Wonder, that the late King made all the Steps poſſible towards the Change of the Religion, in his Opinion, Heretical; at a Time, when he was upon the Throne, and backed with all the promiſing Supports of Regal Power, yet even then he thought himſelf obliged to keep ſome Meaſures with his Proteſtant Subjects, and, inſtead of a total Rupture with them, endeavoured to lull them a ſleep, under the ſpecious Pretence of Liberty of Conſcience, till all his Engines were ready to give the fatal Blow.

But now, that he has fallen under Circumſtances, which one would think ſhould much more than ever oblige him to aſſume a new, at leaſt keep on the old Mask: Upon the quite contrary, ſince he went to France, *he has taken all Pains imaginable to let the World know his inveterate Averſion to all thoſe of the Reformed Religion, though never ſo much his Friends; and, at the ſame Time, has given us the moſt authentick Demonſtration of his firm Deſign, never to allow any there of his Favour, nor owe his Reſtoration to any but* Roman Catholicks. *All which will appear by the following Account of his Carriage towards thoſe few Proteſtants, that have followed his ſinking Fortunes, the Length of* St. Germains.

THERE being already ſo many Volumes to ſhew the Lawfulneſs of the late Revolution, it is ſuperfluous, it ſeems, to make any further Attempt on the ſame Subject; for, if you have ſhut your Eyes againſt the ſtrong Arguments and convincing Proofs made Uſe of in thoſe Books, Who can flatter himſelf to cure you of that wilful Blindneſs? However, I hope, this plain Account, I make bold to direct to you, will not prove altogether uſeleſs; for, when I conſider your Party, I think I may reaſonably believe that it is made up of ſome good and honeſt Men, though miſguided by a tender Conſcience, and of ſome ſelf-intereſted Perſons, who, being not able to obtain the Preferments they expected, have turned *Jacobites*, in Hopes to advance their Fortune by a ſecond Revolution. But, give me Leave to tell you further, that, after an impartial Enquiry into the Life and Converſation of your Party, I have all the Reaſon in the World to conclude, that the Number of the conſcientious *Jacobites*, I have ſpoken of, muſt be very little, and that the greateſt Number amongſt you are hurried away by the imaginary Hopes I have hinted at; therefore, if I can convince you, that you have no Reaſon to flatter yourſelves, to obtain any Reward or Preferments under King *James*, no, not when he ſhould be reſtored by your Means, I hope ſome of you will open your Eyes to your own Intereſt, and forſake a Prince, from whom you cannot expect any grateful Return.

I will not recall to your Minds his Behaviour, while he was on the Throne of *England*; I ſuppoſe no Body has forgot, that no Proteſtants were welcome to him, but ſuch as would promiſe to betray the Liberties of their Country to Popery, and arbitrary Power; neither ſhall I mention how ſeverely he uſed the Proteſtants of *Ireland* in 1689; you would be apt to ſay, that, being in Popiſh Hands, he could not avoid it; but I intend only to give you a ſhort

View

View of his Court at *St. Germain*, and an Account of the Entertainment the Proteſtants of your Party have met there: For, if a Prince in his Circumſtances, whoſe Intereſt it ought to be to court Proteſtants, cannot conceal, for a Time, the Hatred he has for them, What Treatment can you expect from him, when he is re-inthroned, and ſupported by the Power of *France*?

King *James*, retiring into *France* after his Defeat at the *Boyne*, left the Adminiſtration of his Affairs in *Ireland* to my Lord *Tyrconnel*; and in *Scotland*, to the Colonels *Buchan* and *Cannon*; and, the *French* King having appointed *St. Germain* in *Laye*, for his Reception, he there began to form a Court in the Year 1690, and his Houſhold was conſtituted as follows:

The Duke of *Powis*, Lord Chamberlain.
Col. *Porter*, Vice-Chamberlain.
Col. *Skelton*, Comptroller.
The Earls of *Dumbarton* and *Abercorne*, Lords of the Bed-chamber.
Captains *Macdonald*, *Beadle*, *Stafford*, and *Trevanian*, Grooms of the Bed-chamber.
The two *Sheldons*, Eſquires.
Fergus Graham, Privy-Purſe.
Sir *John Sparrow*, Board of Green-Cloth; and Mr. *Strickland*, Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen.

The Officers of State were as follow:

Mr. *Brown* (Brother to my Lord *Montague Brown*, and ſometime Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms) Secretary of State for *England*.
Father *Innes*, Preſident of the *Scots* College at *Paris*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*.
Sir *Richard Neagle*, Secretary of State for *Ireland*.

To theſe were added, as a Junćto, Mr. *Carril*, the Queen's Secretary; and Mr. *Stafford*, formerly Envoy at the Court of *Spain*, whom the King called together as a Privy-Council, to adviſe with upon all Emergencies: The Earl of *Melford*, Prime Miniſter of State, being ſent to *Rome* ſometime before, partly to negotiate King *James*'s Affairs at the Pope's Court, and partly to remove him from the Jealouſies of the *Iriſh*, who, at that Time, wholly monopoliſed this Prince's Ear and Favour.

Thus Things continued for a While, but, *Ireland* being reduced ſome Time after, and the *Scottiſh* Highlanders ſubmitting, the Court of *St. Germain* was every Day thronged with Gentlemen from thoſe Kingdoms, as well as from *England*; and then a Proteſtant Party began to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and endeavour to make an Appearance at that Court.

The firſt conſiderable Step they made, was to deſire a Chapel from King *James*, for the Exerciſe of their Worſhip according to the Church of *England*, and propoſed Dr. *Granville*, Brother to the Earl of *Bath*, formerly Dean of *Durham*, as a fit Perſon to be their Chaplain; they urged the great Encouragement ſuch a Toleration would give to his Adherents in *England*, and what Satisfaction it would be to ſuch Proteſtants as followed him; but though common Policy, and his Circumſtances, made every body believe that this Requeſt would be eaſily granted, yet it was poſitively denied, and Dr. *Granvile* obliged not only to retire from Court, but alſo from the Town of *St. Germain*, to avoid the daily Inſults of the Prieſts, and the dreaded Conſequences of the Jealouſies with which they poſſeſſed King *James*'s Court againſt him. Dr. *Gordon*, a Biſhop of *Scotland*, the only Proteſtant Divine that then was there, met with a worſe Treatment ſtill than Dr. *Granvile*, and was reduced to the Neceſſity of abjuring his Religion for Want of Bread, with which he could not be ſupplied, but upon thoſe hard Terms. However, King *James*, being ſenſible that ſuch an Uſage would prejudice his Intereſt in *Britain*, reſolved to prevent the Coming of any Proteſtant Divine there, and therefore ſent Mr. *Macqueen* in Company of Major *Scot* into *England*, who brought Letters from him to his Friends, in which he required them to trouble him no more with Divines, as Meſſengers.

This bad Succeſs did not altogether diſcourage the Proteſtant Party; they made a ſecond Effort upon the Conſtitution of the before-mentioned Council of Five, to have one of the Number, at leaſt, a Proteſtant: They inſiſted upon the Advantages which might thence redound to his Majeſty's Affairs in *Britain*, and for that End did earneſtly recommend my Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, as a Perſon both well qualified to give Advice in *Engliſh* Affairs, and of an unſpotted Reputation in his Country. Thoſe Reaſons were ſo convincing,

convincing, that, the *Iriſh* fearing they would obtain their Demand, an Information was trumped up againſt the Chief Juſtice by Mr. Comptroller *Skelton*, and Sir *William Sharp*, of having ſaid, That King *James*'s violent Temper would ruin himſelf and all that followed him. My Lord owned the Words, but made ſo ingenuous an Explanation of his Meaning, which was in relation to the Act of Settlement in *Ireland*, that King *James* was ſatisfied. The *Iriſh*, having miſſed their Aim, formed a ſhort Time after another Plot againſt him, and charged him with Correſponding with the *Engliſh*, and Miſ-repreſenting the Tranſactions of that Court; whereupon he and a worthy Lady, with whom he boarded, were confined, and *Broomfield*, the Quaker, committed to the *Baſtile*. And thus was this Lord Chief Juſtice, for no other Reaſon but his Adhering to a Proteſtant Intereſt, excluded from all Share of Management of Affairs in King *James*'s Court, though his Capacity and Sufferings were ſufficient, in the Eyes of all reaſonable Men, to have intitled him to a Share in that Prince's Favour and Secret. If my Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert* was ſo uſed, I would fain know upon what Ground any of our *Jacobites* ſhould flatter himſelf with a better Treatment.

Mr. *Cockburn* of *Lanton*, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was the next Proteſtant that had Merit and Favour enough to pretend to a Share in the Management of King *James*'s Affairs. This Gentleman, having followed him in *Ireland*, was taken at Sea, after the Battle of the *Boyne*, and brought Priſoner to *London*; but, a Propoſal being made of Exchanging him for Captain *St. Lo*, then Priſoner in *France*, he was enlarged; and, during his Abode here, did ſo ingratiate himſelf with the moſt conſiderable of the diſaffected Proteſtants, that he was recommended by them to King *James*, as a Perſon fit to ſerve him in the Affairs of greateſt Truſt. He was no ſooner arrived at *St. Germain*, than he told that Prince, his Friends in *England* thought that my Lord *Melford*, who was then returned from *Rome*, was a great Grievance, and ought to be laid aſide; and that the only Way for the King to procure the good Opinion of his Subjects in *Britain*, and reconcile them to him, was to put the Management of his Affairs in Proteſtant Hands. This prudent Advice of the diſaffected Proteſtants of *England*, or of Mr. *Cockburn*, had an Effect quite contrary to what they expected; King *James* took it ſo ill, that, in few Days after, an Order was procured from the *French* Court, commanding him to depart *France* under ſevere Penalties, being too much a Friend to the *Engliſh* Intereſt: Mr. *Cockburn* was forced to obey, and has lived as an Exile in *Holland* and *Hamburgh* ever ſince.

But the Submiſſion of the *Scotch* Highlanders affords us ſtill more convincing Proofs of King *James*'s Hatred for the Proteſtant Religion, and of his Ingratitude towards ſuch who had made a Sacrifice of all that can be dear to Men, to ſupport his ſinking Fortune in *Scotland*. The Lords *Dumferling*, *Dundee*, *Dunkel*, Colonels *Cannon*, *Graham*, and ſeveral others Proteſtants, having forfeited their Eſtates and Families, retired into *France*, as alſo did the Colonels *Buchan*, *Maxwell*, *Wauchop*, and ſome other Popiſh Gentlemen; but, when they came to *St. Germain*, the Papiſts were immediately preferred to conſiderable Poſts, both in the *French* and *Iriſh* Armies, while the Proteſtants, though their Merit was greater, were expoſed to all imaginable Hardſhip, and Contempts: My Lord *Dumferling* and Col. *Cannon* are too illuſtrious Examples of King *James*'s Ingratitude, to be here paſſed by. The Earl, through a miſtaken Notion of Loyalty and Honour, had ſacrificed his honourable Family, and a plentiful Eſtate, to follow that Prince in his Misfortune; and, it muſt be granted, that ſuch a Proof of Loyalty deſerved ſome kind Returns; yet, happening to quarrel at *St. Germain* with one Capt. *Brown*, a Papiſt, about a Trifle, the Captain was encouraged and countenanced in his Quarrel by the Court, and made Commander of a Company of *Scots*, Reformed Officers in *Catalonia*, whilſt this noble Lord was deſpiſed, for his Adhering to his Religion: This ill Treatment broke his Heart, and he ſunk under the Weight of his hard Fate, at *St. Germain*. His Misfortune laſted longer than his Life, for, notwithſtanding his Merits, Sufferings, and the Intereſt made by his Friends, he could not obtain a Chriſtian Burial; and his Corpſe was hid in a Chamber, till an Opportunity was found of digging a Hole in the Fields, in the Night, where they thruſt him in.

Nor was Col. *Cannon* better uſed than my Lord *Dumferling*: This Gentleman commanded as General over King *James*'s Army in *Scotland*, and ſerved him with ſo much Faithfulneſs,

fulneſs, that every Body thought he would be preferred to a great Command, upon his Arrival at *St. Germain*; but he, poſitively refuſing to abandon the little Religion he had, which was Proteſtant, was reduced to the ſcandalous Allowance of Half a Crown a Day, whilſt Papiſts, who had ſerved under him, were advanced to good Poſts. This unhappy Gentleman, finding himſelf thus neglected, fell ſick through Grief, and Want, and died; having taken the Sacrament from the Hands of Dr. *Granvile*, three Days before his Death; but the Prieſt, who was always buzzing about him, took the Opportunity of his being ſpeechleſs, to thruſt a Wafer down his Throat, and gave out, That he was dead a Papiſt, and, by this Means, got him the Favour of Burial, which his Corpſe had elſe been excluded from, as well as my Lord *Dumferling*'s. If the Sufferings, and great Merits of theſe two Gentlemen, have not been able to mollify King *James*'s Heart, and to obtain from him any generous Returns, I would fain know upon what Foundation are grounded the great Hopes of our Grumblers, ſeeing the moſt Part of them have not had Courage enough to follow that Prince, and have, for aught we ſee, no other Qualifications to recommend them, but their bare *Jacobitiſm*.

However, if the Examples, I have already expoſed to your View, are not ſufficient to convince you, that as long as you are Proteſtants, and *Engliſhmen*, you are to expect no Share in King *James*'s Favour: I will produce ſome others, which I am ſure will open your Eyes, unleſs you are bound by an Oath to continue always blind, and I will begin with Sir *James Mountgomery*.

This Gentleman left no Stone unturned to re-eſtabliſh King *James* in *Scotland*, by the ſame Parliament, that declared him to have forfeited his Right: He was afterwards, for ſeveral Years, his moſt active Miniſter in *England*, penned and publiſhed Declarations for him, at the Time of his deſigned Deſcent from *La Hogue*, and, after the Miſcarriage of that, wrote his *Britain's juſt Complaints*; was his weekly News-ſender, and Project-drawer: Yet, this very Sir *James Mountgomery*, who had done ſuch great Things, and run ſuch great Hazards for him, being obliged to fly to *France*, after making his Eſcape from the Meſſenger's Houſe, could not obtain, by Reaſon of his being a Proteſtant, any Share in that Prince's Favour; was brow-beaten from the Court by Prieſts, daily upbraided with having been once in the Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſt, and at laſt obliged to retire to *Paris*, where he died with the melancholy Reflexions of the miſerable State he brought himſelf into.

The Earl of *Lauderdale*, though a Papiſt, met with no better Fate than Sir *James*: His Lady being a Proteſtant, and he an Enemy to the violent Meaſures of the Court, was judged to be a ſufficient Reaſon to exclude him from any Share in the Government; ſo natural it is for all Bigots to hate every Body that will not go to their Heighth of Violence. This Gentleman heartily adviſed King *James* to put his Affairs into Proteſtant Hands, and recommended the Earl of *Cl——n*, and the Non-juring Biſhops in *England*, and the Lord *Home*, *Southerk*, and *Sinclair* in *Scotland*, as the fitteſt Perſons to ſerve him; but his Advice was ſo ill taken, that he had his Lady ſent to *England*, not to return any more; was himſelf forbid the Court, and reduced to a Penſion of one-hundred Piſtoles *per Annum*: He retired to *Paris*, and, ſeeing no Probability of his Maſter's Changing his Meaſures, died of Grief. One would have thought that his Brother, Mr. *Alexander Maitland*, who, on ſeveral Occaſions, had behaved himſelf very bravely in that Prince's Service, ſhould have been preferred by him, yet he met with ſuch an Entertainment, that, wanting Bread there, he was very glad to come to *England*, and make his Peace with the Government, whoſe Service he had deſerted, having once had a Command in the *Scots* Guards, under King *William*.

Sir *Andrew Forreſter* is another great Inſtance of King *James*'s Averſion to Proteſtants: This Gentleman ſerved, with all imaginable Zeal, that Prince's Intereſts, when a Subjects and was the devoted Creature of his moſt arbitrary Commands, when a King; he ſuffered Impriſonment in the *Tower* for him, at the Time of his deſigned Deſcent; and yet, notwithſtanding all this, and the great Experience he had in *Scottiſh* Affairs, he could never obtain any Share in that Prince's Confidence; When he came to *St. Germain*, all his Merits, Sufferings, and the good Character he had in both Kingdoms, were not enough to counter-balance the Objection of being a Proteſtant, and therefore by no Means to be intruſted; ſo that, after

after ſome Time's Attendance, as a Cypher, he was rewarded with a Paſs to return to *England*, for they had there no Occaſion for him.

Sir *Theophilus Oglethorpe*, who, by his Capacity as well as Services, was encouraged to go over, and offer his Aſſiſtance, met with Sir *Andrew Forreſter*'s Fate, upon Account of his Religion; and was ſo unkindly uſed, that he was very glad to get Home to old *England* again, where, it is expected, he will plot no more.

Mr. *Fergus Graham* was the only Proteſtant Gentleman in King *James*'s Family, but, as ſoon as they ſaw that my Lord *Preſton*, and Col. *Graham*, his Brothers, who ventured ſo much for that Prince, could do them no more Service in *England*, he was diſcharged for no other Reaſon, but that they thought a Proteſtant a Blemiſh in their Houſhold.

Nor was Sir *William Sharp* better uſed, although he pretended to come over upon the Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, to ſave his Eſtate, for the Entertainment he had at St. *Germain*, before he came away, is very well known. The Penſion he had, whilſt King *James*'s Army in *Scotland* kept up, was taken from him, and he fell under Diſtruſts, with *Melford* and *Innes*, and Contempt at Court; which will appear, to all reaſonable Men, a ſufficient Motive for his Coming away.

But the Uſage of Dr. *Cockburn*, a *Scottiſh* Divine, is beyond any Thing that can be imagined. This Gentleman was baniſhed *Scotland* for his Practices againſt the Government, and afterwards being obliged to leave *England*, for Writing of Pamphlets, thought himſelf ſecure of a Sanctuary at St. *Germain*, if not, of a Reward for his Services; but inſtead of that he met with the daily Importunities of Prieſts, to make him abandon his Religion; and, their Endeavours proving vain, they then repreſented him as a dangerous Perſon, and got him ſent from *France*. He lives now an Exile in *Holland*, both from *Britain* and *France*.

Mrs. *Aſhton*, Widow to Mr. *Aſhton*, who was executed for his being concerned, in my Lord *Preſton*'s Affairs, went to the Court of St. *Germain*, after her Huſband's Death, as thinking, that ſhe had ſome Merit to plead for a kind Reception; but ſhe was as much deceived as any of thoſe, I have already mentioned. Few Days after her Arrival, Prieſts were ſent to tell her, That Nothing, but being a *Roman Catholick*, could recommend a Woman to the Queen's Service, which the poor Gentlewoman declining to comply with, was neglected; and, dying ſoon after, was refuſed Burial, till her Father, Mr. *Rigby* of *Covent Garden*, as a mighty Favour, and at great Charges, obtained Leave from the Court of St. *Germain*, to have her Body brought over into *England*; and buried her in *Covent Garden* Church.

If theſe Examples are not ſufficient to convince our *Jacobites*, or if they queſtion the Truth of them; for really I muſt own, That they are almoſt incredible; I deſire them, to conſult the young Lord *Hamnore*, Mr. *Louthian*, Captains *Murray*, *Dalyel*, *Macgil*, *Maclean*, *Fielding*, Mr. *Charles Kinnaird*, and ſeveral Hundreds more, now in and about *London*, who are lately come from St. *Germain*; and they will tell you, That the only Reaſon, why they left that Court, was, becauſe they could not have Bread, except they would change their Religion; and therefore did chuſe rather to run the Hazard of Impriſonment, by Returning to *England*, than ſtay and ſtarve in *France*.

Many Inſtances more might be given, to ſhew King *James*'s Hatred to every Thing, that bears the Name of Proteſtant; but, if what has already been ſaid, is not ſufficient, ſure I am, That the reſt ſhould be to no Purpoſe: What Proteſtant has he ever ſo much as ſeemed to truſt, ſince he lived in *France*? I know that my Lord *Middleton* muſt be excepted, for, indeed, King *James* has a ſeeming Truſt in him. There is no Man, that has been at St. *Germain*, but muſt needs perceive, That he is not chief Miniſter, as *Melford* was, nor manages Affairs betwixt *Verſailles* and St. *Germain*, that being done by *Innes* and *Porter*: He is but ſeldom called to the Council, and the *French* Court has never depended upon his Correſpondence, ſince the Diſappointment they received, by our Fleet's Going into the *Streights*.

I hope, theſe Inſtances will convince all good Men, that have any Senſe of Liberty, Religion, and Honour, how unreaſonable it is to be a *Jacobite* and to think that the preſent Misfortunes of King *James*, will frighten him from Invading our Laws and Liberties in Time to come; ſeeing that neither the Abandoning of Wives, Children, and Eſtates, nor the Hazarding, nay, Loſs of Life in his Service, can render him juſt and favourable to ſuch Proteſtants, who have made a Sacrifice of all thoſe Things, to follow him: And, if it be ſo as certainly it is, What muſt thoſe Proteſtant Nations

Nations expect, if ever he re-obtains the Government, who have renounced him, and ſet another Prince upon his Throne?

If theſe, who have followed him into *France*, are denied the Exerciſe of their Religion, when his Circumſtances make it his Intereſt to grant it; What muſt we expect, if ever he be again in Poſſeſſion of the Crown?

My Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, and the other Gentlemen before-named, who firmly adhered to his Intereſts, even in his greateſt Misfortunes, were contemned, deſpiſed, and ſuffered to ſtarve, becauſe they were Proteſtants; How can we, or any Proteſtant *Jacobites*, who have none of thoſe Merits, pretend to be better uſed? If the Loſs of Honours and Eſtates has not been ſufficient to obtain from him Chriſtian Burial; Upon what Ground can our *Jacobites*, who have done Nothing for him, flatter themſelves with the Hopes of great Preferments, if he is re-inthroned? In ſhort, if the Example he had of his Father's Misfortunes, and his Brother's Exile, wherein he himſelf was a Sharer, together with the Senſe of his own Misfortunes, have not been able to work a Reformation upon him, as appears by the above-written Account; Can we expect, that he ever will be made more pliable?

The Education of his Prince of *Wales*, whom, no Body doubts, he deſigns his Succeſſor, is another Inſtance of his irreconcileable Antipathy to the Proteſtant Religion, and *Engliſh* Liberties: One would have thought that Intereſt, as well as Policy, would have made him educate his Child a Proteſtant; or, at leaſt, oblige him to put Proteſtants about him, of unqueſtioned Reputation, to inſtruct him, in the Ways of Pleaſing the People; but, inſtead of that, Dr. *Beeſon*, a famous and violent Papiſt, was made his Preceptor; and none but Popiſh Servants are allowed to be about him, ſo that he can imbibe Nothing, but what is for the Intereſt of *Rome*, and Deſtruction of *England*.

Can People be ſo mad, as to expect good Terms from a Prince, who not only thus treats his Proteſtant Subjects, who have followed him in his Misfortunes, but alſo whoſe Religion lays him under a Neceſſity of doing it? Could greater Obligations be laid upon any Prince, than were upon him, by the Church of *England*, when a Subject? Her Intereſt ſaved him from being proſecuted for the Popiſh Plot, excluded from the Succeſſion to the *Engliſh* Throne, and afterwards dethroned by the Duke of *Monmouth*; yet all thoſe Obligations were no more than his Coronation Oath, could not hinder him from Invading the Proteſtant Religion in General, but more particularly the Liberties of the Church of *England*.

But, perhaps, ſome will object againſt what I have ſaid, that, from the Entertainment Proteſtants meet with, at *St. Germain*, it is not reaſonable to conclude, That King *James* bears ſtill ſuch an Averſion to our Religion and Liberties: For, being himſelf but a Refugee in *France*, and having Nothing to live upon, but the Penſion, the *French* King allows him, it is not in his Power to reward thoſe Proteſtants who have followed him, even not to careſs them; and therefore, we ought rather to peruſe the Declarations, he has put out, ſince his being in *France*, for therein we ſhall find undeniable Proofs, that his Misfortunes have much altered his Mind. Read (will our *Jacobites* ſay) the Declaration he publiſhed upon his intended Deſcent from *La Hogue*, and obſerve what Promiſes he makes, both in Relation to our Religion, and our Liberties, the Sincerity whereof you have no Manner of Pretence to queſtion; for then, thinking himſelf ſure of his Game, Nothing could oblige him to diſguiſe the true Sentiments of his Heart.

This is ſomewhat indeed, Gentlemen, and, were the Thing as you ſay, I would agree with you; but give me Leave to tell you, that it is a great Queſtion, whether the Declaration you ſpeak of, which was printed here, did really contain King *James*'s Sentiments; but, whether it was his own Declaration, or Sir *James Mountgomery*'s, it does not matter a Pin; for his late Majeſty did publickly diſown it, in a Memorial to the Pope, upon his Return to *Paris*; and it has been acknowledged in a *Jacobite* Pamphlet, called, *An Anſwer to Dr.* Wellwood's *Anſwer to King* James's *Declaration*: That the ſame was formed without his Knowledge, and againſt his Inclination.

I have told you, in the Beginning of this Diſcourſe, that I believe, that there are among you ſome conſcientious Men, and to thoſe I ſhall ſay nothing at this Time, but to ſuch that are angry with the Government (as I know many amongſt you are) merely becauſe they cannot have any Employment under it, and who think, without any further Examination, to better their Condition by a ſecond Revolution: I will ſay, that they ought to conſider,

conſider, that King *James*'s Popiſh Friends muſt be all provided for firſt of all; and, pray, What will remain then for you? For, as to Penſions, I think you are not ſo mad as to flatter yourſelves with ſuch imaginary Hopes; for the *French* Army, that brings King *James* over, muſt be paid, and their vaſt Charges for the *Iriſh* War, and the Maintenance of King *James* re-imburſed, before your beloved Prince be in a Condition to expreſs his Favour to you. Perhaps, you will ſay, That the *French* King is too much a Gentleman to demand any ſuch Thing; but I do not know what has given you that noble Idea of his Generoſity: But, ſuppoſing his Temper to be ſuch, this War will ſo much drain his *Exchequer*, that Neceſſity will force him to demand what is juſtly owing to him, and Who ſhall be able to diſpute his Bill of Charges? Nay, Will King *James* be able to ſatisfy him? I do not know; but this I am ſure of, That, as long as you profeſs the Proteſtant Religion, you cannot expect to be more favourably treated, than his preſent Followers.

Some others amongſt you are diſaffected, becauſe, as they ſay, without the Reſtoration of King *James*, a Proteſtant War will be entailed on the Nation, and becauſe our Treaſure is exhauſted by Taxes, and our Blood expended beyond Sea, which the Nation cannot long bear.

To theſe Gentlemen I muſt anſwer, That they are much miſtaken; for the Bringing in of King *James*, which they think will put an End to theſe Troubles, would infallibly bring the Seat of War from *Flanders* into *England*: For it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that ſo many Noblemen and Gentlemen, as are engaged in King *William*'s Cauſe, would tamely ſubmit, or that his Majeſty, whoſe Intereſt in *Europe* is ſo very great, would either inglorioufly abandon his Throne, or want foreign Aſſiſtance to ſupport him in it.

2. King *James* and the *French* King are both old, and, upon a Change of a Governor in *France*, we may reaſonably expect a Change of Meaſures; for, as to the Prince of *Wales*, his Intereſt ſtands, or falls, with that of his ſuppoſed Father: But, after all, Is it reaſonable to believe, that the *French*, or any other Nation, will live in perpetual War with us, merely for the Sake of a Prince, who pretends to be deprived of his Rights? There are very few Knights-Errants in this Age, or, at leaſt, ſure I am, that no Nation in general is acted by their Principles; and we ſee the *French* offer already to forſake him.

3. I grant, that our Taxes are greater than ever our Nation paid; but yet they are not ſo heavy, but that we can hold it out many Years at this Rate. In ſhort, whatever they be, I believe there is no good Man, but will rather hazard his Perſon to keep the Enemy Abroad, than ſee a *French* and *Iriſh* Army in the Bowels of our own Country, deſtroying our Subſtance, burning our Habitations, and committing the Barbarities, which they committed in the *Palatinate*: For, certainly, by one Month's Ravage of this Nature, we ſhould loſe more Blood and Treaſure, than can, probably, be ſpent to bring the War to an honourable and happy Concluſion.

That happy Moment is not, perhaps, ſo far, as ſome People imagine; for whoſoever will caſt his Eyes on the preſent Poſture of Affairs in *Europe*, muſt needs conclude, that the *French* cannot hold it out much longer.

A full

A full and true Account * of a moſt dreadful and aſtoniſhing Fire which happened at *Whitehall*, and begun in Col. *Stanley*'s Lodgings, on *Tueſday* laſt, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, continuing with great Violence till about Nine o' Clock the next Morning, burning down and conſuming the King's Chapel, the Guard-Chamber, the Long-Gallery, *&c.* together with near 150 Houſes. An Account alſo how ſeveral Perſons were killed, with the Blowing up twenty Houſes, *&c.* Licenſed according to Order. *London*, Printed by *J. Bradford* in *Little Britain*, 1698. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

MANY and various have been the Relations concerning this dreadful and ſurpriſing Accident, ſome affirming it had its Beginning in one Place, and ſome in another, and yet all or moſt of them remote from Truth; therefore, for Satisfaction of all ſuch who deſire to be truly informed in thoſe unhappy and amazing Particulars, I have publiſhed this following Account, *viz.*

On *Tueſday* laſt, being the Fourth of this Inſtant *January* 1698, betwixt the Hours of three and four of the Clock in the Afternoon, a *Dutch* Woman who belonged to Col. *Stanley*'s Lodgings (which were near adjoining to the Earl of *Portland*'s Houſe at *Whitehall*) having ſudden Occaſion to dry ſome Linnen in an Upper-Room, (for Expedition Sake) lighted a good Quantity of Charcoal, and careleſly left the Linnen hanging round about it, which took Fire in her Abſence to ſuch a Degree, that it not only conſumed the Linnen, but had ſeized the Hangings, Wainſcots, Beds, and what not, and flamed and ſmoaked in ſuch a violent Manner, that it put all the Inhabitants thereabouts into Conſternation, as well as Confuſion, not knowing from whence it proceeded, inſomuch that the unhappy *Dutch* Woman could not return; ſo that in an Inſtant (as it were) the mercileſs and devouring Flames got ſuch Advantage, that, notwithſtanding the great Endeavours uſed by the Water-Engines, numerous Aſſiſtance, and Blowing up Houſes to the Number of about twenty, it ſtill increaſed with great Fury and Violence all Night, till about Eight of the Clock next Morning, at which Time it was extinguiſhed, after it had burnt down and conſumed (according to modeſt Computation) about 150 Houſes, moſt of which were the Lodgings and Habitations of the Chief of the Nobility.

Such was the Fury and Violence of this dreadful and diſmal Conflagration, that its Flames reduced to Aſhes all that ſtood in its Way, from the *Privy-Stairs* to the *Banqueting-Houſe*, and from the *Privy-Garden* to *Scotland-Yard* all on that Side, except the Earl of *Portland*'s Houſe, and the *Banqueting-Houſe*, which were preſerved, tho' much damnified and ſhattered; the Fire proceeded cloſe to the Gate by the Duke of *Ormond*'s Lodgings, before it could be extinguiſhed; the moſt remarkable Houſes, which were conſumed by theſe aſtoniſhing Flames, are the Guard-Chamber, Council-Chamber, Secretary's Office, the King's Chapel, the Long Gallery to the Gate, the Queen's Lodgings, Duke of *Devonſhire*'s, *&c.* but not the Earl of *Portland*'s, as has been impudently affirmed in a late ſcandalous and ridiculous Pamphlet. The Danger, done by this fiery Diſaſter, is at preſent unaccountable, conſidering the vaſt Riches that were contained a-

* *Vide* the 513th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

mong thoſe noble Families; therefore conſequently their Loſs muſt be very great, and might have been much greater, had not the Officers of the Guards taken Care to ſtop the numerous Crouds from preſſing forward into Houſes where Goods were removing.

It was confidently affirmed, that twenty or thirty Perſons were killed, but bleſſed be God, upon a ſtrict Enquiry, I cannot learn that above twelve Perſons periſhed, among whom were two Grenadiers, a Water-man, and a Painter; who endeavouring to reach out ſome Goods at a Window while the Houſe was on Fire, a Piece of Iron fell upon his Head and beat out his Brains; the like Fate had a Gardener, by the blowing up of a Houſe: Yet it is certain many more are dangerouſly wounded.

The *Banqueting-Houſe*, tho' not much injured by the Fire, except that Part next *Weſtminſter*, yet all Parts of that renowned and ancient Building are ſo much ſhattered and diſordered, that it little reſembles what it was the Day before; as are alſo moſt Houſes thereabouts, whoſe Inhabitants were under the Apprehenſion of Danger, particularly the Duke of *Ormond*'s at the Gate, which is not only cleared of all its rich Furniture, but of all Hangings whatſoever, that could poſſibly be got out, during the Fury of the Fire.

To conclude, it is a diſmal Sight to behold ſuch a glorious, famous, and much renowned Palace, reduced to a Heap of Rubbiſh and Aſhes, which the Day before might juſtly contend with any Palace in the World, for Riches, Nobility, Honour, and Grandeur.

God ſave King *William*.

Note, There is a ſcandalous, lying, and ridiculous Pamphlet publiſhed, which aſſerts, that the Earl of *Portland*'s and Duke of *Shrewſbury*'s Houſes are burnt; which is notoriouſly falſe, they being both ſtanding, having received no Damage by the Fire; with many other Impertinencies, which the Printer is aſhamed to ſet his Name to, or the Place where he lives, only a counterfeit one like his Pamphlet.

Seaſonable Advice * for Preventing the Miſchief of Fire, that may come by Negligence, Treaſon, or otherwiſe. Ordered to be printed by the Lord Mayor of *London*; and is thought very neceſſary to hang in every Man's Houſe, eſpecially in theſe dangerous Times. Invented by *William Goſling*, Engineer. Printed for *H. B.* at the *Caſtle* in *Cornhill*, 1643. In one Sheet, *Broadſide*.

How many ſeveral Ways, Houſes, Towns, and Cities, have been ſet on Fire.

SOME have been burnt by bad Hearths, Chimnies, Ovens, or by Pans of Fire ſet upon Boards; ſome by Clothes hanged againſt the Fire; ſome by leaving great Fires in Chimnies, where the Sparks or Sickles, breaking, fell, and fired the Boards, painted Cloaths, Wainſcots, Ruſhes, Matts, as Houſes were burnt in *Shoreditch*; ſome by Powder, or Shooting off Pieces; ſome by Tinder or Matches; ſome by ſetting Candles under Shelves; ſome by leaving Candles near their Beds; ſome by Snuffs of Candles, Tobacco-ſnuffs, burnt Papers, and ſome by Drunkards, as many Houſes were burnt in *Southwark*; ſome by warming Beds; ſome by looking under Beds with Candles; ſome by ſleeping at Work, leaving their Candles by them; ſo many have been burnt of ſeveral Trades; ſome by ſetting Candles near the Thatch of Houſes; ſome by Snuffs or Sparks fallen upon Gun-powder, or upon Matts, Ruſhes, Chips, Small-coal, and in Chinks; ſo *Wimbleton* was burnt: Some Towns were burnt by Malt-kilns; ſome by

* *Vide* the 239th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Candles in Stables; or by foul Chimnies; ſome by Candles amongſt Hemp, Flax, and Warehouſes; ſome by Candles falling out of their Candleſticks; ſome by ſticking their Candles upon Poſts; ſome by Links knocked at Shops, Stalls, Cellars, Windows, Warehouſes, Doors, and dangerous Places; ſome by carrying Fire from Place to Place, where the Wind hath blown about the Streets, as it did burn *St. Edmunds-Bury*; ſome by warm Sea-coal, Cinders put in Baſkets, or Wooden Things, as did burn *London-bridge*: And ſome have been burnt without either Fire or Candle, as by wet Hay, Corn, Straw, or by Mills, Wheels, or ſuch like; all which hath been by Careleſneſs: And ſome have been fired of Purpoſe, by Villainy or Treaſon.

Orders to be obſerved, that Fire may not happen.

IS, that every Houſe-keeper, either himſelf, or one, by his Appointment, that ſhould be laſt up, ſee to the Fire and Candle, and to ſhut the Cellar-windows, Doors, Caſements, Garret-windows, and to ſtop Holes, and Sinks, that Fire may not come in by Treaſon, or otherwiſe: To prevent Treaſon that may come by Wild-fire, is to ſtop the Wild-fire Simples, where they are ſold. Seek to prevent Fire at the Beginning, and, by the Sight of Smoke, to look to it, for divers Fires have been ſo prevented: Some have been prevented by ſmelling old Wood, Linnen, or Woollen burn; and ſome, by hearing the Crackling of Sticks, Coals, or Sparks of Fire, have prevented Miſchief thereby: If you will uſe Candle all Night, let your Candleſtick be a Pot of Water brim-full, and ſet it where it ſhall ſtand, and then light a Candle, and ſtick a great Pin in the Bottom of the Candle, and let it ſlowly into the Water, and it will burn all Night without Danger: If the Wood under the Hearth of a Chimney be on Fire, then take Heed you do not open it too ſuddenly, before you caſt Water upon it, for, the Air getting in, the Fire will burſt forth; therefore ſtill throw Water, and open it by Degrees. And that the Bricklayers ſhould look better to the Foundations of Hearths and Ovens, to prevent the Hurts of Fire: If Chimnies be on Fire, either wet Hay, or Straw, or a wet Blanket, or a Kettle of Water hung over, or Bay-ſalt caſt into the Fire, or a Piece ſhot up into the Chimney, will help it. And that the Watch might be from Day-light to Day-light, at ſuch a Diſtance, that they may ſee and hear from one Watch to the other; that ſome might be upon Gates, Towers, or Churches, if Need be, to give Notice to the Watch below, upon any Occaſion, to prevent both Enemy and Fire.

Orders, that if Fire ſhould happen either by Wild-fire, or otherwiſe, to prevent the Miſeries thereof.

THEN the Bells, going backward, do give Notice of Fire; and that all Officers and others muſt keep the Streets or Lanes Ends, that the rude People may be kept from doing Miſchief, for ſometimes they do more Harm than the Fire; and ſuffer none but the Workers to come near, and all the Streets, from the Fire to the Water, may have double Rows or Ranks of Men on each Side of the Street, to hand empty Pales, Pots, or Buckets, to the Water, and to return full to the Fire, by the other Row or Rank of People, on the ſame Side of the Street; ſo, as the Streets afford, you may have divers Ranks; and, by this Order, Water may be brought to quench it, or Earth to choak it, and ſmother it, with that Speed and Plenty as Need requires.

All thoſe of higher or level Ground ſhould throw down Water to run to the Place where the Fire is, and there to ſtop it, and others to ſweep up the Waters of Kennels towards the Fire. If Water-pipes run through the Streets, you may open one againſt the Houſe that is on Fire, and ſet another Pipe in that upright, and, two or three Feet lower than the Height of the Head of the ſame Water, ſet in ſome Gutter, Trough, or Pipe, unto the upright Pipe, to convey the Water to the Fire; for, under the foreſaid Height, it will run itſelf from high Ponds, or from Sir *Hugh Middleton*'s Water, or Conduit-Heads, or from the Water-houſes, without any other Help, into the Fire, as you will have it: You may keep great Scoops or Squirts of Wood in Houſes; or, if you will,

you

you may have in the Parish a great Squirt on Wheels, that may do very good Service.

Where Wild-fire is, Milk, Urine, Sand, Earth, or Dirt, will quench it; but any Thing else, set on Fire by that, will be quenched as before: If there be many Houses standing together, and are indangered by a mighty Fire, before it can be quenched or choaked with Earth, then you may pull down the next House opposite to the Wind, and then Earth and Rubbish being cast upon the Fire, and round about it, will choak the Violence of the Fire, besides the Water you may get to do the like. Also it is necessary that every Parish should have Hooks, Ladders, Squirts, Buckets, and Scoops, in Readiness, upon any Occasion.

O! the Miseries of Cities, Towns, Villages, and particular Houses that have been burnt, where some could not recover their Losses in thirty Years after, and some never, which have been lamentable Spectacles unto us, when many Men, Women, and Children have been burnt in their Houses; and Multitudes of People utterly undone, that saw all their Wealth burned before their Eyes. Besides, many have been hurt, many killed, and many burned, that came but to help to quench the Fires. What lamentable Cries Frightenings and Amazements there were to all Sorts of People, some sick, some in Childbed, and some great with Child, to the Terror of them all: And all was through the Miseries of Fire, that came by Carelesness and Wilfulness.

Therefore let the very Sight of Fire and Candle put us in Mind to prevent the like Miseries that have come by Fire, both in *London* and the Parts of *England*; for great Winds may rise suddenly, and Enemies Furies may do Mischief. To master the Elements is either to increase or decrease any of them; for, as Air makes Fire increase, so Earth will choak it, and Water will quench it.

Preventions of Fires would save the often Collections of Money in all Churches in *England*; all which is for the Profit and Safety of the Commonwealth. As good Order and Care prevent our Fear of Fire, so a good Life prevents the Ways to sin. And, if every one mend one, then all will be mended. The Lord commandeth us to have Care of our Neighbours Goods, *Deut.* xxii. For the Love of our Neighbour fulfilleth the Law, *Rom.* xiii.

The She-Wedding *: Or, a Mad Marriage, between *Mary*, a Seaman's Mistress, and *Margaret*, a Carpenter's Wife, at *Deptford*. Being a full Relation of a cunning Intrigue, carried on and managed by two Women, to hide the Discovery of a great Belly, and make the Parents of her Sweet-heart provide for the same; for which Fact the said Parties were both committed; and one of them now remains in the *Round-House* at *Greenwich*, the other being bailed out. *London*, printed by *Geo. Croom*, at the Sign of the *Blue Ball* in *Thames-street*, overagainst *Baynard*'s *Castle*, 1684. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

* This is the 290th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

IT hath been the Policy of the Prince of Darkneſs in all Ages, when any Work of his was to be carried on, which required a more than ordinary Cunning, to employ a Female Craft therein: Nor indeed from his firſt Attempt in that Kind, in the Betraying our Mother *Eve*, did he ever find Reaſon to blame his Diſcretion in the ſaid Method, ſince he ſcarce ever failed thereby of his Ends. It was by a *Dalilah* he betrayed the Strongeſt; by ſtrange Women the Wiſeſt; by an Adultereſs the Beſt of Men in Scripture Chronology. Whence it is no Wonder, if ſtill he courts them; and every Day he ſhews us what Advantage he can make to himſelf of that ſubtle Sex. A remarkable Inſtance whereof I ſhall here preſent you with:

At *Deptford* in the County of *Kent*, at the Sign of the *King's-Head*, for ſome Time paſt, as a Maid-Servant in the Houſe, there hath lived one *Mary*, who hath pretended herſelf, in her Converſation, reſerved and honeſt enough for one of her Age, being thirty or thereabouts, till about ſeven or eight Months paſt ſhe uſed ordinarily to keep Company with one *Charles Parſons*, a young Man lately gone to Sea, with whom ſhe was obſerved to be ſomewhat familiar; inſomuch that the Neighbours looked upon her as either married to him, or at leaſt as free of her Favours as if ſhe had; and in a little Time her ſqueamiſh Stomach gave her Miſtreſs Cauſe to regard her more narrowly, and began to ſuſpect that her Sweet-heart had given her a Belly full of Love, as afterwards it proved but too true; for that, about the Beginning of this laſt Month of *July*, the ſame appeared ſo evident that none but obſerved it, and charged her therewith, much about the Time that *Charles Parſons* left her, to purſue a Voyage to the *Indies*; upon which, being no longer able to hide the ſame, ſhe freely confeſſed that *Hans in Kelder* was then ſix Months old, and that *Charles Parſons* was the Father thereof, applying herſelf accordingly to his Mother, and acquainting her that they were married, deſiring her to aſſiſt her towards her Lying-down.

The Mother, ſuſpecting the Matter, began a little to demur thereupon, and enquire into the Time and Place when and where the ſame was conſummated; to which Queſtions our ſaid *Mary* returned a Satisfaction; but yet the old Woman, ſtill doubting thereof, urged that ſhe might produce her Certificate; and that, if ſhe found the ſame true, ſhe would provide for her, and what ſhe went with; which if ſhe could not procure, ſhe was reſolved never to look on her.

This Anſwer, put ſo cloſe to *Mary*, began to make her look about herſelf, and ſet her Wits upon the Rack how ſhe ſhould deceive the Mother, which at length ſhe compaſſed, Wit being then certainly readieſt, when Neceſſity is the ſtrongeſt; but thinking as the old Woman when ſhe carried her Dog a Goſſiping, that two Heads were better than one, ſhe was reſolved to adviſe with a Neighbour of her's that was her Friend, and by Name *Margaret*, the Wife of a Carpenter living hard by, how ſhe ſhould accompliſh her Intent, which after ſome Time, remembering a Story that had been told in the Neighbourhood, how that two Men, that had a Deſign on a Parſon's Wife, agreed to dreſs the Youngeſt in Women's Cloaths, and accordingly to marry each other; thereby deſigning, by a liberal Reward to the Parſon, to get an Admiſſion for the firſt Night into the Houſe to play the Love-ſcuffle for the pretended Wife's Maiden-head; by which Opportunity, whilſt the Parſon was at his Morning Studies, the Party who repreſented the Wife, and was enamoured of the good Man's Bed-fellow, changed Beds, and left her nominal Huſband, to enjoy the real Wife; which the Parſon not at all ſuſpecting, readily aſſented to, and ignorantly brought Cuckoldom upon himſelf. Remembering I ſay this Story, they conſented with themſelves, that two Women might as well commit Matrimony as two Men, and in a different Garb deceive the Eyes of any who ſhould be the Spectators thereof.

Which Deſign being thus agreed on, the Carpenter's Wife gets a Suit of her Huſband's Cloaths, in which ſhe arrays herſelf, and ſets to work (without her Chief-Tool) to act the Man's Part, practiſing her Congees and Dialect, to be perfect therein, againſt the Day ſhe deſigned to act the ſame, which ſoon after came about; and, having all Things ready, away they trudged for St. *George's* Church in *Southwark*, the Carpenter's Wife taking upon her the Name of *Charles Parſons*, and repreſenting him: They gave Notice of their Intentions to the Clark of the Pariſh, that they deſired to be joined in Matrimony, which the Miniſter

Miniſter and Clark, at firſt not at all ſuſpecting them, readily conſented unto, but in the Time of Adminiſtering the Ceremony they began a little to heſitate at what they were a doing; imagining, by the Softneſs of her Tone, which ſhe could not ſo well counterfeit, that ſhe was not what ſhe repreſented: And the rather when ſhe was to anſwer to thoſe Words, I *Charles* take thee *Mary*, &c. ſhe miſtook the Words, and cried, I *Margaret*; but thus ſhe excuſed it, that ſhe had been at the Marriage of a Siſter of her's, who was then in her Thoughts, and which occaſioned the Miſtake, confidently averring herſelf a Man, and, being of a large Make and an impudent Carriage, carried on and compleated the Deceit. After which, the Ceremony being ended, and the Certificate a Making, ſhe drew the Clark aſide, telling him, that true it was, dabbling with his ſaid Wife before Marriage, he had got her with Child, and that ſhe was very forward, being near ſix Months gone of her Time; and, fearing that his Wife's Relations, and his own, might take Notice of the Date of the Certificate to his Diſadvantage, deſired that the ſame might be antedated, promiſing the Clark to reward him for ſo doing: Which, after many Importunities, he at laſt conſented to; and, accordingly, dated the ſame about ſix Months before. Having obtained which Certificate, away they return for *Deptford*, and thought themſelves now ſecure of their Booty: So that the ſame Day they repaired to the Mother of *Parſons* aforeſaid, and produced what ſhe deſired, the Certificate beforementioned; which the old Woman took into her own Hands, beginning to think herſelf happy in her Daughter-in-Law, and that in a ſhort Time ſhe ſhould be bleſſed with a Grandchild, rummaging her old Cheſts for Linnen to provide for Clouts and other Neceſſaries for the Production of her great Belly: Nor was *Mary* her Daughter leſs glad at the Succeſs of her Enterpriſe, it being what ſhe thought would take off the Reproach that was likely to ſucceed upon her, for the Unlawfulneſs of her former Frolicks; and likewiſe as to the Eſtabliſhment of her future Fortunes. But this Sunſhine was not long before the ſame began to be overſhadowed by the Clouds, that ſoon after diſcovered themſelves, in relation to her preſent Circumſtances.

For ſo it is, that moſt of the Sex, though excellently well accompliſhed in the contriving a deceitful Intrigue, yet is their Humour ſuch, that, when once they ſee the ſame to take its firſt Promiſes of Perfection, they are apt to brag of its Effects, before the Means are thoroughly ſettled, that lead to the Ends thereof; and then moſt eſpecially when the good Wives are together toping their Noſes over the Brandy-bottle, or Hot-ſuppings, at a Merry-meeting amongſt themſelves. And by ſuch Methods came this Intrigue to a Diſcovery; for, ſeveral of the Neighbours being together, and talking of the Change of *Mary*'s Condition, *Mary* and *Margaret* could not chuſe but ſmile thereat, and lovingly called each other by the Name of Huſband and Wife, ſaying, that they knew a Couple that had been ſix Weeks wedded, and both as likely as any two in *England*, and yet neither of them had one Bout ſince they were married.——One Bout, replies an old Woman, that is much; I would cut off the Tool of that Huſband that ſhould have a Wife for two whole Days and Nights, and never put it to the Exerciſe that God made it for.——Some Rogue, I warrant him, replies another, to tantaliſe a Wife after that Rate.——Did I know the dull Dog, purſues a Third, I would ſet him up for all our Neighbours in *Deptford* and *Greenwich*, to make a publick Piſſing-poſt of.——Intolerable, ſays a Fourth, a whole Month and a half to put a poor Wife upon Longing, he deſerves to be carbonadoed; and, were the good Woman of my Mind, if I pawned my Petticoat that covered me, I would have ſome honeſt Fellow to relieve me in what I moſt wanted, and make him do it before the Rogue's Face, that he might ſee and be ſatisfied he was what he deſerved to be, the moſt notorious Cuckold in *Deptford*:——And there are, ſays another, as many good Creſts, to my Knowledge, in this Town, as any Place of its Bigneſs between this and *Gravesend*.

The Diſcourſe between them being much to this Purpoſe, the Parties concerned fell out into a great Laughter to ſee their Neighbours in ſuch a Feud, and told them it was a Truth; and ſcarce one in that Company but knew the Parties, and that they had converſed with them that Day, which ſet them all upon the Tenters, to know the Perſon, every one gueſſing at his Neighbour, and examining who it ſhould be: — Well, ſays *Margaret*, as for that, in a few Days, you ſhall be made acquainted therewith, but, for the preſent, left them to conſi-

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der thereof; till, being further urged, ſhe added, Why may not two Women be married together in *Depford*, as well as *Suſan* and *Sarah* at *Fiſhſtreet hill*?

Upon this, ſome of the Company began to ſuſpect the Matter, and told Mrs. *Parſons*, of the Diſcourſe abovesaid; poſſeſſing her ſo far therewith, that ſhe reſolved to go and inquire at the Church where the Certificate had mentioned her Son and ſuppoſed Daughter-in-Law to have been married; upon Inquiry whereinto, the Church-Book was ſearched and, at the Day mentioned therein, no ſuch Perſons were found to have been recorded; which further increaſed her Suſpicion, ſo that ſhe entering upon the Deſcription of the Parties, and acquainting the Clark with her Suppoſition, put him in Remembrance of the late Couple he had joined, and, turning to that Time, found the ſame out; adding withal, that, ever ſince the ſaid Marriage, he had been highly ſuſpicious of, and concerned within himſelf, at the Cheat. The Matter then appearing very plain, Home goes the old Woman, and diſcards her ſuppoſed Daughter from her Favour, alledging the Falſity of her Pretences, and declaring to all the Neighbourhood how baſe a Trick had been put upon her.

Inſomuch, that it became the publick Diſcourſe of the whole Town, and none but were talking of the Seaman's Miſtreſs, that had married *Margaret*, the Carpenter's Wife; every one beſtowing one Twit or other upon her for the ſame, the young Maids laughing at the flat Sport they had the firſt Night; the graver Matrons at the Impudence of the Parties that ſhould ſo vilify and diſgrace the honeſt State of Matrimony; looking upon it as a Scandal to their Sex in general. Upon all which, the Parſon, that married them, made a Complaint thereof to the Civil Magiſtrate, who committed them both to the *Round-houſe* in *Greenwich*, and bound them over to anſwer the ſame at the next Aſſizes, where *Margaret* hath been ſince bailed out, and *Mary* yet continues there.

Some particular Matters of Fact relating to the Adminiſtration of Affairs in *Scotland*, under the Duke of *Lauderdale*. *Folio*, containing one Sheet.

Humbly offered to your Majeſty's Conſideration, in Obedience to your Royal Commands.

I.

THE Duke of *Lauderdale* did groſly miſrepreſent to your Majeſty the Condition of the Weſtern Countries, as if they had been in a State of Rebellion, though there had never been any Oppoſition made to your Majeſty's Authority, nor any Reſiſtance offered to your Forces, nor to the Execution of the Laws. But he, purpoſing to abuſe your Majeſty, that ſo he might carry on his ſiniſter Deſigns by your Authority, adviſed your Majeſty to raiſe an Army againſt your peaceable Subjects; at leaſt, did frame a Letter, which he ſent to your Majeſty to be ſigned by your Royal Hand, to that Effect; which being ſent down to your Council, Orders were thereupon given out for Raiſing an Army of eight or nine-thouſand Men, the greateſt Part whereof were *Highlanders*; and, notwithſtanding that, to avert this Threatening, the Nobility and Gentry of that Country did ſend to *Edinburgh*, and, for the Security of the Peace, did offer to engage, that whatſoever ſhould be ſent to put the Laws in Execution, ſhould meet with no Affront, and that they would become Heſtages for their Safety: Yet this Army was marched and led into a peaceable Country, and did take free Quarters, according to their Commiſſions; and, in moſt Places, levied great Sums of Money, under the Notion of dry Quarters, and did plunder and rob your Subjects; of which no Redreſs could be obtained, though Complaints were frequently made; all which were expreſly contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom.

II. In their Quarters, it was apparent, that Regard was only had to the Duke's private Animoſities; for the greateſt Part of thoſe Places, that were moſt quartered on and deſtroyed, had not been guilty of any of the Field-Conventicles complained of; and many of the Places, that were moſt guilty, were ſpared upon private Conſiderations.

III. The Subjects, at that Time, were required to ſubſcribe an exorbitant and illegal Bond, which was impoſſible to be performed by them: That they, their Wives and Children, and Servants ſhould live orderly according to Law, not go to Conventicles, nor entertain vagrant Preachers, with ſeveral other Particulars; by which Bond, thoſe that ſigned it were made liable for every Man's Fault, that lived upon their Ground.

IV. Your Majeſty's Subjects were charged with Laborrows, denounced Rebels, and Captions were iſſued out for Seizing their Perſons, upon their Refuſing to ſign the aforeſaid Bond; and the Nobility and Gentry there, who have ever been faithful to your Majeſty, and had appeared in Arms for Suppreſſing the laſt Rebellion, were diſarmed upon Oath. A Proclamation was alſo iſſued, forbidding them, upon a great Penalty, to keep any Horſes above four Pounds ten Groats Price.

V. The Nobility and Gentry of the Shire of *Air* were alſo indicted, at the Inſtance of your Majeſty's Advocate, of very high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, whereof ſome did import Treaſon. Theſe Indictments were delivered them in the Evening, to be anſwered by them the next Morning upon Oath; and, when they did demand two or three Days to conſider of their Indictments, and craved the Benefit of Lawyers, to adviſe with in Matters of ſo high Concernment, and alſo excepted to their being put to ſwear againſt themſelves, in Matters that were Capital (which was contrary to all Law and Juſtice) thoſe their Deſires were rejected, though the like had never been done to the greateſt Malefactor in the Kingdom: And it was told them, They muſt either ſwear inſtantly, or they would repute them guilty, and proceed accordingly.

VI. The Noblemen and Gentlemen, knowing themſelves innocent of all that had been furniſhed againſt them, did purge themſelves, by Oath, of all the Particulars that were objected to them, and were thereupon acquitted: And, though the Committee of the Council uſed the ſevereſt Manner of Inquiry to diſcover any Seditions, or treaſonable Deſigns, which were pretended as the Grounds of leading in that Army into thoſe Countries, yet nothing could ever be proved: So falſe was that Suggeſtion concerning a Rebellion then deſigned, that was offered to your Majeſty, and prevailed with you for Sending the aforementioned Letter.

VII. The Oppreſſions and Quarterings ſtill continued. The Noblemen and Gentry of thoſe Countries went to *Edinburgh* to repreſent to your Council the heavy Preſſure, that they and their People lay under, and were ready to offer to them all, that in Law or Reaſon could be required of them, for Securing the Peace. The Council did immediately, upon their Appearing there, ſet forth a Proclamation, requiring them to depart the Town within three Days, upon all higheſt Pains; and, when the Duke of *Hamilton* did petition for Leave to ſtay two or three Days longer, for ſome very urgent Affairs, that was refuſed him.

VIII. When ſome Perſons of Quality had declared to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, that they would repreſent their Condition to your Majeſty, if they could not have Juſtice from your Miniſters, for Preventing that, a Proclamation was ſet forth, forbidding all the Subjects to depart the Kingdom without Licence, that ſo your Majeſty might not be acquainted with the ſaid Condition of your Subjects, from Making their Applications to your Majeſty, no leſs contrary to your Majeſty's true Intereſt (who muſt always be the Refuge of your People) than to the Natural Right of the Subject.

The former Particulars relate to the Invaſion of the Rights of great Numbers of your Subjects all at once: What follow have indeed only fallen on ſome ſingle Perſons, yet are ſuch, that your whole People apprehend they may be all, upon the ſlighteſt Occaſions, brought under the like Miſchiefs.

I. The Council hath, upon many Occaſions, proceeded to a new Kind of Puniſhment, of declaring Men incapable of all publick Truſt; concerning which, your Majeſty may remember what Complaints the ſaid Duke made, when, during the Earl of *Middleton*'s Adminiſtration, he himſelf was put under,

and

and incapacitated by an Act of Parliament. The Words of his Paper againſt the Earl of *Middleton* are [*Incapacitating*] which was to whip with Scorpions, a Puniſhment to rob Men of their Honour, and to lay a laſting Stain upon them and their Poſterity. And, if this was complained of, when done by the higheſt Court of Parliament, your Majeſty may eaſily conclude, it cannot be done in any lower Court; but, yet, notwithſtanding, it is become of late Years an ordinary Sentence in Council, when the leaſt Complaints are brought againſt any, with whom the Duke of *Lauderdale* and his Brother are offended.

Inſtances of this are:

The Declaring thirteen worthy Citizens of *Edinburgh* incapable of publick Truſt, againſt whom no Complaint was ever made to this Day, as your Majeſty will perceive by a Paper more fully concerning that Affair. The true Cauſe of it was, That, thoſe Men being in the Magiſtracy, that Duke and his Brother could not get a vaſt Bribe from them out of the Town's Money, which was afterwards obtained, when they were removed.

The Provoſts of *Glaſcow*, *Aberdeen*, and *Jedburgh* were put under the ſame Sentence, for Signing a Letter to your Majeſty, in the Convention of the Boroughs with the reſt of that Body; which Letter was adviſed by him who is now your Majeſty's Advocate, as that which had nothing in it, which could bring them under any Guilt; and yet thoſe three were ſingled out of the whole Number, and incapacitated, beſides an high Fine and a long Impriſonment, as to your Majeſty will more fully appear by another Paper.

Sir *Patrick Holme* of *Polworth*, being ſent by the Shire of *Berwick* to complain of ſome illegal Proceedings, and to obtain a legal Remedy to them, which he did only in the common Form of Law, was alſo declared incapable of publick Truſt, beſides many Months Impriſonment.

The Provoſt of *Linlythgo*, being complained of for not Furniſhing ſome of your Forces with Baggage-horſes, was called before the Council; and, becauſe he ſaid they were not bound in Law to furniſh Horſes in ſuch Manner, he was immediately declared incapable of publick Truſt, and was both fined and impriſoned.

There are alſo fifty of the Town of *St. Johnſton*'s incapacitated upon a very ſlight Pretence, ſo that it is very impoſſible for them to find a ſufficient Number of Citizens for the Magiſtracy of that Town.

2. Your Subjects are ſometimes upon ſlight, and ſometimes upon no Grounds impriſoned, and often kept Priſoners many Months and Years, nothing being objected to them, and are required to enter themſelves Priſoners; which is contrary to Law. It was in the former Article expreſſed, that many of theſe Perſons, declared incapable of publick Truſt, did alſo ſuffer Impriſonment; and, beſides theſe Inſtances, Lieutenant-General *Drummond*, whoſe eminent Loyalty and great Services are well known to your Majeſty, was required to enter himſelf a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*; where he was kept one Year and a Half, and was made a cloſe Priſoner for nine Months, and yet nothing was ever objected to him, to this Day, to juſtify that Uſage.

The Lord *Cardroſs* was, for his Lady's Keeping two Conventicles in her own Houſe, at which he was not preſent, fined one hundred and ten Pounds, and hath now been kept Priſoner four Years in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he ſtill remains, although he hath often petitioned for his Liberty; and Sir *Patrick Holme* hath been now a ſecond Time almoſt one Year, and Nothing is yet laid to his Charge.

Beſides theſe illegal Impriſonments, the Officers of your Majeſty's Forces carry frequently Warrants with them, for Apprehending Perſons that are under no legal Cenſure, nor have been ſo much as cited to appear; which hath put many of your Subjects under great Fears, eſpecially, upon what was done in Council three Years ago: Capt. *Carſtayres*, a Man now well enough known to your Majeſty, did intrap one *Kirkton*, an outed Miniſter, into his Chamber at *Edinburgh*, and did violently abuſe him; and deſigned to have extorted ſome Money from him: The Noiſe of this Coming to the Ears of one *Baily*, Brother-in-law to the ſaid *Kirkton*, he came to the Houſe, and hearing him cry *Murder*, *Murder!* forced open the Chamber-Door, where he found his Brother-in-law and the Captain grappling; the Captain pretended to have a Warrant againſt *Kirkton*, and *Baily* deſired him to ſhew it, and promiſed, That all Obedience ſhould be given

to it: But, the Captain refuſing to do it, *Kirkton* was reſcued. This was only Delivering of a Man from the Hands of a Robber, which Nature obliged all Men to do; eſpecially, when joined with ſo near a Relation. The Captain complained of this to the Council, and the Lord *Hatton*, with others, were appointed to examine the Witneſſes: And, when it was brought before the Council, the Duke of *Hamilton*, Earls of *Moreton*, *Dumfries*, and *Kincarden*; the Lord *Cocheren*; and Sir *Archibald Primroſe*, then Lord Regiſter, deſired, That the Report of the Examination might be read; but that, not ſerving their Ends, was denied. And, thereupon, thoſe Lords delivered their Opinion, That, ſince *Carſtayres* did not ſhew any Warrant, nor was clothed with any publick Character, it was no Oppoſing of your Majeſty's Authority in *Baily*, ſo to reſcue the ſaid *Kirkton*; yet *Baily* was for this fined in ſix-thouſand Marks, and kept long a Priſoner.

Thoſe Lords were, upon that, ſo repreſented to your Majeſty, that, by the Duke of *Lauderdale*'s Procurement, they were turned out of the Council, and all Command of the Militia. And, it can be made appear, that the Captain had, at that Time, no Warrant at all againſt *Kirkton*, but procured it after the Violence committed; and it was antedated, on Deſign to ſerve a Turn at that Time. This Manner of Proceeding hath, ever ſince, put your Subjects under ſad Apprehenſions.

There is one Particular further offered to your Majeſty's Conſideration, concerning their Way of uſing Priſoners.

There were fourteen Men taken at a Field-Conventicle, who, without being legally convicted of that, or any other Crimes, were ſecretly, and in the Night, taken out of Priſon, upon a Warrant ſigned by the Earl of *Lynlythgo*, and the Lords *Hatton* and *Collington*, and were delivered to Capt. *Maitland*, who had been Page to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, but was then a *French* Officer, and was making his Levies in *Scotland*, and were carried over to the Service of the *French* King, in the Year 1676.

3. The Council hath, upon many Occaſions, proceeded to moſt unreaſonable and arbitrary Fines, either for ſlight Offences, or for Offences where the Fine is regulated by Law, which they have never conſidered, when the Perſons were not acceptable to them: So the Lord *Cardroſs* was fined in one-thouſand one-hundred and eleven Pounds, for his Lady's Keeping two Conventicles in his Houſe, and Chriſtening a Child by an outed Miniſter without his Knowledge. The Provoſt formerly mentioned, and *Baily*, with many more, were alſo fined without any Regard to Law.

The Council hath, at ſeveral Times, proceeded to the Taking of Gentlemen's Dwelling-Houſes from them, and Putting Gariſons in them, which, in Time of Peace, is contrary to Law. In the Year 1675, it was deſigned againſt twelve of your Majeſty's Subjects, and was put in Execution in the Houſes of the Earl of *Calender*, the Lord *Cardroſs*, the Lady *Lumſden*, &c. and was again attempted in the Year 1678, in the Houſes belonging to the Lairds of *Coſnok*, *Blogan*, and *Renwall*, which were poſſeſſed by Soldiers, and declared Gariſons. Nor did it reſt there, but Orders were ſent from the Council, requiring the Countries about their Houſes, to furniſh them for the Soldiers Uſe, and to ſupply them with Neceſſaries, much contrary to Law. It was againſt this, that Sir *Patrick Holme* came to deſire a Remedy; and, common Juſtice being denied him, he uſed a legal Proteſtation in the ordinary Form of Law, and was, thereupon, kept for many Months a Priſoner, and declared incapable of all publick Truſt, &c.

There is another Particular, which, becauſe it is ſo odious, is unwillingly touched; yet it is neceſſary to inform your Majeſty about it; for thereby it will appear, that the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and his Brother, have, in a moſt ſolemn Manner, broken the publick Faith, that was given in your Majeſty's Name.

One *Mitchell* being put in Priſon upon great Suſpicion of his having attempted to murder the late Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and there being no Evidence againſt him, Warrant was given by the Duke of *Lauderdale*, then your Majeſty's Commiſſioner, and your Council, to promiſe him his Life, if he would confeſs; whereupon, he did confeſs; and yet, ſome Years after, that Perſon, who, indeed, deſerved many Deaths, if there had been any other Evidence againſt him, was, upon that Confeſſion, convicted of the Crime, and the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and his Brother, being put to it by him, did ſwear, that they never gave, or knew of any Aſſurance of Life given him: And when it was objected, that the Promiſe was upon Record, in the Council Books, the Duke of *Lauderdale* did, in open Court, where he

he was preſent only as a Witneſs, and ſo ought to have been ſilent, threaten them, if they ſhould proceed to the Examination of that Act of Council, which, as he then ſaid, might infer Perjury on them that ſwore; and ſo did cut off the Proof of that Defence, which had been admitted by the Court, as good in Law, and ſufficient to ſave the Priſoner, if proved. Thus was that Man hanged upon that Confeſſion only, though the Promiſe, that drew it from him, doth appear upon Record, and can be proved by good and clear Evidence. And from this your Majeſty may judge, what Credit may be given to ſuch Men.

We do not, at preſent, enlarge on other Particulars, though of great Importance; ſuch as Monopolies, Selling Places and Honours, Turning Men of known Integrity out of their Employments, to which they had a good and juſt Right during their Lives: The Profits of one of the moſt conſiderable of theſe being ſequeſtered for ſome Time, and applied for the Ducheſs of *Lauderdale*'s Uſe: The Treating about, and Receiving of, great Bribes by the Duke and Ducheſs of *Lauderdale*, and the Lord *Hatton*, and particularly from the Towns of *Edinburgh*, *Aberdeen*, *Lynlythgo*, and many others, for Procuring, from your Majeſty, Warrants for illegal Impoſitions within theſe Towns; the manifeſt and publick Perverting of Juſtice in the Seſſion; beſides, the moſt ſignal Abuſes of the Mint and Copper Coin, that are moſt grievous to all your Subjects. But the Number of theſe is ſo great, and they will require ſo many Witneſſes to be brought hither for Proving them, that we fear it would too much trouble your Majeſty now to examine them all; but your Majeſty ſhall have a full Account of them afterwards.

One Thing is humbly offered to your Majeſty, as the Root of theſe and many other Oppreſſions, which is, That the Method of Governing that Kingdom for ſeveral Years hath been, that the Lord *Hatton* and his Adherents frame any Letter that they deſire from your Majeſty to your Council, and ſend it to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, who returns it ſigned; and this is brought to the Council; upon which, if at any Time a Debate ariſeth concerning the Matter of that Letter, as being againſt, or with Law; and when it is propoſed, that a Repreſentation of that ſhould be made to your Majeſty; then the Lord *Hatton*, in his inſolent Way, calls to have it put to the Queſtion, as if it were a Crime to have any Warrant either debated or repreſented to your Majeſty, which is procured by the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or himſelf; and this is ecchoed by his Party, and, by this Means, any further Debating is ſtopped.

There are ſome other Particulars relating to theſe Heads, that are to be offered to your Majeſty in other Papers, which are not added here, leſt your Majeſty ſhould now be troubled with too long a Paper.

A Diſcourſe * concerning the Succeſs of former Parliaments. Imprinted at *London*, 1642. *Quarto*, containing fourteen Pages.

SIR,

I HAVE, according to my ſmall Ability, and the Shortneſs of Time, fulfilled your Command, in ſending to you this brief and plain Diſcourſe concerning the ancient Opinions and Eſteem of *Engliſh* Parliaments (for that was all which you deſired) without any Reflection upon the Proceedings of this preſent Parliament: Accept it only as a plain Piece of common Talk, which I would have delivered, had I been preſent with you: Such Diſcourſes need no Dreſs of Rhetorick.

The Conſtitution of our *Engliſh* Monarchy is by wiſe Men eſteemed one of the beſt in *Europe*, as well for the Strength and Honour of the Prince, as the Security and Freedom of the People; and the Baſis, on which both are

* *Vide* the 238th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

founded,

founded, is the Convenience of that great Council the high Court of Parliament.

Without which neither can the Prince enjoy that Honour and Felicity, which *Philip de Commines*, a Foreigner, ſo much admires, where he delivers what Advantages the Kings of *England* have by that Repreſentative Body of their People, by whoſe Aſſiſtance in any Action they can neither want Means, or loſe Reputation. Nor, on the other Side, can the People have any Poſſibility of pleading their own Rights and Liberties. For, in the Interim between Parliaments, the People are too ſcattered and confuſed a Body, to appear in Vindication of their proper Intereſts; and by too long Abſence of ſuch Aſſemblies they would loſe all: For (as *Junius* obſerves) *Populus Authoritatem ſuam tacitè non utendo admittit; ſic plerumque accidit ut quod omnes curare tenentur curet nemo, quod omnibus commiſſum eſt, nemo ſibi commendatum putet.*

The People inſenſibly loſe their Power for Want of uſing it: For ſo it happens, that what all ſhould look after, no Man does; what is committed to all, no Man thinks his own Charge.

And in that Interim it happens, that thoſe *Optimates Regni* (as he ſpeaks) who under the Prince are intruſted with Government, meaning Counſellors, Judges, and other great Magiſtrates, either through Fear, Flattery, or private Corruption, do often betray the People's Rights to the Prince.

The State of Government ſtanding thus, if diſtempered Times happen to be (as our Chronicles have ſhewed ſome) where, by Diſſenſion between Prince and People, the Kingdom's Ruin hath been endangered, it doth not ſo much prove that the *Engliſh* Government is not the beſt, as that the beſt Government may be abuſed. For in every Monarchy, how limited ſoever, the Prince's Perſon is inveſted with ſo much Majeſty, that it would ſeem a Mockery in State, if there were no conſiderable Power intruſted into his Hands; yea, ſo much as that, if he be bad or weak, he may endanger the Ruin of the Kingdom; ſo neceſſary is it for all human Ordinances, how wiſe ſoever, to leave ſomewhat to Chance, and to have always Need of Recourſe to God, for his aſſiſting or curing Providence.

And though the Kingdom of *England*, by Vertue of the Government thereof, will be as hardly brought into a Confuſion, as any in *Europe*; yet there is no Warrant againſt the Poſſibility of it.

For it was ever heretofore ſeen, that our Parliaments were rather a Strength and Advantage to an honourable wiſe Prince, than a Remedy againſt a bad or weak one; or, if we change the Expreſſion, they were rather an excellent Diet to preſerve a good Reign in Strength, than Phyſick to cure a bad one; and therefore have been as much loved by ſound and healthy Princes, as loathed by them that were out of Temper; the latter having thought them a Depreſſion of their Dignity: As the former have eſteemed them an Advantage to their Strength. So that in ſuch Times only the true Convenience of that great Council hath been perceived by *England*, and admired by foreign Authors: In the other Times it was, that thoſe witty Complaints have been in Faſhion (as Sir *Robert Cotton* ſpeaks of a bad Time) that Princes in Parliaments are leſs than they ſhould be, and Subjects greater. But on the contrary, that they have been an Advantage to Kings, the conſtant Series of our Hiſtory will ſhew: 1. By thoſe great Atchievements which they have inabled our wiſe Kings to make, who were moſt conſtant in Calling them, and Conſenting to them. 2. That no one Prince was ever yet happy without the Uſe of them.

It may therefore ſeem a Paradox, that any Prince ſhould diſaffect that which is ſo high an Advantage to him, and a great Wonder, that ſome Kings of *England*, not vicious in their Diſpoſitions, nor very ſhallow in their Underſtandings, have ſo much kicked againſt Parliaments. And that ſuch have been, before we ſhew what Reaſons may be of it, ſee the Characters of ſome Princes, whoſe Succeſs and Fortunes are known to all that read the Hiſtories, as they are delivered by *Polydore Virgil*, who in his ſixteenth Book ſpeaks thus of *Henry the Third*: *Fuit ingenio miti, animo magis nobili quàm magno, cultor Religionis, adverſus inopes liberalis.* He was of a gentle Nature, a Mind rather noble than great, a Lover of Religion, and liberal to the Poor.

In his eighteenth Book thus of *Edward the Second*: *Fuit illi natura bona, ingenium mite, quem primò juvenili errore actum in leviora vitia incidentem, tandem in graviora malorum conſuetudines & conſilia traxerunt. Non deerant illi animi vires, ſi repudiatis malis ſuaſoribus illas juſtè*

juſtè exercuiſſet. He was of a good Nature and mild Diſpoſition, who, firſt by the Errors and Raſhneſs of Youth falling into ſmall Faults, was afterwards drawn into greater, by the Society and Counſels of wicked Men. There was not wanting in him a Strength of Mind, if, avoiding evil Counſel, he could have made a juſt Uſe of it.

And in his twentieth Book, thus of *Richard the Second: Fuit in illo ſpiritus non vilis, quem conſciorum improbitas, & inſulſitas extinxit.* He was of a Spirit not low or baſe, but ſuch as was quite deſtroyed by the Wickedneſs and Folly of unhappy Conſociates.

A Reaſon of this Accident may be, that their Souls, though not vicious, have not been ſo large, nor their Affections ſo publick, as their great Calling hath required; but being too much mancipated to private Fancies and unhappy Favourites, and long flattered in thoſe Affections under the ſpecious Name of Firmneſs in Friendſhip (not being told that the adequate Object of a Prince's Love ſhould be the whole People, and that they who receive publick Honour, ſhould return a general Love and Care) they have too much neglected the Kingdom, and grow at laſt afraid to look their Faces in ſo true a Glaſs as a Parliament, and, flying the Remedy, increaſe the Diſeaſe, till it come to that unhappy Height, that, rather than acknowledge any unjuſt Action, they ſtrive for an unjuſt Power to give it Countenance, and ſo by a long Conſequence become hardly reconcileable to a Parliamentary Way.

Such Princes (though it may ſeem ſtrange) have been a greater Affliction to this Kingdom, than thoſe who have been moſt wicked, and more incurable, for theſe Reaſons: 1. They have not been ſo conſcious to themſelves of great Crimes; and therefore not ſo apt to be ſenſible of what they have been accidentally made to do againſt their People by evil Counſel, whoſe Poiſon themſelves did not perfectly underſtand. And therefore they are more prone to ſuſpect the People, as unkind to them, than themſelves as faulty, and ſo the more hardly drawn to repent their Actions, or meet heartily with a Parliament. 2. The ſecond Reaſon is from the People, who naturally look with Honour upon the Prince, and when they find none, or few perſonal Vices in him (not conſidering that the true Virtues of Princes have a larger Extent than thoſe of private Men) will more hardly be brought to think, though themſelves feel, and ſuffer for it, that he is faulty; and therefore ſometimes (which would hardly be believed, if Experience had not ſhewed it) the People have been ſo raſh as that, to maintain for the King an unjuſt Prerogative, which themſelves underſtand not, they have to their own Ruin, and the King's too (as it hath after proved) deſerted that great Council whom themſelves have choſen, and by whom only they could be preſerved in their juſt Rights; until too late, for the King's Happineſs and their own, they have ſeen and repented their great Folly.

Such a Deſertion was too ſadly ſeen, at the End of that Parliament of *Edward the Second*, where the two *Spencers* were baniſhed, and the Tragical Effects that followed, when the King found ſo great a Party, both of Clergy and Laity, as inabled him to call Home again his baniſhed Favourites; and proved fatal to ſo many Parliamentary Lords, as the like Execution of Nobility had never before been ſeen in *England*; over whoſe Graves the People afterwards wept, when it was too late, and proceeded further in their Revenge, than became the Duty and Allegiance of Subjects.

It is, therefore, a great Misfortune to *England*, and almoſt a certain Calamity, when the Diſtempers of Government have been let grow ſo long, as that, for their Cure, they muſt need a long Parliament: For there are no Ways, how juſt, how moderate ſoever, they be, which that great Council can take, if they go far enough, to make the Cure, but will provoke, either by the Means, or the Length of them, the Prince's Impatience, or the People's Inconſtancy.

For the Firſt, the Delinquents muſt needs be many and great, and thoſe employed, and perchance highly favoured by him; beſides, the Reflexion which is made upon his Judgment, by their Sufferings; and that will be one Reaſon of his Impatience.

Another is, that many Prerogatives which were not indeed inherent in the Crown, but ſo thought by the Prince, and by him, and his bad Counſel, long abuſed, to the Prejudice of the People, with ſome ſeeming Advantage to him, though, well weighed, they brought none, are then, after a long Sufferance, called in Queſtion.

For the People are uſed to intruſt kind Princes with many of their own Rights and Privileges, and never call for them again, till they have

have been extremely abuſed. But, at ſuch a Time to make all clear, after ſo long a Reckoning (and thoſe long Reckonings in State being commonly fatal; for Parliaments have ſeldom been diſcontinued, but by ſuch Princes whoſe Governments, in the Interim, have been very illegal) they uſually queſtion ſo much, as that the Prince thinks himſelf hardly dealt withal; ſuch a Prince, as we ſpoke of, who not bad in himſelf, but long miſled by wicked Counſel, was not enough ſenſible of the Injuries he had done.

The ſecond Obſtacle, that ſuch Parliaments may find, is the People's Inconſtancy; and what Age is not full of ſuch Examples, which before we name, let us conſider whether there be any Reaſon for it? This perchance may be one, that the People naturally are Lovers of Novelty, affecting, with Greedineſs, every Change; and again loathing it, when it ceaſes to be a Novelty. Long diſcontinued and reforming Parliaments ſeem to carry the Face of a Change of Government; and thoſe Things may then happen, which do in the Shift of Princes, that ſome People, may, for a While, flatter themſelves with new and ſtrange Hopes, that prove fruſtrate; or elſe with quicker Redreſſes of Inconvenience, than the great Concurrence of ſo many weighty Buſineſſes can poſſibly admit, how induſtrious ſoever that great Council be, diſtracted with ſo great a Variety; and the People, after ſome Time ſpent, grow weary again of what before they ſo long had wiſhed to ſee. Beſides, the People are more and more poiſoned daily by the Diſcourſes of the Friends, Kindred, and Retainers to ſo many great Delinquents, as muſt needs be at ſuch a Parliament; who, though they be no conſiderable Party, in Reſpect of the whole Commonwealth, yet ply their particular Intereſts with more Eagerneſs, than moſt do the Publick. They ſubtly perſuade the People, that whatſoever the Parliament does againſt thoſe great Delinquents is aimed againſt the King's Honour, and that he is wounded through their Sides. And this Opinion is ſomewhat furthered, when the People ſee how many Prerogatives of the Prince, as we ſaid before, are after long Enjoying called in Queſtion. So that, by this Means, their Inconſtancy ſeems to be grounded upon Loyalty to the King, and they, perchance, with honeſt, but deceived Hearts, grow weary of the great Council of the Land.

Another Reaſon may be, that the Prince himſelf averſe from ſuch a Parliament, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, can find Power enough to retard their Proceedings, and keep off the Cure of State ſo long, till the People, tired with Expectation of it, have by Degrees forgot the Sharpneſs of thoſe Diſeaſes, which before required it.

By this Means at laſt, accidentally a Miracle hath been wrought after a long Parliament, which is, that the People have taken Part with the great Delinquents againſt the Parliament, for no other Reaſon, than becauſe thoſe Delinquents had done them more Wrong, than the Parliament could ſuddenly redreſs. And ſo the Multitude of thoſe great Delinquents Crimes hath turned to their own Advantage.

But in ſuch Reforming Parliaments, upon whom ſo much Buſineſs lies, not only the Inconſtancy of the People hath been ſeen in Hiſtory, but the Unſtedfaſtneſs of the Repreſentative Body itſelf, and the Diſtractions of that Aſſembly, whilſt they forſake each other under ſo great a Burthen, have let that Burthen fall diſhonourably to the Ground. The moſt unhappy Inſtance, in this Caſe, was that Parliament of *Richard the Second* begun at *Weſtminſter*, and adjourned to *Shrewſbury*, in the nineteenth Year of his Reign; a Parliament that diſcharged their Truſt, the worſt of any that I read of, where there was as much Need of Conſtancy and Magnanimity, as ever was, to redreſs thoſe great Diſtempers, which were then grown upon the State; and as much Miſchief enſued by their Default, both upon Prince and People, which might have been well prevented, and his Happineſs wrought together with their own (in the Judgment of beſt Writers) if they had timely and conſtantly joined together, in Maintaining the true Rights of Parliament, and Reſiſting the illegal Deſires of their ſeduced King. But, being fatally diſtracted, the major Part of Lords and Biſhops wrought upon by the King, and the Houſe of Commons too far prevailed with, by *Buſhy* the Speaker, and his Inſtruments, they utterly deſerted the Commonwealth, and, looking only upon the King's preſent Deſire, aſſented to ſuch Things, as made the Prerogative a Thing boundleſs; that he himſelf, as the Story reports, was heard glorying to ſay, That there was no free and abſolute Monarch in *Europe*, but himſelf. Upon which, the ſame bad Counſel, which had before brought him out of Love

with Parliaments, brought him to as great an Abuſe of that Power, which he had now gotten over a Parliament. And then followed the blank Charters, and other horrid Extortions, beſides the Suffering of ſome Lords, whom the People moſt loved; and ſhortly after, by a ſad Conſequence, his own Ruin. Nor do we read, that any of thoſe Lords, who under Colour of Loyalty and Love (as they called it) to his Perſon, had trodden down the Power and Privilege of a Parliament, under his Feet, had afterwards ſo much Loyalty to him, as to defend his Crown and Perſon, againſt the Force of an Uſurper, who, without any Reſiſtance or Contradiction, unjuſtly aſcended the Royal Throne; the ſad Occaſion of that miſerable and cruel Civil War, which, in the following Ages, ſo long afflicted the Kingdom of *England*. This was the worſt Example of any Parliament; but in other Times, though bad too, they have proved better Phyſick than any other earthly Ways or Means could be; yet their greateſt Vertue and Excellency is ſeen, when they have been uſed as a Diet, by honourable and juſt Princes, ſuch as this Nation hath been often bleſſed with; and ſuch who have thought it no more Diſparagement or Depreſſion of their Dignity, to be ruled by the Sway of that great Council, than a wiſe Guider of a Ship would think it, to follow his Compaſs; or any Mathematician to be directed by his neceſſary Rules and Inſtruments.

The Arraignment * of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, before the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord High-Steward of *England*. Alſo a brief Derivation of the Moſt Honourable Family of the *Howards*. With an Account of what Families they are related to by Marriage. Tranſcribed out of ancient Manuſcripts, never before publiſhed. Printed by *Nathaniel Thompſon*, at the Entrance into *Old Spring-Garden*, near *Charing-Croſs*, 1685. *Quarto*, containing thirty-four Pages.

To the High and Mighty Prince *Henry*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marſhal of *England*, Earl of *Arundel*, *Surrey*, *Norfolk*, and *Norwich*; Baron *Howard*, *Mowbrey*, *Seagrave*, *Brewes* of *Gower*, *Fitz-Allen*, *Warren*, *Chun*, *Oſwaldeſtry*, *Maltrevers* of *Cales*, *Grayſtock*, *Farnival* of *Sheffield*, and *Howard* of *Caſtle-Riſing*; Conſtable and Governor of his Majeſty's Royal Caſtle of *Windſor*, Lord Warden of *Windſor-Foreſt*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Norfolk*, *Surrey*, and *Berks*, and of the City of *Norwich*, and County of the ſaid City; and Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*, &c.

My Lord,

AS *Your Grace is the Chief of Your illuſtrious Family, it would appear as rudely improper to dedicate this Diſcourſe to any other, as perhaps it doth an unbecoming Preſumption to preſent it to the Honour of your Hands; and, ſince there is no Avoiding a*

* *Vide* the 505th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

Crime, the leaſt muſt be admitted, for which I hope to obtain a Pardon with leſs Difficulty, from that exceſſive Goodneſs which is your Character, than I have had to collect theſe ſcattered Papers (ſtubbered with Antiquity) which were long preſerved in Your Family, and haſtily thrown into this Poſture, by

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Moſt Humble

And Moſt Faithful Servant,

J. LACY.

THE Names of the Lords ſummoned by *Thomas Edwards*, Serjeant at Arms, who, being called, came, and ſat down in their Places appointed: They that ſat on the Right-hand of the Steward are noted with the Letter A, and they that ſat on the Left-hand with the Letter B.

Earls.

Kent A.	*Bedford* B.
Worceſter B.	*Pembroke* A.
Suſſex A.	*Hertford* B.
Huntington B.	*Leiceſter* A.
Warwick A.	

Lords.

Clinton A.	*Mordaunt* A.
Howard of *Effingham* B.	*St. John* B.
	Rich A.
Burghley A.	*North* B.
Grey of *Wilton* B.	*Shandois* A.
Montjoy A.	*St. John* of *Boſtock* B.
Sands B.	
Wentworth A.	*Buckhurſt* A.
Bourghrave B.	*De la Warre* B.

Then was *Robert Catlin*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, commanded to return his Precept upon Peril, which, being returned, was read, Statute Iſſues, and then the Lieutenant of the *Tower* was called to return his Precept, and to bring forth his Priſoner the Duke of *Norfolk*: Then was the Duke brought to the Bar, between Sir *Owen Hopton*, Lieutenant, and Sir *Peter Carew*; and, next Sir *Peter*, ſtood one holding the *Tower*-ax, with the Edge from the Duke.

The Duke immediately, at his Coming to the Bar, peruſed all the Lords, firſt on the Right-hand of the Steward, then on the Left-hand; and the Lieutenant delivered in his Precept, *Verſus Thomas Ducem Norfolk*, &c. And then was Proclamation made, every Man to keep Silence; and Mr. *Sands* ſpoke to the Priſoner in this Manner:

Thomas Duke of *Norfolk*, late of *Kennington*, in *Norfolk*, hold up thy Hand; which done, he read the Indictment, the Effect whereof was, 'That he, the 22d of *September*, *Anno Dom.* '1570, did traiterouſly compoſe and imagine 'to put to Death our Sovereign Lady the 'Queen, to raiſe Rebellion, to ſubvert the 'Commonwealth, and to ſtir up foreign Ene'mies to invade this Realm, and to levy War 'againſt the Queen; for that he knew *Mary* 'late Queen of *Scots* to have claimed the 'Crown of this Realm, and to have named 'herſelf Queen of *England*, and bore the 'Arms of our Queen without Difference; did, 'the 22d of *September*, *Anno prædict'*, before 'and after, compoſe, and imagine to de'prive, deſtroy, and put to Death our So'vereign Lady the Queen, to raiſe Rebellion, 'to ſubvert the Commonwealth, and to ſtir 'up foreign Enemies to invade this Realm, 'and to levy War againſt the Queen; for 'that he knew *Mary* late Queen of *Scots* to 'have claimed the Crown of this Realm, and 'to have named herſelf Queen of *England*, and 'bore the Arms without Difference; did, the '22d of *September*, *Anno prædict'*, before and 'after, without the Conſent of our ſaid Queen, 'ſend divers Tokens and Letters to the ſaid 'late *Scottiſh* Queen, and lent her divers Sums

'of

'of Money, and received divers Tokens from 'her, contrary to the Commands of the 'Queen, and contrary to his own Submiſſion 'and Promiſe under his Hand and Seal; and 'that he knowing the late Earls of *Northumber-* 'land and *Weſtmorland*, the Northerns, *Mar-* 'kenfield, and others, which had levied War 'againſt the Queen, the 16th of *November*, '*Anno prædict'*, and had aſſembled to the 'Number of a thouſand Perſons, and then 'fled the 12th of *December Anno prædict'*, in- 'to *Scotland*, and there were received by the 'Duke of *Caſtol*, *Herald* Lord *Hunne*, and 'there purſued by the Earl of *Suſſex*: He, on 'the 7th of *Auguſt Anno prædict'*, did ſend, 'before and after, Money unto them, and 'that he being Adherent to the Pope, the 'Queen's Enemy, the 10th of *March*, 12 *Anno* 'Reginæ, did conſent and conſult with *Robert* 'Radolph, Merchant Stranger, and the 'Pope's Factor, to have Money from the 'Pope, and the Duke of *Alva*, and that they 'ſhould ſend an Army to invade the Realm, to 'deliver the ſaid *Scottiſh* Queen. And further, 'whereas the ſaid *Robert Radolph* had written, 'in the Name of the ſaid Duke, three Letters, 'one to the Pope, the ſecond to King *Philip*, 'and the third to the Duke of *Alva*; the ſaid 'Duke ſent his Servant to the Ambaſſador of 'King *Philip*, to deſire him to certify the Pope, 'King *Philip*, and the Duke, that he allowed of 'the ſame Letters; and that they ſhould be taken 'as ſent from him, which was ſo agreed; but 'the ſaid *Robert Radolph*, who delivered the 'Duke of *Norfolk*'s Cyphers, whereof he 'carried one Copy to *Rome*, whereby each 'might certify others, and likewiſe required 'of the ſaid Duke what Time the Aid ſhould 'arrive, that they might be provided: And 'further, that the ſaid Duke did receive Let- 'ters from the ſaid Pope, with Promiſe of the 'ſaid Aid: And alſo, that he did ſend Com- 'fort to the Lord *Ferris*, and other *Scots*, the 'Queen's Enemies, &c.' Which Indictment being read, Mr. *Sands* ſaid to the Duke, How ſayeſt thou, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, Art thou Guilty of theſe Treaſons, or not Guilty?

Duke. The Hearing of this Indictment gives me Occaſion to make Requeſt, which I did not intend to have done; which is to have Council aſſigned me, if the Law will permit it.

Catlin. You muſt have none.

Duke. That is very ſevere; I was told the Indictment was only concerning Matters contained in the Statute of the 25th *Edward* III. I have had very ſhort Warning, not more than fourteen Hours, Night and all: I am no Lawyer, and there are many Circumſtances in which I muſt ſubmit myſelf to the Opinion of the Juſtices. I could not have Books to inform myſelf, and direct, but muſt fight without Weapons: Yet I have heard, in the Cauſe of Mr. *Humphry Stafford*, in the Time of *Henry* VII, in a Caſe of Treaſon, he had Council aſſigned him.

Dyer. The Caſe you ſpeak of was concerning the Pleading of a Sanctuary by Preſcription.

Duke. I muſt ſubmit then to your Judgments; I muſt plead for my Life, Lands, Goods, and Children, and for that which I eſteem much more dear to me, my Honour and Honeſty; my Blood will cry aloud for Vengeance, if I am condemned unjuſtly. One Requeſt I make to you my Judges, to tell me, if the Indictment be perfect in all, or in Part, and in what Part, that thereto I may give my Anſwer.

Catlin. The Cauſe being true, the Indictment is ſufficient.

Duke. I ſhould know whether they are all Treaſons or no?

Sands. How ſayeſt thou, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, art thou Guilty of theſe Treaſons, or not Guilty?

Duke. Not Guilty?

Sands. How wilt thou be tried?

Duke. By God and my Peers; I am in a great Conſternation at the Treaſons that are imputed againſt me, but am comforted by the Juſtice of the Queen, in giving me that Trial which the Law alloweth me, and it is ſuch as I require: But this Suit I make to the Lords, that I may have Juſtice, and not be oppreſſed with unneceſſary Diverſities; my Memory is ill of itſelf, and rendered much worſe by evil Uſage, ſince my ſevere Impriſonment: I pray God I may forgive it. And, concerning you my Peers, I hope I may call it my Happineſs, that I ſhall be tried by you, in whoſe Hands I muſt put my Life; and I think I dare into the ſingle Hands of a great many of you, who I know profeſs Religion; and, I hope, will not burthen your Conſciences contrary to Law and Juſtice; depending upon the Clearneſs of

my Innocence, I would not take a needleſs and cowardly Flight; I have what I expected and wiſhed, a Trial. I crave it with Juſtice, and muſt confeſs I have neglected my Duty in Matters under Treaſon; I deſire thoſe Omiſſions be not imputed as Treaſons.

Serjeant *Burham.* This Indictment contains three ſeveral Matters of Treaſon. Firſt, It is by Deprivation of the Queen's Majeſty. The Second, Is the Relief of the Rebels in *England.* The Third, The Aſſiſtance of the *Scots*, the Queen's Enemies. To prove the Firſt, there are two Matters of Fact declared in the ſaid Indictment. Firſt, Knowing the *Scottiſh* Queen to have claimed the Crown, he hath attempted Marriage with her: Alſo, the Conſpiracy, to procure Foreign Power to invade the Realm, doth prove him Guilty of the Matter.

Duke. The Duke, interrupting him, ſaid, Mr. Serjeant, You begin, as I thought you would, in laying the Matters of the Marriage, and other Things, to my Charge, which are not Treaſon, to exaſperate the Matter; you may do your Duty, but yet conſcientiouſly; and (then ſomething ſmiling) I ſhould ſpeak one Thing which I had almoſt forgot: A Man ſuſpected is half condemned: I have been charged with an Oath, I proteſt I took the Oath, as I ſhall prove; I pray let it not be laid out to my Diſcredit. They deſired it.

Burham. He, that would marry with one that claimeth the Crown, hopeth to aſpire to the ſame: This Matter began at ſuch a Time as the Duke was one of the Commiſſioners for hearing the Cauſe between the late *Scottiſh* Queen and the Lords of *Scotland*, at which Time the Duke took an Oath to deal therein directly, to weigh indifferently Occaſions and Anſwers; wherein, notwithſtanding, he dealt indirectly, thereby committing Perjury, and diſcloſing the Queen's ſecret Counſels; if you deny it, I will prove it.

Duke. This Caſe hath divers Parts, not within the Compaſs of Treaſon.

Burham. I demand if you know the Claim?

Lord *Steward.* Your Grace muſt anſwer directly.

Gerrard. After (upon Viewing Serjeant *Burham* and the Queen's Attorney) the Duke confeſſed the Claim, but not the Contrivance, *&c.*

Burham. He ſhewed the Contrivance, by her Refuſal to acknowledge the Queen's Majeſty to be the Lawful Queen.

Duke. I did not approve it, but I muſt defend her doing it; ſhe, having a Husband, did it; which, at the Requeſt of *Throgmorton*, was left by the Queen; ſhe hath ſince entered into League with her, profeſſing great Friendſhip, and has chriſtened her Child.

Burham. But ſhe has not yet renounced her Claim, and yet you have as far dealt with her as, being the Queen's Commiſſioner, to hear the Matter, to open to her the Accuſations: You gave right Inſtructions how ſhe ſhould deal, that Matters might not come to Light; and conferred with the Biſhop of *Roſs* about the ſame. For Proof whereof, was ſhewed the Examination of the Biſhop, taken the 6th of *November* One-thouſand Five-hundred Seventy-one, declaring that the Duke diſcovered to him all that he knew of that Buſineſs, and promiſed what Help he could, *&c.* But he ſpoke nothing of the Marriage, but referred all to *Luddington*, who had cauſed the Duke to ſtay the Conference, and ſhewed unto him her Good-will, and how ſhe was ſet to accompany the Earl of *Murray* to convey the Queen, where he ſhewed that the Duke did advertiſe him, that they did go about to degrade the *Scottiſh* Queen with the People of *England*, that ſhe might be the leſs able to attempt any Thing againſt the Queen of *England*: And theſe Matters the Duke anſwered at large; the Effect was:

Duke. Luddington only moved the Marriage to him, which he at that Time refuſed: That he only told the Biſhop of *Roſs*, he could not condeſcend to that Propoſition; and, as her Circumſtances were ſtated, it would neither be for her Honour, nor his: He deſired the Biſhop of *Roſs* might be ſent for. Then was ſhewed a Letter of the Biſhop's, wherein was contained, That it was appointed the Earl of *Murray* ſhould be murthered in the North, going into *Scotland*: But, the Duke having diſcourſed with him at *Hampton-Court* about the Marriage, to which he conſented, the intended Murder was alſo ſtopped: There was alſo a Letter to the Duke ſhewed, moving the Marriage at that Time, and that it ſhould be for the Advantage of his Family to marry the Queen, who propoſed her Son ſhould alſo marry the Lady *Margaret Howard*, the

Duke's

Duke's Daughter, which Argument inclined the Duke to it: Yet, when it was rumoured that he deſigned the Marriage of the *Scottiſh* Queen, he appeared much offended, and told the Queen of it, and ſeemed to diſlike her for her former Marriages; and ſaid, the whole Revenues of the Crown of *Scotland*, the ordinary Charges deducted, was not ſo conſiderable as his Eſtate in *England*; and that he thought himſelf as great a Prince in his *Bowling-Alley* at *Norwich*, as if he were King of *Scotland*: This was affirmed by Mr. *Burham*, that he heard the Queen's Majeſty ſpeak it; and, by the Duke's own Examination, taken the 6th of *November*, proved plainly: It was further ſhewed, that at *Treachfield* he had Commandment not to proceed any further in that Marriage; and yet it was apparent he had treated about it, though he had declared to *Baniſter* an ill Opinion of the Queen, and ſaid, he believed ſhe was privy to the Murther of her Husband.

Duke. Theſe are far Fetches, Mr. *Burham*, and come ſhort of proving a Deprivation of the Queen, and Deſtruction of her Perſon: When the Marriage was propoſed to me, I made ſeveral Objections againſt it, though, without any unjuſt or unbecoming Reflexions upon that great Princeſs, whoſe Virtue is above Calumny: But my Lord *Leiceſter*, who perſuaded me to the Marriage alſo, told me of the Queen's Conſent, and adviſed me to proceed in the Treaty, and leave the Management to him, who would attend an Opportunity to diſcourſe it with the Queen, whom he knew he could diſpoſe to it.

Burham. To come nearer to you, it appears you have gone about to procure it by Force, and conſpired to have taken the *Tower*; which, if true, you muſt grant the Deſtruction of the Queen's Perſon: For the Jealouſy of a Kingdom is ſuch, that it will not admit of a Rival: Then ſome Letters of the Duke's were read, and ſeveral long Letters written by the Queen of *Scots*, from whence it is inferred, the Duke did not purſue the Marriage for Love of the Queen of *Scots*, but for the Ambition of the Crown of *England*.

Duke. Your Concluſions and Inferences are ill applied; it is true, one came to me and adviſed the Taking of the *Tower*, which I refuſed and diſliked.

Burham. Why then did you conſult the Earl of *Pembroke* about the ſame?

Duke. To tell him what had been propoſed to me, was not to conſult him.

Gerrard. You took a Knife, and cut down a green Vine, with this Saying, *Vireſcit vulnere virtus.*

Duke. Why, What do you gather from thence?

Burham. The Uſe is not to cut Vines, whilſt they are green, that ſhould grow again.

It was alſo objected, That, when the Queen's Majeſty had demanded of the Queen of *Scots* certain Caſtles in her Poſſeſſion, which the Rebels delivered, the Duke adviſed the contrary, and went about to procure the Queen of *Scots* her Liberty, and that *Roſs* opened the Window; and, after he had promiſed, and given it under his Hand, never to treat about the Marriage any more, he held Correſpondence with the Queen of *Scots* and her Friends: Then they ſhewed him a Prophecy by *Hickforth*, which was this, *In exaltatione Lunæ Leo deprimitur, Leo Leoni conjungitur & ſemen eorum regnabunt*; which was proved by the Examination of *Hickforth*, to whom the Duke had ſhewed it, terming it a ſoppiſh Tale.

Duke. By which you ſee I did not eſteem it. Then one *Candiſh* was brought in, who was ſworn: The Subſtance of his Evidence was, That, being at *Southampton* with the Duke, he adviſed him to endeavour to obtain the Queen's Favour and Conſent to the Marriage; he anſwered, He would have her, or it ſhould coſt him his Life: And, another Time, the Duke and the Lord *Lumley* being together at *Howard*'s Palace. With that the Duke, turning towards him, ſaid, Canſt thou accuſe me of any Thing? I defy thee and the Devil, to which he anſwered:

Candiſh. I can accuſe him of Nothing, but the Marriage; and that at *Kenning-Hall* he did ſay to him, That there was Nothing to undo us, but the Riſing of the Northern Lords: If they ſhould then riſe, I further aſked, if the Queen was dead, that he may procure my Brother *Candiſh* to be of his Side.

Duke. All which the Duke poſitively denied, and declared how little Credit the ſame *Candiſh* was of; that he had often relieved him, and given him Money; and that he was one of no Eſtimation, as the Buſineſs between him and Mr. *Chriſtmas* did ſufficiently teſtify.

It was alſo ſaid, that the Duke ſent one *Travers* to the Earls, deſiring them not to riſe; for, if they did, they were utterly undone;

done; but this, and much more, was without Proof: There was alſo a Letter produced from the Queen of *Scots* to the Duke, written in Cyphers, which was decyphered and read, declaring her Sorrow for his Diſappointments.

Duke. The Duke anſwered, That all theſe Things were unlikely, nor would he have thus proceeded, if he had, as he is charged, imagined and contrived the Deprivation of the Queen; and the chiefeſt Evidence againſt him was by *Radolph* and *Bracton*, who was not to be credited for a Witneſs: He alſo ſaid, That *Travers* went not to the Earls with any ſuch Meſſage, and that he never offered to fly, which one guilty would have done; nor did he ever eſteem thoſe Earls ſo much as to truſt them with his Life.

Gerrard. Thus have you heard the Attempt of the Marriage proved, and, to prove the Deprivation of the Queen, was the Dealing with the Pope, King *Philip*, and the Duke of *Alva*, for the Bringing in of Foreign Power to land here, which God hath revealed, moſt wonderfully, according to that Saying, *Nil eſt tam occultum quod non revelabitur:* At the firſt Opening of the Buſineſs, it could not be known whom it concerned: Then, by opening of a Bag of ſix-hundred Pounds, ſealed with Letters in the ſame, to *Sherbury*, for fifty Pounds, which was opened by ſome of the Council at *London*: The Queen and Council underſtood the whole Matter at *Eaſter* by the Letters directed to *Quadrantus* and *Trantus*, but who that ſignified could not be known till of late, for it appears by *Quadrantus* is meaned the Duke, and by *Trantus* another Nobleman; this Secret is now found out by Cyphers hid in the Tiles, and Letters deſcribed by *Hickforth*, commanded by the Duke to be burned, found under the Matts going into the Duke's Chamber: Theſe Matters are to be proved by thoſe that are neither indicted nor convicted of Treaſon.

Duke. There was not a Letter of mine that contained a Syllable of Treaſon; and, if the Malice of ill Men hath contrived any Thing that deſerves Blame, it is fit they ſhould bear their own Burden, and not lay Crimes upon my Shoulders to leſſen their Load.

Gerrard. You had Conference yourſelf with *Radolph*, for Bringing in ten-thouſand Men out of *Flanders* to be landed at *Berwick*, whereof Three thouſand ſhould be Horſemen: For Proof whereof, was read the Examination of *Barker*.

It was further ſhewed, that the Biſhop of *Roſs* and he had Conference together about theſe Matters, and concerning Letters ſent by the Duke of *Norfolk* to the Duke of *Alva*, and the Pope, and King *Philip*, but the Duke had refuſed to ſubſcribe them: Then it was adviſed, by the Biſhop of *Roſs*, that he ſhould ſend *Barker*, his Man, to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, to tell him, the Duke was well contented with thoſe Letters, and that they ſhould be taken as his own, and that the Ambaſſador ſhould certify ſo much from him.

Duke. My Memory is too weak to anſwer to a Heap of Matters huddled up I know not how, having Nothing but Truth and Ignorance to ſupport me; and you are four of the Queen's Council, who have Notes, and the Faculty of Flouriſhing upon them; and it is hard for me to anſwer all of a ſudden, and I may, through the Defect of Memory, and the Surpriſe of an accuſed Innocence, omit that which might be eaſily anſwered: It was very unlikely, and extremely untrue, that I ſhould deal with the Pope; I had rather be drawn in Pieces with wild Horſes, than change from that Faith which I was brought up in from my Youth; and, for Landing an Army at *Harwich*, it is well known how impoſſible it is for an Army to march in that Country, which is all Ditches and Woods: If I had deſigned ſuch a Matter, I would have made Proviſion of Arms and Powder; I have not beſtowed ten Pounds on any Armour theſe ten Years, except it were eight Corſlets of Proof; I have no Cullivers in my Houſe, and I am ſure not three Barrels of Powder; and, if I had deſigned any ſuch Thing, I would have been provided otherwiſe than I was, neither would I have ſent *Barker* of ſuch a Meſſage, but rather have truſted my Hand to the Letters, than to have put Words into his Mouth, he being one of no Credit with me; and, if I would have framed ſuch a Meſſage, I would ſooner have employed *Baniſter* than twenty *Barkers*.

Then was ſhewed a Letter from the Biſhop of *Roſs*, to the *Scottiſh* Queen, about the Marriage; there was alſo a Letter from the Duke to *Radolph*, written with Oker, ſince he was in the *Tower*, bidding him burn the Bag of Letters which *Barker* had put in a certain Place, and to lay up *Roſs*'s, whom the Law could

could not touch, becauſe he was an Ambaſſador.

Duke. I had heard that he had accuſed divers; and, when I perceived there was ſuch Searching, I gave that Advice for Avoiding of Trouble, though the Letters were inſignificant.

There was alſo a Letter from the Duke, which expreſſed, that he could not be charged with any Crime; and, if he loved his Life, he ſhould take Heed whom he accuſed.

Duke. By which my Innocence appears?

Brumley ſhewed Letters from *Radolph*, ſent by *Bayley*, *Roſs*'s Servant; by which it appeared, that the Duke *D'Alva* liked the Matter, and enquired how far *Harwich* was from *London*.

Brumley further ſaid, The whole Conſpiracy was opened at *Antwerp*, to the Ambaſſador of a Foreign Prince; who acquainted his Maſter, who had written the whole Diſcourſe to the Queen; which, becauſe it concerned others as well as the Duke, ſhould only be opened to the Lords of the Privy-Council.

Duke. This is a Myſtery that I know not how to reply to, unleſs that Part of it, which concerned me, were diſcovered.

Then Mr. *Milbourn* made a formal Diſcourſe for the Credit of the Depoſitions, of the Duke, and others.

Duke. I know not how to come after ſo ſmooth a Tale as the Attorney of the *Court of Wards* has told, yet he reflects Nothing, what Fear and promiſed Rewards might prevail upon timerous and mercenary Minds: But I refer you unto *Bracton* for Diſcrediting and Diſproving thoſe Witneſſes.

Catlin. In ſuch Matters and Caſes of Treaſon, the Depoſitions of Strangers may be taken, and it lies in the Breaſts of the Peers to credit the ſame as they ſhall ſee Cauſe; and to proceed to the ſecond Point of Treaſon ſpecified in the Indictment, which was, the Aiding the Rebels after they were fled.

Duke. There is little Danger in a diſcerned Enemy; yet I never relieved any of them.

Catlin. Then, for the third Point of Treaſon contained in the Indictment, for Aſſiſting the *Scottiſh* Rebels, the Queen's Enemies, by Letters from the Duke to *Baniſter*, and from *Baniſter* to *Luddington*, and from *Luddington* to *Radolph*; and, by the Examination of *Baniſter*, and by the Bag of Money delivered to *Sherbury*, with Letters in the ſame Bag, as it was before declared by Mr. *Gerrard*.

Duke. I deſire the Opinion of the Judges, If the Subjects of another Prince, the Prince not being in War with the Queen, may be accounted the Queen's Enemies?

Catlin. That might well enough be ſeen, for the Queen might make War with a Duke in *France*, and have Peace with the *French* King.

Shrewſbury. Have you aught elſe to ſay?

Duke. I depend upon Truth and Innocence, which I hope will outweigh the Malice and Artifice of my Enemies; and I alſo hope my Judges will conſider the Invalidity of the Evidence againſt me, the Perſons being of no Credit nor Reputation: And, for the Marriage, I treated in it with the Queen's Conſent and Appointment; and, afterwards ſuſpended it, though ſeveral Letters and Arguments were directed to me concerning it.

Shrewſbury. Lieutenant of the *Tower*, withdraw the Priſoner a While; then was Silence proclaimed.

Shrewsbury, My Lords, here you have heard that *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* has been indicted for divers Points of Treaſon, and has pleaded not Guilty, and has put himſelf upon the Trial of God and his Peers: You are now to conſider, upon the whole Evidence which you have heard, whether he be Guilty or not Guilty, and to ſpeak your Minds upon your Honours and Conſciences, and ſo bid them withdraw together, and return as ſoon as they could; which they did to a Place for that Purpoſe where the *Chancery* is now kept; and there conſulted in the Sight of all: Then, the Lords being returned and ſat in their Places, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* Lord High Steward of *England* commanded the Duke to be placed further out of Hearing of them; then he aſked aloud, firſt, the youngeſt Lord, ſaying, What ſay you my Lord *De la Warre*, is *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* Guilty of theſe Treaſons, yea, or no? Who, ſtanding up, anſwered, Guilty; then the ſame was asked of all the Barons and Earls, one after another, beginning at the youngeſt; and ſo to the eldeſt in Degree; and all ſaid, Guilty. Then the Lord High Steward commanded the Priſoner ſhould be brought to the Bar, who being placed, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* Lord High Steward ſaid: *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, thou haſt been accuſed of divers

divers Treaſons, and haſt pleaded againſt all, Not Guilty; and haſt put thyſelf upon God and thy Peers, who have all declared thee Guilty; What can'ſt thou ſay now, that Judgment may not proceed againſt thee?

Duke. The great God and my own Innocence be between me and my falſe Accuſers.

Then was there a profound Silence a good While, after which the *Tower* Ax was turned towards the Duke.

Burham. May it pleaſe your Lordſhip to underſtand, that *Thomas Howard* late Duke of *Norfolk* has been indicted of ſeveral Treaſons, and hath thereunto pleaded, Not Guilty; and thereupon hath put himſelf upon the Trial of God and his Peers and they have found him Guilty: I am therefore to pray your Judgment in the Behalf of our gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen.

Shrewsbury. Thou *Thomas* late Duke of *Norfolk* haſt been indicted of ſeveral Treaſons, and thereunto haſt pleaded, Not Guilty, and haſt put thyſelf upon the Trial of God and thy Peers, and haſt been by them found Guilty. Therefore our Court and the Queen do award, that thou ſhalt be led from hence to the *Tower*, and thence to be drawn through the midſt of *London* to *Tyburn*, and there to be hanged, until thou art half dead, thy Bowels to be taken out and burnt before thy Face, thy Head to be cut off, and thy Body quartered, and thy Head and Quarters to be at the Queen's Will and Pleaſure, and our Lord have Mercy on thy Soul.

Duke. You have ſaid unto me as unto a Traitor: God forgive you, and waſh my innocent Blood from your Souls, that it riſe not in Judgment againſt you; I condemn not you, and yours; I die not a Traitor, but a true Man, both to my Queen and Country: And, ſince you have put me out of your Company, I hope to go where I ſhall find much better, who will regard that Innocence which you have rejected. I am at a Point never to beg for Mercy where I have no Guilt, but the Suit I have to you, my Lords, is, that you will move the Queen to be good to my Children and Family, and to ſee the Diſcharge of my Debts.

Thus fell that illuſtrious Prince, whoſe Greatneſs in Eſtate and Title was his only Crime, for being of an ancient and ſplendid Family, the Blood-Royal of *England* and *France* not being out of his Veins, and being allied to all the conſiderable Families of *England*, and having an Eſtate to ſupport that Greatneſs of a hundred thouſand Pounds a Year, beſides the Fortunes he obtained by his Marriages, which was alſo very large: All his paternal Eſtate was diſpoſed of by the Queen, without Regard to the Innocence of his Children, the hard Meaſure of his Accuſations, and his Obedience, which led him to the Purſuit of her Commands upon all Occurrences: Which Eſtate, as it is divided, and improved, is valued at five hundred thouſand Pounds a Year. My Lord of *Leiceſter*, who was the leading Man at that Time (and ſat with watchful Diligence) at the Helm, which he managed as his Intereſt or Paſſion inſpired him: Firſt propoſed the Marriage of the Queen of *Scots* to the Duke of *Norfolk*; which he refuſed, till importuned by the Perſuaſions of thoſe that appeared to be his Friends, and aſſured by a Letter under Queen *Eliſabeth*'s own Hand of her Conſent; all which enſnared him till the Conſummation of the Marriage; which was made evident by a Letter kept long in the Family from the Hands of the Queen of *Scots*, in which ſhe ſubſcribed herſelf, *Your moſt obedient Wife*, Mary *of* Scotland *and* Norfolk: And this great Family, thus eclipſed, remained under the Cloud of a ſevere Deprivation, till the laſt King *Charles* of bleſſed Memory reſtored them to their former Titles and Dignities; that excellent Prince conſidering their long and ſilent Sufferings, with what Forwardneſs moſt of them engaged their Lives and Fortunes in the Service of his royal Father, there being but two of all that great and numerous Family that drew a Sword againſt their King; may thoſe two be buried in the dull Aſhes of Oblivion for ever, and wiped out of our Way, as perhaps they are out of the Book of Life.

A brief Account of the noble Family of the Howards.

THE Family of the *Howards* came into *England* with the *Saxons*, being from a vaſt Length of Time very conſiderable in that Country, having the Title of Barons, and the Name in that Language being *Hoffwerd*, as ſome ancient Books there teſtify, which ſignifies

fies the chief Office in the Court: *William* the Conqueror found them in a great Condition of Eſtate and Quality here, according to the Mode and Method of thoſe Times, bearing Diſtinctions proper to Barons: They continued moſt eminent in their Country, and linked themſelves into the greateſt Families in the Kingdom, as with all Evidence appears, behold here.

A brief Account of the Deſcent of the Dukes of Norfolk.

THomas of *Brotherton*, ſecond Son of King *Edward* the Firſt by *Margaret* of *France* his ſecond Wife, was Earl of *Norfolk* and High Marſhal of *England*, whoſe Daughter and Heir, being married to *John* Lord *Segrave*, was created Ducheſs of *Norfolk*; and *Eliſabeth* their Daughter and Heir being married to *John* Lord *Mowbrey*, Mother to *Thomas Mowbrey*, created Duke of *Norfolk* by King *Richard the Second* in the Year One-thouſand three-hundred ninety ſeven, and firſt Earl-Marſhal of *England*: Which *Thomas*, by *Eliſabeth* his Wife, Siſter and Heir of *Thomas Fitz-Allen*, Earl of *Arundel*, was Father of *John Mowbrey* ſecond Duke of *Norfolk*, and of *Margaret* his eldeſt Daughter, Wife to Sir *Robert Howard* Knight, whoſe Son *John Mowbrey*, the third Duke of *Norfolk*, was Father of *John* the fourth Duke of *Norfolk*; whoſe Daughter and Heir dying without Iſſue in the Reign of King *Edward the Fourth*, the Honours and Lands of *Mowbrey* were divided between *John* Lord *Howard* Son of Sir *Robert Howard* and *Margaret Mowbrey*, who was created Duke of *Norfolk* by King *Richard the Third*, and *William* Lord *Berkley* Son of *Iſabella* ſecond Daughter of *Thomas Mowbrey* firſt Duke of *Norfolk*: This *John* Lord *Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* was ſlain at the Battle of *Boſworth* in One thouſand four-hundred eighty-five, and attainted, leaving *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* his Son: Who, in the fifth Year of King *Henry the Eighth*, was reſtored Duke of *Norfolk*; and, dying, *Thomas Howard* his Son was Duke of *Norfolk*, and Father of *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, who was beheaded the laſt of *Henry the Eighth*; which *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* was Father of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, who was beheaded and attainted for the Marriage of the Queen of *Scots*, the fourteenth Year of Queen *Eliſabeth*; whoſe Son *Philip* (Earl of *Arundel* in Right of his Mother) died in the *Tower*; his Son *Thomas* the great Lord Marſhal (whoſe Memory is a laſting Honour to his Family) left his Son *Henry* of unblemiſhed Honour and Reputation alſo, whoſe Son *Thomas* was reſtored by the laſt King *Charles the Second* of happy and glorious Memory, to the Dignity of Duke of *Norfolk*, whoſe Brother *Henry* ſurvived him, and left two Sons, *Henry* the preſent Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, who hath Iſſue.

This flouriſhing Family has ſpread itſelf into many eminent Branches, as the Lord Viſcount *Stafford*, the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Berkſhire*, the Lord *Eſcrick*, the Earl of *Carliſle*, and the reſt of the Deſcendants from the Lord *William Howard* of *Naworth*, whoſe Memory is to be preſerved as ſacred in the Family, who, for Wiſdom, Virtue, and Honour, was the Glory of his Time; he was third Son of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, whoſe Trial and unfortunate Death you have here had a View of; the Sons of which Lord *William Howard* were Men of great Honour, and ſerved their King with their Lives and Fortunes; his ſecond Son, Sir *Francis Howard*, having raiſed a Regiment at his own proper Charge, and ſuffered a long Impriſonment in the *Tower*. Colonel *Thomas Howard*, the fourth Son of the Lord *William*, alſo raiſed a Regiment for King *Charles the Firſt* of ſacred Memory, and bravely loſt his Life at the Head of it; having refuſed very advantageous Conditions from the King of *Portugal*, who had invited him into his Service, he being a Soldier of long Experience abroad, and much eſteemed for his Courage and Conduct, and detained here by the Commands of his Prince, whom his Honour, Religion, and Conſcience obliged him to obey; he fell (a willing Sacrifice for the Service of his Prince) to the Rage of the Rebels

Here is alſo an Account of ſuch Families as are deſcended from the Houſe of Howard, *taken in the Year* 1600.

BY the Daughter and Heir of Sir *John Howard*, who was of the ſame Family with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and married to *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*; and deſcended by the Heirs of *Wingfeld*, and of *Nevil* Lord *Latimer*, the Families of *Wingfield* now remaining, *Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Cecil* Earl of *Saliſbury*, *Danvers* late Earl of *Danby*, who quarters the Arms of *Howard*; *Norris* late Earl of *Berkſhire*, the Lord *Pawlet* of *Somerſetſhire*, and many other noble Families, namely, the ancient and honourable Family of the *Lacies*; and from *John Howard* firſt Duke of *Norfolk* of that Name, by his Daughter married to *Windham*, and from them by *Lutterel* and *Rogers* deſcended the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Lord *Seymor*, and many other ancient Families in the *Weſt*; and by other Daughters, the Families of *Knivet* and *Gorges*: From Lord *Edmund Howard* third Son of *Thomas* ſecond Duke of *Norfolk* is deſcended the Lord *Arundel* of *Warder*; from the ſaid *Thomas* ſecond *Duke* of *Norfolk* are deſcended firſt all thoſe of the Houſe of *Nottingham* and *Effingham*, and from them by Daughters the preſent Marquis of *Wincheſter*, the Earls of *Mulgrave* and *Peterborough*, the Viſcount *Mordaunt*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and many other eminent Families. By his Daughter married to the Earl of *Darby*, are deſcended at this Day the Earls of *Darby*, *Bridgewater*, the Lord *Stourton*, *Morley*, *Dudley*, *Stafford*, *Shandois*, *Powis*, and many other noble Families. By his Daughter married to Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, the Earls of *Carbary* and many other noble Families in *Wales* are deſcended.

By his Daughter married to Sir *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*, are deſcended the Families of *Cary* Earls of *Dover* and *Monmouth*, and the Viſcount *Faulkland*; and, by the Daughter of *Cary* married to the Family of *Knowles*, the Earls of *Banbury*, *Northumberland*, *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, *Holland*, *Newport*, and the Lord *Paget*, and many others.

From *Thomas Howard* third Duke of *Norfolk* are deſcended the Heirs of the Lord *Scroope* of *Nevil*, Earl of *Weſtmorland*, the Lord *Berkley*, and the Heirs of the Viſcount *Binden*.

From *Thomas Howard*, fourth Duke of *Norfolk*, the preſent Duke of *Norfolk*, the Viſcount *Stafford*, the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Berkſhire*, *Carliſle*, Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, all the *Howards* of the *North*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the late Duke of *Richmond*, and by Marriage, at preſent, many other noble Families are nearly allied; as, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Bedford*, *Saliſbury*, *Devonſhire*; the Lords *Darcy*, *Sandys*, *Fairfax* of *Imolleth*, *Mac Donell*, and many other ancient and honourable Families are deſcended.

This great Duke of *Norfolk*, whoſe Trial you have read, firſt married the Daughter and Heir of *Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, by whom he had *Philip*, who was poiſoned in the *Tower*; the Duke's ſecond Marriage was to the Daughter and Heir of the Lord *Audley*, by whom he had *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Lord *William Howard* of *Naworth*, who was long detained a Priſoner in the *Tower*, after the Death of the Duke. The Duke's third Marriage was to the Widow of the Lord *Dacres* of the *North*, who, by the ſaid Lord *Dacres*, had two Daughters, *Anne* and *Eliſabeth*, to whom the Duke married his two Sons, *Philip* and the Lord *William Howard*. *Thomas*, the great Lord Marſhal (who is never to be mentioned without the Memory of his Honour) was the Son of *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, and *Anne*, the eldeſt Daughter of the Lord *Dacres*; which *Thomas* married the Lady *Alathea Talbot*, Daughter and Heir to the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, by whom he had *Henry* Lord *Matrevers*, and *William* Viſcount *Stafford*; which *Henry* married the Lady *Eliſabeth Stuart*, Daughter to the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Lord Viſcount *Stafford* married the Daughter and Heir of the Lord Baron *Stafford*. This *Henry*, afterwards Earl of *Arundel*, left eight Sons and two Daughters; *Thomas*, who died at *Padua*, and was reſtored to the Dukedom; *Henry*, laſt Duke of *Norfolk*; *Philip* Lord Cardinal; *Charles*, a Perſon of much Honour and Integrity; *Edward*, *Francis*, *Bernard*, and *Eſme*. *Henry*, who after the Deceaſe of *Thomas* was Duke of *Norfolk*, married the Lady *Anne Somerſet*, eldeſt Daughter to the Marquis of *Worceſter*, and Siſter to the preſent Duke of *Beaufort*, by whom he had two Sons, *Henry*, the preſent

ſent Duke of *Norfolk*, who married the Lady *Mary Mordaunt*, Daughter to the Earl of *Peterborough*; and the Lord *Thomas Howard*, who married the Daughter and Heir of Sir *George Savil*, of the Family of the Marquis of *Halifax*, by whom he hath Iſſue: Alſo the ſaid Duke had two Daughters, the Eldeſt married to the Duke of *Gordon* of *Huntley*, the Youngeſt to the Marquis of *Waperiſo*. *Charles*, the fourth Son, married *Mary*, the eldeſt Daughter and Coheir of *George Taterſhall*, of *Hinſhamſtead* in the County of *Berkſhire*, Eſquire, a Lady of great Virtue and extraordinary Parts, of an ancient and honourable Family (which came into *England* with the *Saxons*, and long retained the Title of *Baron*, as is recorded by many Authors) by whom he hath a hopeful Son, named *Henry-Charles Howard*; *Bernard* married to *Catharine*, the younger Daughter of the ſaid *George Taterſhall*, Eſq; who hath alſo Iſſue one Son, named *Bernard*, and three Daughters. The Lady *Eliſabeth-Tereſa*, the youngeſt Siſter of the laſt Duke of *Norfolk*, was married to *Alexander Mac Donell*, eldeſt Son to Sir *James Mac Donell*, Bart. and Nephew to the late Marquis of *Antrim*, by whom ſhe had one Son, named *Randal Mac Donell*; ſhe was afterwards married to *Bartholomew Ruſſel*, Eſq; of *Seaton* in the County of *Dublin*, of the Family of the Earls of *Bedford*.

The Lord *Thomas Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Suffolk*, ſecond Son to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, who ſo unfortunately loſt his Life for eſpouſing the Intereſt of the Queen of *Scots*, married the Daughter and Heir of Sir *Philip Tenevit*; whoſe eldeſt Son was married to the Daughter of the Earl of *Dunbar*; his eldeſt Daughter to the Earl of *Saliſbury*, the Second to the Earl of *Banbury*, and the Third to the Earl of *Somerſet*: The Eldeſt had many Sons and Daughters; the Earl of *Berkſhire*, being the Second, married the Daughter of *Cecil* Earl of *Saliſbury*; the Third, being Sir *Robert Howard* of *Clun*, married the Daughter of *Nevil* Lord *Abergavenny*. The Fourth, who was created Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, married the Daughter of the Lord *Butler*. One of the Daughters of the ſaid Earl of *Suffolk* was married to *Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*; another to *Boyle* Earl of *Orrery*; one to *Villiers*, and another to *Walſingham*; all of which had Iſſue.

But to return to *Philip*, the eldeſt Son of the Lord *William Howard* of *Naworth*, who married into the Family of the *Carels*, by whom he left one Son called *William*, who married the Daughter of the Lord *Evers*, by whom he had Sons and Daughters; *Charles* the eldeſt Son, late Earl of *Carliſle*, having married the Daughter of the late Lord *Eſcrick Howard*, by whom he had *Edward*, the preſent Earl of *Carliſle*, who married the Daughter and Heir of Sir *William Udal*, by whom he hath a hopeful Offspring. Alſo two Daughters, one married to the Lord *Preſton*, the other to Sir *John Fenwick*. Sir *Philip Howard*, Brother to the late Earl of *Carliſle*, married the Daughter of Sir *William Newton*, by whom he hath one Son.

Sir *Francis Howard*, the ſecond Son of the Lord *William Howard*, married the Daughter of Sir *Henry Widdrington*, by whom he had Heirs; *Francis*, his eldeſt Son, married the Daughter of Sir *William Gerrard*, by whom he had two Daughters; and after married the Daughter of *John Townly*, of *Townly*, Eſq; by whom he hath Iſſue.

William, the youngeſt Son of Sir *Francis*, married the Daughter of *George Dawſon*, Eſq; hath Iſſue alſo: *Thomas*, the ſecond Son, having taken Religious Orders. His eldeſt Son *Thomas* was ſlain in the late Wars.

Sir *Charles*, the third Son of the Lord *William*, married alſo the Daughter of Sir *Henry Widdrington*, by whom he had Heirs; *William*, the eldeſt Son, being married to the Daughter and Heir of *George Cuningham*, Eſq; by whom he had one Son *Charles*, who married the Daughter of *John Mear*, Eſq; *Dorothy*, the Daughter of Sir *Charles Howard*, married *William Salone*, of *Croxdale*, in the County of *Durham*, and hath Iſſue. Another Daughter was Religious.

Colonel *Thomas Howard*, the fourth Son of the Lord *William*, who ſo eminently ſerved his King, and loſt his Life in that Service, married *Margaret*, Daughter to Sir *William Evers*, ſecond Son to the Lord *Evers*, by whom he had one Son named *Thomas*, and ſix Daughters; *Thomas* married the Daughter and Heir of *George Heron*, of *Chip-Chace*, Eſq; by whom he hath three Daughters. *Mary*, the eldeſt Daughter of Colonel *Thomas Howard*, married *Ralph Fetherſtonhalgh*, of *Stanhope*, in the County of *Durham*, of an ancient Family in the *North*; *Margaret* and *Antonia* were Religious; *Catharine* married to *Nathaniel Lacy*, of *Dreping*, in *Lincolnſhire*, Eſq;

whoſe Family were formerly Earls of *Lincoln*; and after married to *Edward Lacy*, of *Brewry Caſtle*, in the County of *Limerick*, Eſq; deſcended from the Earls of *Ulſter*, in *Ireland*. *Tereſa*, the youngeſt Daughter of Colonel *Thomas Howard*, was married to *Ralph Booth*, of the County of *Durham*, Eſq; of an ancient Family, related to the Lord *Delamer*, bearing the ſame Name and Arms, who hath Iſſue.

Thus hath this illuſtrious Family ſpread itſelf over the three Kingdoms, and hath acquired ſo much Glory Abroad, that, in all Places where Nobility is known and underſtood, the Name of *Howard* is honoured: *Germany* claims it by its Original, *France* by Alliance, and *Italy* by Reſpect; having had that Object of Honour, *Thomas*, the great Lord Marſhal among them, whoſe generous and noble Diſpoſition planted ſuch laſting Obligations there, that even in theſe preſent Times ſome of his Deſcendants have reaped the Benefit. Courage has been ſo eſſentially due to this great Family, that never any was known of that Blood, that did not poſſeſs an exceſſive Share of that Virtue, which they generally employed in the Service of their Prince, few of them having been in Rebellion; and it is wiſhed they may never ſully themſelves with ſo black a Crime, and, as they are deſcended from Princes, ſo they may unite themſelves in a true Obedience to their Sovereign, which is the beſt Defence of Families; nothing being ſo fatal as Faction and Sedition, which has at all Times proved a Canker to conſume them.

The grand Impoſtor examined: Or, the Life, Trial, and Examination of *James Nayler*, the ſeduced and ſeducing Quaker; with the Manner of his Riding into *Briſtol*.

We have a Law, and by our Law he ought to die, becauſe he made himſelf the Son of God. JOH. XIX. 7.

But theſe are written, that ye might believe, that Jeſus is the Chriſt, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye might have Life through his Name. JOH. XX. 31.

London, printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Hand* in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, 1656. *Quarto*, containing fifty-ſix Pages.

To the READER.

Courteous Reader,

I *Do here give thee an Account of what paſſed between* James Nayler *and his Judges, as thinking it a Part of my Duty, towards God and Man; that thereby, thou mayeſt ſee and know, there is but one only God, and one only Jeſus, which is the Chriſt, who was crucified by the* Jews *at* Jeruſalem; *which whoſoever denies, let him be accurſed.*

It hath been the Cuſtom, in former Times, to immure, ſtone, or otherways puniſh with Death, ſuch as did falſly ſtile themſelves the only Sons of the moſt High God; as thou mayeſt ſee in that faithful Chronologer, John Speed; *who affirmeth, That, in the Reign of*

* *Vide* the 483d Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

King

King Henry the Third, *there appeared a grand Impoſtor, ſomewhat, in Wickedneſs, reſembling this, of whom we are to treat: This Man (or rather Devil) thinking himſelf to be Somebody, boaſted himſelf to be Nobody in the Eyes of the World, but as being ſent from Heaven; and, having a grave and impudent Aſpect, pretended himſelf to be no leſs than the Saviour of Mankind: And, to ſtrike a Belief into the eaſily ſeduced People, he had wounded his Hands, Feet, and Side; affirming theſe to be the Wounds, which the* Jews *had given him at* Jeruſalem. *For which blaſphemous and horrid Doctrine, he was ſentenced to be ſtarved to Death, between the Walls of a ſtrong Priſon, where he and his Doctrine died: Even* ſo let all thine Enemies periſh, O Lord.

Thou wilt, in his Examination, diſcover ſome Difference to be between him and George Fox; *but I ſuppoſe they are again reconciled.*

I ſhall not trouble thee with all the many Letters, which were conveyed from him to others, or from them to him, leſt I make my Relation ſwell too big: I ſhall only give thee two or three of the chiefeſt; out of which if thou canſt pick but a little Senſe, and leſs Truth, thou canſt do more than

December 16, 1656.

Thy loving Friend.

READER,

THinking it a very good Foundation to my Building, to give you the Manner of his Progreſs, before you come to his Confeſſion, or before his Blaſphemy aſpires to the Stool of Repentance, I ſhall thus begin: *James Nayler* of *Wakefield*, in the County of *York*, a deluded and deluding Quaker and Impoſtor, rode *October* laſt, through a Village called *Bedminſter*, about a Mile from *Briſtol*, accompanied with ſix more, one whereof a young Man whoſe Head was bare, leading his Horſe by the Bridle, and another uncovered before him, through the dirty Way, in which the Carts and Horſes, and none elſe, uſually go: And with them, two Men on Horſeback, with each of them a Woman behind him, and one Woman walking on the better Way or Path. In this Poſture, did they march; and in ſuch a Caſe, that one *George Witherley*, noting their Condition, aſked them to come in the better Road, adding that God expected no ſuch Extremity: But they continued on their Way, not anſwering in any other Notes, but what were Muſical, ſinging, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth*, &c. Thus continued they, till, by their Wandering, they came to the Alms-houſe, within the Suburbs of *Briſtol*, where one of the Women alighted, and ſhe, with the other of her own Sex, lovingly marched on each Side of *Nayler*'s Horſe. This *Witherley* ſaith, he ſuppoſes, they could not be leſs deep in the muddy Way, than to the Knees; and, he ſaith, they ſang, but ſometimes with ſuch a buzzing mel-odious Noiſe, that he could not underſtand, what it was. This the ſaid *Witherley* gave in, upon his Oath. Thus did they reach *Ratcliff-gate*, with *Timothy Wedlock* of *Devon* bare-headed, and *Martha Symonds* with the Bridle on one Side, and *Hannah Stranger*, on the other Side of the Horſe; this *Martha Symonds* is the Wife of *Thomas Symonds*, of *London*, Book-binder; and *Hannah Stranger* is the Wife of *John Stranger* of *London*, Comb-maker, who ſung *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Iſrael.* Thus did he ride to the high Croſs in *Briſtol*, and after that, to the *White Hart* in *Broadſtreet*, where there lie two eminent Quakers, by Name *Dennis Holliſter* and *Henry Row*; of which the Magiſtrates hearing, they were apprehended and committed to Priſon.

Long it had not been, after their Confinement in the Gaol at *Exeter*, from whence, paſſing through *Wells* and *Glaſſenbury*, this Party beſtrewed the Way with their Garments. But, to be ſhort, they were ſearched, and Letters were found about them, infinitely filled with profane nonſenſical Language; which Letters I ſhall not trouble you with, only ſome of the chief, leſt your Patience ſhould be too much cloyed. We ſhall haſte now to their Examinations; and, becauſe *Nayler* was the chief Actor, it is fit he have the Pre-eminence of Leading the Way in their Examinations; we ſhall therefore give you a full Account of what paſſed between the Magiſtrate and him, which take as followeth;

The

The Examination of James Nayler, *and others.*

BEing aſked his Name, or whether he was not called *James Nayler*, he replied, The Men of this World call me *James Nayler*.

Queſt. Art not thou the Man that rid on Horſe-back into *Briſtol*, a Woman leading thy Horſe, and others ſinging before thee, *Holy, holy, holy, Hoſannah*, &c?

Anſw. I did ride into a Town, but what its Name was I know not, and, by the Spirit, a Woman was commanded to hold my Horſe's Bridle, and ſome there were that caſt down Clothes, and ſang Praiſes to the Lord, ſuch Songs as the Lord put into their Hearts; and it is like it might be the Song of *Holy, holy, holy*, &c.

Queſt. Whether or no didſt thou reprove thoſe Women?

Anſw. Nay, but I bade them take Heed, that they ſang nothing but what they were moved to by the Lord.

Queſt. Doſt thou own this Letter (whereupon a Letter was ſhewed him) which *Hannah Stranger* ſent unto thee?

Anſw. Yea, I do own that Letter.

Queſt. Art thou (according to that Letter) the faireſt of ten-thouſand?

Anſw. As to the Viſible, I deny any ſuch Attribute to be due unto me; but if, as to that which the Father has begotten in me, I ſhall own it. But now, Reader, before I paſs further, I hold it not impertinent to deliver you the Words of the ſame Letter, with another, which were theſe:

A Letter to James Nayler *at* Exeter, *by* Hannah Stranger.

J. N.

IN the pure Fear and Power of God, my Soul ſalutes thee, thou everlaſting Son of Righteouſneſs and Prince of Peace. Oh! how my Soul travelleth to ſee this Day, which *Abraham* did, and was glad, and ſo ſhall all that are of faithful *Abraham*: O! ſuffer me to ſpeak what the Lord hath moved, There is one Temptation near, the like unto the firſt, and is like the Wiſdom of God, but it is not, and therefore it muſt be deſtroyed. Oh! it defileth and hateth the Innocent; I beſeech thee wait, my Soul travelleth to ſee a pure Image brought forth, and the Enemy ſtrives to deſtroy it, that he may keep me always ſorrowing, and ever ſeeking, and never ſatisfied, nor never rejoicing: But he in whom I have believed will ſhortly tread Satan under our Feet, and then ſhalt thou and thine return to *Zion* with everlaſting Rejoicings and Praiſes. But, till then, better is the Houſe of Mourning than Rejoicing, for he that was made a perfect Example, when he had faſted the appointed Time of his Father, was tempted to eat, and to ſhew a Miracle, to prove himſelf to be the Son of God: But Man lives not by Bread, ſaid he, and now no more by that Wiſdom ſhall he live, on which he hath long fed, as on Bread; and, as his Food hath been, ſo muſt his Faſt be, and then, at the End, Temptation, to as low a Thing as a Stone, that, if it were poſſible, the Humility and the Miracles would deceive the elect, innocent, and righteous Branch of Holineſs. But, be his Wills never ſo many, the Time comes he ſhall leave thee, for he is faithful, who hath promiſed he will not leave the Throne of *David* without a Man to ſit thereon, which ſhall judge the Poor with Righteouſneſs, and the World with Equity. This ſhall ſhortly come to paſs, and then ſhall the Viſion ſpeak, and not lye. O! let Innocency be thy Beloved, and Righteouſneſs thy Spouſe, that thy Father's Lambs may rejoice in thy pure and clear unſpotted Image of Holineſs and Purity, which my Soul believeth I ſhall ſee, and ſo in the Faith reſt. I am in Patience, wait, and the Power will preſerve from Subtlety; though under never ſo zealous a Pretence of innocent Wiſdom it be, yet ſhall the Lord not ſuffer his holy one to ſee Corruption, nor his Soul to lie in Hell, but will cauſe the Mountains to melt at his Preſence, and the little Hills to bring him Peace: O! I am ready to fear as a Servant, and to obey as a Child. If I have ſpoken Words too high, Love hath conſtrained me, which is as ſtrong as Death; and with the ſame Spirit cover them as they are ſpoken with, and then ſhall the Spirit of *David* be witneſſed, who refuſed not Words, though

from

from his Servant's Mouth; if they were in the Fear, I am his Servant, and he my Maſter, whom I love and fear, and truſt I ſhall do unto the End.

Hannah Stranger.

From *London*, 16th Day of the 7th Month.

Another of the ſame.

O H! thou faireſt of ten-thouſand, thou only begotten Son of God, How my Heart panteth after thee? O ſtay me with Flaggons, and comfort me with Wine. My Beloved, thou art like a Roe, or young Hart, upon the Mountains of Spices, where thy beloved Spouſe hath long been calling thee to come away, but hath been but lately heard of thee. Now it lies ſomething upon me, that thou mindeſt to ſee her, for the Spirit and Power of God is with her; and there is given to her much of excellent and innocent Wiſdom ariſen, and ariſing in her, which will make all the honeſt-hearted to praiſe the Lord alone, and no more ſet up Self. And therefore let not my Lord and Maſter have any Jealouſy again of her, for ſhe is highly beloved of the Lord, and that ſhall all ſee who come to know the Lord. And now he doth bleſs them that bleſs his, and curſe them that curſe his; for this hath the Lord ſhewed me, That her Portion is exceeding large in the Lord; and, as her Sorrow hath been much, ſo ſhall her Joy be much more; which rejoiceth my Heart, to ſee her walk ſo valiantly and ſo faithfully in the Work of the Lord, in this Time of ſo great Trials as hath been laid upon her eſpecially.

And I am *Hannah Stranger.*

The Poſtſcript.

Remember my dear Love to thy Maſter. Thy Name is no more to be called *James* but *Jeſus*. *John Stranger.*

This *John Stranger* is Husband to this *Hannah Stranger*; and this was added as a Poſtſcript by him to his Wife's Letter, as is acknowledged,

Remember my Love to thoſe Friends with thee. The ſeventeenth Day of the eighth Month, ſuperſcribed this to the Hands of *James Nayler*.

We ſhall now return to his Examination.

Queſt. Art thou the only Son of God?

Anſw. I am the Son of God, but I have many Brethren.

Queſt. Have any called thee by the Name of *Jeſus*?

Anſw. Not as unto the Viſible, but as *Jeſus*, the *Chriſt* that is in me.

Queſt. Doſt thou own the Name of the King of *Iſrael*?

Anſw. Not as a Creature, but, if they give it *Chriſt* within, I own it, and have a Kingdom but not of this World; my Kingdom is of another World, of which thou wotſt not.

Queſt. Whether or no art thou the Prophet of the Moſt High?

Anſw. Thou haſt ſaid, I am a Prophet.

Queſt. Doſt thou own that Attribute, the Judge of *Iſrael*?

Anſw. The Judge is but one, and is witneſſed in me, and is the *Chriſt*, there muſt not be any joined with him: If they ſpeak of the Spirit in me, I own it only as God is manifeſt in the Fleſh, according as God dwelleth in me, and judgeth there himſelf.

Queſt. By whom were you ſent?

Anſw. By him who hath ſent the Spirit of his Son in me to try, not as to Carnal Matters, but belonging to the Kingdom of God, by the Indwelling of the Father and the Son, to Judge of all Spirits, to be guided by none.

Queſt. Is not the written Word of God the Guide?

Anſw. The written Word declares of it, and what is not according to that is not true.

Queſt. Whether art thou more ſent than others, or whether others be not ſent in that Meaſure?

Anſw. As to that I have nothing at preſent given me of my Father to anſwer.

Queſt. Was your Birth mortal or immortal?

Anſw. Not according to the Natural Birth, but according to the Spiritual Birth, born of the immortal Seed.

Queſt. Wert thou ever called the Lamb of God?

Anſw. I look not back to Things behind, but there might be ſome ſuch Thing in the Letter; I am a Lamb, and have fought it long before I could witneſs it.

Queſt. Who is thy Mother, or whether or no is ſhe a Virgin?

Anſw. Nay, according to the Natural Birth.

Queſt.

Queſt. Who is thy Mother according to thy Spiritual Birth?

Anſw. No carnal Creature.

Queſt. Who then?

Anſw. ——To this he refuſed to anſwer.

Queſt. Is the Hope of *Iſrael* in thee?

Anſw. The Hope is in Chriſt, and, as Chriſt is in me, ſo far the Hope of *Iſrael* ſtands; Chriſt is in me the Hope of Glory.

Queſt. What more Hope is there in thee than in others?

Anſw. None can know but them of *Iſrael*, and *Iſrael* muſt give an Account.

Queſt. Art thou the Everlaſting Son of God?

Anſw. Where God is manifeſt in the Fleſh, there is the Everlaſting Son, and I do witneſs God in the Fleſh; I am the Son of God, and the Son of God is but one.

Queſt. Art thou the Prince of Peace?

Anſw. The Prince of Everlaſting Peace is begotten in me.

Queſt. Why doſt thou not reprove thoſe that give thee theſe Attributes?

Anſw. I have ſaid nothing unto them but ſuch Things are written.

Queſt. Is thy Name *Jeſus?*

Anſw. ——Here he was ſilent.

Queſt. For what Space of Time haſt thou been ſo called?

Anſw. ———And here.

Queſt. Is there no other *Jeſus* beſides thee?

Anſw. Theſe Queſtions he forbore either to confirm or to contradict them.

Queſt. Art thou the Everlaſting Son of God, the King of Righteouſneſs?

Anſw. I am, and the Everlaſting Righteouſneſs is wrought in me; if ye were acquainted with the Father, ye would alſo be acquainted with me.

Queſt. Did any kiſs thy Feet?

Anſw. It might be they did, but I minded them not.

Queſt. When thou waſt called the King of *Iſrael*, didſt thou not anſwer, thou ſayeſt it?

Anſw. Yea.

Queſt. How doſt thou provide for a Livelihood?

Anſw. As do the Lillies without Care, being maintained by my Father.

Queſt. Whom doſt thou call thy Father?

Anſw. He whom thou calleſt God.

Queſt. What Buſineſs hadſt thou at *Briſtol*, or that Way?

Anſw. I was guided and directed by my Father.

Queſt. Why waſt thou called a Judge to try the Cauſe of *Iſrael?*

Anſw. ———Here he anſwered nothing.

Queſt. Are any of theſe Sayings Blaſphemy or not?

Anſw. What is received of the Lord is Truth.

Queſt. Whoſe Letter was that which was writ to thee, ſigned *T. S.*

Anſw. It was ſent me to *Exeter* Goal by one the World calls *Tho. Symonds.*

Queſt. Didſt thou not ſay, if ye had known me, ye had known the Father?

Anſw. Yea, for the Father is my Life.

Queſt. Where wert thou born?

Anſw. At *Anderſlow* in *Yorkſhire.*

Queſt. Where lives thy Wife?

Anſw. She, whom thou calleſt my Wife, lives in *Wakefield.*

Queſt. Why doſt thou not live with her?

Anſw. I did, till I was called to the Army.

Queſt. Under whoſe Command didſt thou ſerve in the Army?

Anſw. Firſt, under him they call Lord *Fairfax.*

Queſt. Who then?

Anſw. Afterwards, under that Man called Col. *Lambert:* And then I went into *Scotland*, where I was a Quartermaſter, and returned ſick to my earthly Habitation, and was called into the *North.*

Queſt. What wenteſt thou for to *Exeter?*

Anſw. I went to *Lawſon*, to ſee the Brethren.

Queſt. What Eſtate haſt thou?

Anſw. I take no Care for that.

Queſt. Doth God in an extraordinary Manner ſuſtain thee, without any corporal Food?

Anſw. Man doth not live by Bread alone, but by every Word that proceedeth out of the Mouth of the Father: The ſame Life is mine that is in the Father; but not in the ſame Meaſure.

Queſt. How art thou cloathed?

Anſw. I know not.

Queſt. Doſt thou live without Bread?

Anſw. As long as my heavenly Father will: I have taſted of that Bread, of which he that eateth ſhall never die.

Queſt. How long haſt thou lived without any corporal Suſtenance, having perfect Health?

Anſw.

Anſw. Some fifteen or ſixteen Days, ſuſtained without any other Food except the Word of God.

Queſt. Was *Dorcas Erbury* dead two Days in *Exeter*, and didſt thou raiſe her?

Anſw. I can do nothing of myſelf: The Scripture beareth Witneſs to the Power in me which is Everlaſting; it is the ſame Power we read of in the Scripture. The Lord hath made me a Sign of his Coming: And that Honour that belongeth to *Chriſt Jeſus*, in whom I am revealed, may be given to him, as when on Earth at *Jeruſalem*, according to the Meaſure.

Queſt. Art thou the unſpotted Lamb of God, that taketh away the Sins of the World?

Anſw. Were I not a Lamb, Wolves would not ſeek to devour me.

Queſt. Art thou not guilty of horrid Blaſphemy, by thy own Words?

Anſw. Who made thee a Judge over them?

Queſt. Wherefore cameſt thou in ſuch an unuſual Poſture, as, two Women leading thy Horſe; others ſinging *Holy, holy*, &c. with another before thee bare-headed, Knee-deep in the Highway-mud, when thou mighteſt have gone in the Cauſey; and at ſuch a Time, that, it raining, thy Companions received the Rain at their Necks, and vented it at their Noſe and Breeches?

Anſw. It tended to my Father's Praiſe and Glory, and I ought not to ſlight any Thing which the Spirit of the Lord moves.

Queſt. Doſt thou think the Spirit of the Lord moved, or commanded them?

Anſw. Yea.

Queſt. Whom meant they by *Holy, holy, holy*, &c?

Anſw. Let them anſwer for themſelves, they are at Age.

Queſt. Did not ſome ſpread their Cloaths on the Ground before thee, when thou riddeſt thorough *Glaſtonbury* and *Wells*?

Anſw. I think they did.

Queſt. Wherefore didſt thou call *Martha Symonds* Mother, as *George Fox* affirms?

Anſw. *George Fox* is a Lyar and a Firebrand of Hell; for neither I, nor any with me, called her ſo.

Queſt. Thou haſt a Wife at this Time?

Anſw. A Woman I have, who by the World is called my Wife; and ſome Children I have, which according to the Fleſh are mine.

Queſt. Thoſe Books which thou haſt writ, Wilt thou maintain them, and affirm what is therein?

Anſw. Yea, with my deareſt Blood.

Martha Symonds's *Examination.*

She confeſſeth, ſhe knew James Nayler *formerly; for he is now no more* James Nayler, *but refined to a more excellent Subſtance; and ſo ſhe ſaith ſhe came with him from* Briſtol *to* Exeter

Queſt. WHat made thee lead his Horſe into *Briſtol*, and ſing *Holy, holy, holy*, &c? And to ſpread thy Garments before him?

Anſw. I was forced thereto by the Power of the Lord.

Queſt. He is ſtiled, in *Hannah Stranger*'s Letter, *The Faireſt of Ten-thouſand*, *The Hope of* Iſrael, and *The only begotten Son of God*: Doſt thou ſo eſteem him?

Anſw. That *James Nayler*, of whom thou ſpeakeſt, is buried in me, and he hath promiſed to come again.

Queſt. Doſt thou like of that Attribute, as given to him?

Anſw. I cannot tell, I judge them not.

Queſt. Whether didſt thou kneel before him?

Anſw. What I did was in Obedience to a Power above.

Queſt. Doſt thou own him to be the Prince of Peace?

Anſw. He is a perfect Man; and he, that is a perfect Man, is the Prince of Peace.

Queſt. Haſt thou a Huſband?

Anſw. I have a Man, which thou calleſt my Huſband.

Queſt. What made thee to leave him, and to follow *James Nayler* in ſuch a Manner?

Anſw. It is our Life to praiſe the Lord, and the Lord my Strength (who filleth Heaven and Earth) is manifeſt in *James Nayler*.

Queſt. Oughteſt thou to worſhip *James Nayler*, upon thy Knees?

Anſw. Yea, I ought ſo to do.

Queſt. Why oughteſt thou ſo to do?

Anſw. He is the Son of Righteouſneſs; and the new Man within him is the everlaſting Son of Righteouſneſs; and *James Nayler* will be *Jeſus*, when the new Life is born in him.

Queſt. By what Name calleſt thou him?

Anſw. Lord.

Queſt. Why doſt thou call him Lord?

Anſw. Becauſe he is the Prince of Peace, and Lord of Righteouſneſs.

Queſt. What Reaſon canſt thou ſhew for thy Calling him King of *Iſrael?*

Anſw. He is ſo anointed.

Queſt. Who hath anointed him?

Anſw. A Prophet.

Queſt. What Prophet was that?

Anſw. I will not tell thee.

Queſt. Thou confeſſeſt that thou didſt ſpread thy Cloaths?

Anſw. Yea, I did.

Queſt. Tell me; Doth that Spirit of *Jeſus*, which thou ſayeſt is in *Nayler*, make him a ſufficient *Jeſus* to others?

Anſw. I tell thee, there is Seed born in him, which above all Men I ſhall (and every one ought to) honour.

Queſt. Is he King of *Iſrael*, as thy Huſband ſaith?

Anſw. If he ſaith ſo, thy Teſtimony is double.

Hannah Stranger's *Examination.*

She ſaith, ſhe came from Briſtol *to* Exeter *with* James Nayler; *and that ſhe flung her Handkerchief before him, becauſe commanded ſo of the Lord; and that ſhe ſung* Holy, *&c. and that the Lord is riſen in him.*

Queſt. WHerefore didſt thou ſing before *James Nayler?*

Anſw. I muſt not be mute when I am commanded of the Lord.

Queſt. Wherefore didſt thou ſing to him?

Anſw. My Conſcience tells me I have not offended any Law.

Queſt. Was that Letter thine: And didſt didſt thou ſpread thy Garments before him?

Anſw. Yea, and my Blood will maintain it.

Queſt. Doſt thou own him for the Prince of Peace?

Anſw. Yea, he is ſo.

Queſt. What doſt thou call his Name?

Anſw. It hath been ſaid already, I have told of his Name.

Queſt. Doſt thou not know it to be Blaſphemy to give him ſuch and ſuch Attributes?

Anſw. If I have offended any Law, *&c.*

Queſt. Didſt thou ſend him that Letter wherein he was called the Son of God?

Anſw. Yea, I do own the whole Letter.

Queſt. Didſt thou call him *Jeſus?*

Anſw. ——————She would not anſwer.

Queſt. Didſt thou kiſs his Feet?

Anſw. Yea.

Thomas Stranger's *Examination.*

HE owneth the Poſtſcript of the Letter, in which he calleth *James Nayler Jeſus*; but could not be got to anſwer to any more Queſtions, any further, than, *If I have offended any Law.* He confeſſeth he called *James Nayler Jeſus*, and ſaith he was thereto moved of the Lord.

Timothy Wedlock's *Examination.*

Queſt. DOST thou own *James Nayler* to be the only Son of God?

Anſw. I do own him to be the Son of God.

Queſt. Wherefore didſt thou and the reſt ſing before him, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of* Iſrael?

Anſw. I do own the Songs of *Sion.*

Queſt. Thou wilt go through a great Rain bare-headed, Why then wilt thou not be uncovered to a Magiſtrate?

Anſw. What I did was as the Lord commanded.

Queſt. What is your Opinion concerning Religion?

Anſw. I own no Opinions, nor any Judgements.

Queſt. Wherefore didſt thou honour him in Towns, and not elſewhere?

Anſw. We did as well in Commons; but in both, as the Spirit of the Lord directed us.

Queſt. Wherefore didſt thou kneel before him?

Anſw. The Truth.

Dorcas Erbury, *the Widow of* William Erbury, *once a Miniſter, but a ſeducing Quaker, her Examination.*

Queſt. WHERE doſt thou live?

Anſw. With *Margaret Thomas.*

Queſt. Wherefore didſt thou ſing Holy, &c?

Anſw. I did not at that Time; but thoſe that ſang did it in diſcharging of their Duty.

Queſt. Doſt thou own him that rode on Horſe-back to be the Holy one of *Iſrael?*

Anſw. Yea, I do; and with my Blood will ſeal it.

Queſt. And doſt thou own him for the Son of God?

Anſw. He is the only begotten Son of God.

Queſt. Wherefore didſt thou pull off his Stockings, and lay thy Cloaths beneath his Feet?

Anſw. He is worthy of it; for he is the holy Lord of *Iſrael.*

Queſt. Kneweſt thou no other *Jeſus*, the only begotten Son of God?

Anſw. I know no other Saviour.

Queſt. Doſt thou believe in *James Nayler?*

Anſw. Yea, in him whom thou calleſt ſo, I do.

Queſt. By what Name doſt thou uſe to call him?

Anſw. The Son of God; but I am to ſerve him, and to call him Lord and Maſter.

Queſt. *Jeſus* was crucified; but this Man, you call the Son of God, is alive?

Anſw. He hath ſhook off his carnal Body.

Queſt. Why, what Body hath he then?

Anſw. Say not the Scriptures, Thy natural Body I will change, and it ſhall be ſpiritual?

Queſt. Hath a Spirit Fleſh and Bones?

Anſw. His Fleſh and Bones are new.

Queſt. Chriſt raiſed thoſe that had been dead; ſo did not he.

Anſw. He raiſed me.

Queſt. In what Manner?

Anſw. He laid his Hand on my Head, after I had been dead two Days, and ſaid, *Dorcas, ariſe*; and I aroſe, and live as thou ſeeſt.

Queſt. Where did he this?

Anſw. At the Gaol in *Exeter.*

Queſt. What Witneſs haſt thou for this?

Anſw. My Mother, who was preſent.

Queſt. His Power being ſo much, wherefore opened he not the Priſon-doors, and eſcaped?

Anſw. The Doors ſhall open, when the Lord's Work is done.

Queſt. What Apoſtles hath he?

Anſw. They are ſcattered, but ſome are here.

Queſt. *Jeſus Chriſt* doth ſit at the Right-hand of the Father, where the World ſhall be judged by him.

Anſw. He, whom thou calleſt *Nayler*, ſhall ſit at the Right-hand of the Father, and ſhall judge the World with Equity.

Here followeth a Relation concerning one of his Companions.

ONE of *James Nayler*'s Diſciples, having attained to ſome Knowledge in the *French* Tongue, went over into *France* to a City called *Bourdeaux*, where, after entering into a Congregation of the Proteſtants, he began, after his wonted Manner here in *England*, to cry out, in the open Congregation, againſt the Miniſter, calling him Conjurer, Lyar, Impoſtor, Deceiver; and the Elders and People being aſtoniſhed at the Novelty, and reputing him a Madman, came and told him, That they had Laws in *France* to protect the Congregations, either of Papiſts or Proteſtants, from any Diſturbance; and thruſt him forth of their Church.

Upon which, he went into the Church-yard, and, upon a Stone, continued his Diſcourſe, which drew the whole Congregation out of the Church, after him, and cauſed the Miniſter to give over; and the Elders, coming again to him, told him, That, he being a Stranger, they were willing to favour him; but, ſeeing he did continue his Diſturbance, they would commit him to Juſtice; he told them, Juſtice was never in that Place until his Appearance.

Upon that, they took him away to the Governor; where, being brought, with his Hat on, he aſked the Governor what he was; who told him, he was the Governor of that Place under the King of *France*: He ſaid, That he would not anſwer him as Governor, his Government being carnal: And a certain Biſhop being with the Governor, who was a Papiſt, deſiring that he might queſtion him, and demanding what he was, he told him, he was an *Engliſhman*, and ſent of the Lord to prepare his Way: He demanded of the Biſhop what he was; who told him, he was a Biſhop; whereupon he replied, That againſt him he was ſent, who was one of the Locuſts that was ſent forth of the bottomleſs Pit; and that the Weapons he had with him were fitted to deſtroy him and the whole Kingdom of Antichriſt, who was held in Darkneſs and Blindneſs; and that he was to pour out Vials of the Father's Wrath upon him. The Governor of *Bourdeaux*, perceiving ſeveral of the People to be infected with his Doctrine, demanded if there was any Ship ready to ſail for *England*; which being informed of, he therein ſhipped him, being not willing to uſe Extremity to a Stranger, but cauſed ſome ſix or ſeven, who had been infected with his Doctrine, to be whipped through the Streets.

A Relation concerning ſome others of the ſame Tribe.

SEVEN or eight others went over in a Veſſel to *New England*, where, being arrived, they began to ſpread themſelves; but the Governor, having Notice, cauſed them to be clapped up cloſe in a Caſtle, and would not ſuffer any to come to ſee them under Penalty of five Pounds: In the mean Time, he ſent for the Maſter of the Ship that brought them, and commanded him immediately to carry them back into old *England*, which, he refuſing, was alſo clapped up cloſe Priſoner, until he conſented, and took them a-board again.

Now, Reader, I ſhall cloſe up all with a Word or two of his Life and Actions.

James Nayler is a Man of ſo erroneous and unſanctified a Diſpoſition, that it is hard to ſay, whether Hereſy or Impudency beareth the greater Rule in him; as will appear:

Firſt, In what he teſtifieth before ſufficient Witneſſes; ſee the *Brief Relation of the Northern Quakers*, Page 22, That he, was as holy, juſt, and good, as God himſelf. And,

Secondly, That he, in a Letter to one in *Lancaſter*, expreſly ſaith, That, he that expected to be ſaved by *Jeſus Chriſt* that died at *Jeruſalem*, ſhall be deceived: See *Mr.* Billingſly's *Defence of the Scriptures*, Page 16. *The perfect Phariſee*, Page 8. And ſo ſaid another of that Sect: He was not ſuch a Fool, as to hope to be ſaved by *Jeſus Chriſt* that died at *Jeruſalem* ſixteen hundred Years ago: See *Mr.* Farmer's *Myſtery of Godlineſs and Ungodlineſs*. Thus they glory in their Ignorance, and count that Fooliſhneſs which is the true Wiſdom.

Thirdly, In a Letter I had in my Poſſeſſion, but now lent to a Friend, ſubſcribed by the Paſtor, and other Members of that Congregation in the *North*, whereof *Nayler* once was a Member, till, for his Apoſtaſy, he was excommunicated, it is offered to be proved, and by them teſtified to be true, that one Mrs. *Roper*, her Huſband being gone, on ſome Occaſion from her, a long Voyage, this *Nayler* frequented her Company, and was ſeen to dandle her upon his Knee, and kiſs her laſciviouſly; and, in that Time of his Society with her, ſhe was brought to Bed of a Child, when her Huſband had been abſent ſeven and forty Weeks, to a Day, from her; and, on a Time, he was ſeen to dance her in a private Room; and, having kiſſed her very often, ſhe took Occaſion to ſay, Now, *James*, what would the World ſay if they ſhould ſee us in this Poſture? To which he ſaid ſomewhat, but he was ſo low, that it could not be heard. This was objected againſt him, but he denied to anſwer it before the ſaid Church; objecting, That he would not ſpeak to them, that ſpoke not immediately by the Spirit.

Fourthly, In that, when I had Diſcourſe with him concerning perfect Perfection, at the *Bull* and *Mouth*, he ſaid, I was a Lyar to ſay he owned it; then I proved it from his own Writings, as that he ſaid, they that ſay they have Faith, and their Life is not the Life of Chriſt, and them that ſay they have Faith, and yet they cannot be ſaved from their Sins but in Part in this World, them and their Faith I deny, *&c.* To which, he hypocritically ſaid, that I was a Lyar to ſay that he owned it in himſelf, though he diſowned it in others.

And,

And, when I had objected any Thing againſt what he ſaid, he would deny it as ſoon as he had ſpoke it; which, to convince the People of his lying Deceits, I deſired them that ſtood by me, to remember that he ſaid, All that are in the World are of the World, in direct Oppoſition to that Saying of Chriſt, *John* xvii, *I pray not, holy Father, that thou ſhouldeſt take them out of the World, but preſerve them from the Evil of the World*; which I preſently accuſed him with, for which he called me Lyar; for he ſaid, He ſaid not ſo; I then deſired them that heard him, to teſtify to the Truth, againſt the Lyar and his Deceit, which they did; but his ſeared Impudence was ſuch, that he ſaid, Should a Thouſand ſay ſo, they were all Lyars; with much more to the like Effect.

For his Character.

HE is a Man of a ruddy Complexion, brown Hair, and ſlank, hanging a little below his Jaw-bones; of an indifferent Height; not very long viſaged, nor very round; cloſe ſhaven; a ſad down Look, and melancholy Countenance; a little Band, cloſe to his Collar, with no Band-ſtrings; his Hat hanging over his Brows; his Noſe neither high nor low, but riſing a little in the Middle.

Something concerning ſome others of them alſo.

D*iſborough*, not much inferior to *Nayler* himſelf, attempting to lie with one *Rebeccah* (who was firſt ſeduced to be, and then was of their Hereſy) ſhe aſked him, What his Wife would ſay if ſhe ſhould know what he attempted? *Diſborough* replied, That he gave her the ſame Liberty that he took himſelf (that was, to be a Whore, as he was a Whoremaſter) but, in ſhort, he having obtained his Deſire of her, ſhe aſked him, How if ſhe ſhould prove with Child? He anſwered, She muſt be content to be numbered with the Tranſgreſſors, and to make her Grave with the Wicked (ſo that he followed not that Light which is pure, but ſinned againſt Knowledge) as ſhe, the ſaid *Rebeccah*, as bewailing her Sin, confeſſed unto one Mr. *White*, a *Lincolnſhire* Gentleman, to whom ſhe added, That *Nayler* attempted to defile her alſo; ſo that, inſtead of perfect Saints, they are rather perfect Sophiſters.

This Relation under the ſaid Gentleman's Hand, and the aforementioned Letter from the Church, whereof *Nayler* was once a Member, were offered to be proved and made good, in the publick Meeting at the *Bull* and *Mouth* to *Nayler*'s Face, more than once or twice, who was unable to ſay aught unto it, but left his Standing, and ſat down ſilent. They, that offered it ſo to publick Trial, were, one Mr. *Perſivall*, and Mr. *John Deacon*, Author of the publick Diſcovery of their ſecret Deceit.

Some of their Opinions are theſe:

1. THEY deny the Scriptures are the Word of God.
2. They eſteem their own Speakings to be of as great Authority.
3. They hold it unlawful to expound or interpret the Scriptures.
4. They ſay, that he, that preaches by a Text of Scripture, is a Conjurer.
5. That the holy Letter is carnal.
6. That the Bible ought to be burned.
7. That *Jeſus Chriſt* inhabits in their Fleſh as Man.
8. Some have ſaid, that Chriſt never aſcended into Heaven.
9. That to pray, that their Sins may be pardoned, is needleſs.
10. They believe not that there is another World.
11. Some of them deny the Reſurrection.
12. That they cannot ſin, but that they are perfect.
13. They make no Diſtinction of Perſons.

A Friend of mine being deſirous to be reſolved of a Doubt; as, Whether that which was reported, of that Heretical Sect, were more than they erred in, or leſs than they erroneouſly maintained contrary to the Truth? He went unto their Meeting, within *Alderſgate*, where he had no ſooner entered that Synagogue of Satan, but the then Speaker (namely, *George Fox*) cried out, but on what Occaſion, he knoweth not, *Quakers, Quakers, Earth is above God*, in the open Houſe, before Hundreds then preſent. At which, my Friend wondered, and preſſing forwards a little into the Multitude, he ſaw ſome diſputing upon the ſame Words; who demanding what was the Matter, one anſwered, That *George Fox* ſaid, *Earth is above God*; and here is one ſaith, that whatſoever *George Fox* ſhould do or ſay, he would maintain (pointing to a young Man then ſtanding by) to whom, my

Friend

Friend replied, he had undertaken a harder Taſk, then he was able to perform: For God was the Creator of the Earth, and all Things elſe; and therefore above the Earth, and not the Earth above him, that created it; foraſmuch as the Workman is above his Work: For, although an Artificer ſhall by Art compoſe any Thing, that is never ſo excellent, yet it can claim no Equality with the Maker, in Regard that what is excellent in it, is the Maker's Excellency, and not its own: For, deſtroy the Work, and the Workman can make the like; but deſtroy the Workman with the Work, and both periſh. To which he replied, He did not mean the Earth under our Feet, but earthly Sin in Man. To which my Friend replied, that now his Blaſphemy was worſe than it was before; for take the Earth ſimply in itſelf, it hath no Prejudice towards God; but Sin is that, which ſeeks God's Deſtruction, and therefore he was not to be converſed with, being of ſo diabolical an Opinion.

One *Stephens* of *London*, being on a Time at their Meetings, with an Intent to oppoſe what he ſhould there hear, not agreeing with Truth which, at his firſt Coming, he did for a ſhort Time, till one of them, taking him by the Hand, and rubbing his Wriſt very hard; which put him to very ſore Pain, and ſo altered his Reſolution, that he was ſo transformed by their Inchantments, that he ſince confeſſed, that, ſhould any one whatſoever have dared to oppoſe or reſiſt them, as he juſt before did, he would have ſtabbed them to the Heart, whatſoever had come of it.

There is one *Stephens* (and it is ſuppoſed, the ſame) a Quaker, that now lieth ſtark mad, and hath ſo been a pretty While, through the Diſturbances of that Spirit, which ruleth in the old Quakers.

John Deacon.

The Vocacyon of *Iohan Bale* to the Biſhoprick of *Oſſorie* in *Irelande*, his Perſecucions in the ſame, and finall Delyueraunce.

God hath deliuered me from the Snare of the Hunter, and from the noyſome Peſtilence. Pſal. xcj.

If I muſt nedes reioyce, I will reioyce of myne Infirmytees. ij Cor. xj.

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The PREFACE.

Iohan Bale to the Followers of Chriſtes Goſpell.

FOR thre Conſyderacyons chefely (dere Bretherne) have I put fourth thys Treatyſe of my Vocacyon to the Churche of Oſſorye *in* Irelande, *of my harde Chaunces therein, and of my fynall Deliueraunce by the great Goodneſſe of God. The Firſt of them is, for that Men ſhulde wele knowe, that the Office of a Chriſten Byſhop is not to loyter in blaſ-*

phemouſe

phemouſe Papiſtrie, but purely to preache the Goſpell of God, to his chriſtened Flocke. The Seconde is, that they ſhulde alſo vnderſtande, that contynuall Perſecucyons, and no bodyly Welthe, doeth folowe the ſame moſt godly Office, in them which truly executeth it. The Thirde is, that they myght beholde how gracyouſly our moſt mercyful God wyth hys Power wayteth upon them, and fynally delyuereth them in moſt depe Daungers.

Theſe 3. *Thynges notable, concerninge the electe Membres of Gods Congregacyon in thys Life, comprehendeth muche Matter in the Scriptures of both Teſtamentes, with Abundaunce of Examples from* Abel *the Firſt to* Iohan *the* Euangyliſt, *which was the laſt Lyver in the ſame.*

The Examples alſo therof are both lyuely and innumerable, in the firſt Propagacion and longe Contynuance of the Chriſten Churche from hys Tyme to thys our Tyme, as the Chronycles and Hyſtoryes moſt abundauntly ſpecifieth.

Firſt, as concernynge the Examples of holye Scripture. Ieſus, *the eternall Sonne of the euerlaſtynge Father, in the Godhede preached to* Adam *in Paradyſe Terreſtre, and conſtytute hym ſo wele an Inſtructour as a Father ouer hys Poſteryte. He proued him alſo after he had ſinned, by dyuerſe Afflyctyons, and fynally promyſed, both to hym and to hys, Deliuerraunce in the Sede of the Woman, which at the laſtre in hys owne Perſone he louingly perfourmed. Chriſte the ſeyde Sonne of God contynually ſtill taught, by the Mouthes of the Fathers and Prophetes, tyll ſuche Tyme as he hymſelfe came in the Fleſhe.*

Than was he aboue all others, of hys heauenly Father appoynted a vniuerſall Doctor ouer all the Worlde, and commaunded to be hearde, Math. iij. *He followed hys Vocacyon in moſt ample wyſe, very cruelly was he of the Clergie than perſecuted, and glorioufly delyuered in hys Reſurrectyon from Deathe. The Members of hys true Churche, the Prophetes and Apoſtles, were in Caſe like as he their Head was, firſt called, than afflicted, and gracyouſly alwayes in the Ende delyuered. He that ſhall marke the laborioufe Procedinges of* Abraham, Ioſeph, *and* Moyſes, *of* Dauid, Helyas, *and* Daniel, *with the other olde Fathers and Prophetes, ſhall fynde it no leſſe. He lykewyſe that ſhall dyſcretely ſearche the Doynges of* Peter, Iames, *and* Iohan, *with the other of the Apoſtles and Diſciples, ſhall wele perceyue the ſame.*

Hieremye *for the olde Lawe,* Paule *for the newe Lawe, and* Iohan Baptyſt *betwixt them both, were called from their Mothers Wombe to that heauenly Offyce of Preachynge.* Hier. j. Luce. j. Gala. j. *yea, they ſuffered extreme Perſecucyons vndre Tyraunes, and fynally were deliuered, in this Lyfe from parelouſe Daungers, and in Deathe from Synne, Helle, and Dampnacyon. To rehearce the Examples of the primatyue Churche, and of the Ages followynge, concernynge theſe Matters, it wolde requyre much Tyme, they are ſo manye, and therfor at thys preſent I omit them. Thus am I not alone in theſe* 3. *Matters of Vocacion, Perſecucion, and Deliueraunce, but haue on my Syde an infinyte Nombre of Examples. Which maketh me the more a great dele to reioyce, like as I wiſhe them to do, which haue in theſe troubloufe Dayes the lyke. Neyther am I aſhamed to tell my Bretherne, what God hath moſt graciouſly done for me, nomer than S.* Paule *was for hymſelfe in hys owne Epiſtles, and* Luke *in the* Actes *for Saint* Peter, *though I be farre vnlyke them. For I fare lyke the Byrde which is deliuered from the Snare of the Catcher. He flyeth to a Bough, and reioyceth in his Delyueraunce, and euen ſo do I. In the which Reioyce, I make not only my ſelfe merye, but alſo all my louinge Frindes. And as for my cruel Enemyes the Papiſtes, if I make them ſorye in the Rehearſal of my Delyueraunce, I am not yll apayde therof. For it is better (they ſaye in* Northfolke) *that younge* Lyddernes *wepe, than olde Men. I call them yonge and not olde, for* God *is eldar than*

Sathan,

Sathan, *if Age may be attributed to his Eternyte, as* Daniel *ſayeth it maye, and* Chriſte *eldar than the* Deuyls *Vycar at* Rome, *their vngracyouſe Father.*

As we are in moſt Thinges contrarie to theſe Papiſtes, ſo haue we Rejoyces contrary to theirs. They reioyce in Helthe, Proſperite, Riches and worldly Pleaſures for their Bellies Sake. We in our Infirmytees, Afflictions, Loſſes, and ſorowfull Croſtes, for Chriſtes *Veritees Sake. And thus maye we wele do, and boaſt of it alſo without Offence, for ſo ded the ſarenamed S.* Paule. 2. Cor. 11. *and earneſtly willed vs to be his Folowers.* Phil. 3. *Firſt he boaſted of his Vocacyon, and ſayde, God ſorted me out and appointed me from my Mothers Wombe, and alſo he called me by his Grace, to preache his liuely Goſpell amonge the Heathen.* Gal. 1. *What if I ſhoulde in like Caſe boaſte, that he by his Grace had alſo called me in this Age, to preache the ſame Goſpell to the* Iriſhe *Heathens, which neuer hearde of it afore, to Knowledge? I ſhulde not do otherwiſe than the Truthe is. For I was put to it againſt my Wille, by a moſt Chriſten Kynge, and of his owne mere Mocion only, without Sute of Fryndes, Mede, Labour, Expenſis, or any other ſiniſtre Meaneels. By his regall Power and Authorite, which both were of* God, Ro. 13. *was I both allowed and confirmed, and not all vnioyfully receiued of the People, which cauſeth me in Conſcience to iudge my Vocacyon iuſt. Yet was not my Reioyce ſo muche in the Dignite therof, as in doinge, for the Time, the Office therunto belonginge. But now is it moſt of all in the Leauinge of that Biſhopricke, the Goſpell being ſo vnthankefully of the Preſtes receiued, I ſo terribly of them perſecuted, and my Seruauntes ſo cruelly ſlayne.*

Moreouer Saint Paule *boaſted muche of his Perſecucions, and deſcribed them at large, concludinge thus in the Ende, Very gladly (ſaith he) will I reioyce of my Weakneſſe, that the Strength of Chriſte maye dwell in me. Therefor haue I Dilectacion in Infirmitees, in Rebukes, in Nedes, in Perſecucion, and Anguyſhes, for* Chriſtes *Sake.* 2. Cor. 12. *If I haue lykewyſe felte a great manye of the ſame Afflictions, as I haue done in dede, maye not I alſo with him reioyce in them? Maye I not be glad, that I am, in Sorowes for the Goſpell, lyke faſhioned to him, and not pranked up in Pompe and Pleaſures, lyke the wanton Babes of this Worlde? As at this Daye is leeherouſe* Weſton, *which is more practiſed in the Arte of Breche Burninge, than all the Whores of the Stues, to the great Infamye of his virginall Ordre. The Truthe of it is, that, ſens I toke that wayghtie Office in Hande, I haue bene ſyke to the very Deathe, I haue been greued with the Vntowardneſſe of Miniſters. I haue been in Iournayes and Labours, in Iniuryes and Loſſes, in Peines and in Pennries. I haue bene in Striſes and Contencions, in Rebukynges and Slaunderynges, and in great Daunger of Poyſeninges and Killinges. I haue bene in Parell of the Heathen, in Parell of wicked Preſtes, in Parell of falſe Iuſtyces, in Parell of trayterouſe Tenauntes, in Parell of curſed Tyrauntes, in Parell of cruell Kearnes and Galloglaſſes.*

I haue been in Parell of the Sea, in Parell of Shypwrack, in Parell of Throwynge ouer the Boorde, in Parell of falſe Bretherne, in Parell of curiouſe Searchers, in Parell of Pirates, Robbers, and Murtherers, and a great Sort more.

Sanct Paule *alſo reioyced, that God had ſo miraculouſly delyuered him from ſo manye daungerouſe Ieopardyes, and ſpareth not ſo to report them.* 2 Cor. 11. *and* 12. *Whie ſhulde I than ſhrinke or be aſhamed to do the lyke, hauinge at Gods Hande the lyke miraculouſe Deliuerance? Are they not left to vs for Example, that we ſhulde do the lyke whan we fele the lyke? Whatſoeuer Thinges are written aforetyme (ſayth he) they are written for our Learninge, that we through Pecyence and Confort of the Scriptures might haue Hope,* Rom. xv. *He, in the Cytie of* Damaſcon, *beinge layde Waite for, by the Liefe tenaunt of Kinge* Aretha, *was lete downe at a Windowe in a Baſket, and ſo eſcaped his Handes.* Acts ix. *I, in the Cytie of* Dubline, *being aſſaulted of Papiſtes, was*

conuayed

conuayed awaye in the Nyght in Mariners Apparell, and ſo eſcaped that Daunger by Gods Helpe. Whan Paules *Death was ſought by certayne* Iews *at* Ieruſalem, *the vpper Captaine there commaunded ij. vnder Captaines, in the Nyght to convey him to* Celarea *with* 200. *Souldyers,* 70. *Horſmen, and* 200. *Spearemen, and ſo to delyuer him.* Actes 23. *In lycke Caſe, whan the Preſtes with* Barnabe Bolgar *and other had ſought my Death at* Holmes *Court, and had ſlayne v. of my Howſholde Seruauntes by their hyred Kearnes, the good Suffren of* Kylkennie *with an hundred Horſemen, and* 300. *Fotemen, brought me thyder in the Night, and ſo deliuered me that Tyme.*

As Paule, *againſt his Wylle, was put into a Shippe of* Adramitium, *coupled with other Priſoners of* Iewrie, *conuaied fourth into* Italie, *and there ſafely deliuered.* Act. 27. *and* 28. *So was I and my Companyon* Thomas *againſt our Willes taken into a Shippe of* Zelande, *coupled with* Frenche *Priſoners, conuayed fourth into* Flanders, *and ſo, at the laſtre, ſafely there deliuered. As their Shippe was caught betwixt* Candia *and* Melita, *and coulde not reſyſte the Wyndes, ſo was ours betwixt* Mylforde *Hauen and* Waterforde. *As they had an excedynge Tempeſte vpon the Sea, ſo had we lykewyſe. As they were without Hope of Sauegarde, ſo were we alſo.*

As they feared Syrtes *or daungerouſe ſandy Places and Rockes, ſo ded we. As they were almoſt famyſhed and drowned, ſo were we. As God comforted them, ſo did he vs. As they were in Concluſion caſt into an Ylande, ſo were we into S.* Iues *in* Cornewale. *As the People ſhewed them Kyndneſs at* Melita, *ſo ded they vs at the ſeyd S.* Iues. *As* Paule *gaue Thankes and brake Breade amongſt them, ſo ded we alſo. As the Captayne* Iulius *courteouſly intreated hym and gaue hym Lyberte to go vnto hys Fryndes at* Sydon, *and to refreſhe hym, ſo ded our Captayne* Cornelis *vſe vs very gentilly with all Fauour and Lyberte, what though he had ſo curriſhely and cruelly intreated vs afore. As* Paule *was ſtonge of a bytyng Vyper and not hurte, ſo was I of that viperous* Walter, *being moſt vniuſtly accuſed of Treaſon afore the Iuſtices ther, and yet through Gods Deliueraunce not hurte. As he appealed to* Ceſar, *ſo ded I to the Throne of God.*

As great Dyſpycyons were among the Iewes *at* Rome *concerning* Paule, *ſo were there afterwarde amonge the Shyppers in our Returne to their Shippe concerninge vs. As the Souldyers gave Counſell to kylle the Priſoners, ſo were there ſome of our Men that gaue Counſell to haue drowned vs for our Moneye, and of ſome to haue delyvered vs vp to the Counſayll of* Englande, *in Hope of great Rewardes. As* Publius *gentilly receiued* Paule, *and by hym was healed of all hys Dyſeaſes, ſo ded myne Hoſt* Lambert *receyue me alſo gentilly, and by me was delyuered from hys vayne Beleue of Purgatorye, and of other* Popyſh *Peltryes. As the People reported* Paule *to be a Murtherer, and after changed their Myndes, and ſayde he was a God, ſo our wycked Maryners reported me to be a moſt haynous Traytour, and yet afterwarde in my Delyueraunce called me the Seruaunt of God. As he was for the Hope of* Iſrael *ledde into Captiuite, and at the laſt deliuered, ſo was I alſo for the ſame captiued, and in Fyne deliuered into* Germanie. *As the Bretherne met* Paule *with Reioyce at* Appij Forum, *ſo ded they me in diuerſe Partes of* Duchelande, *and lawded God for my ſo miraculouſe Deliueraunce. As he ſayde that he had committed nothyng againſt the Lawe of his Fathers, ſo ſaye I alſo that I haue in this Acte committed nothyng againſt the Apoſtles and Prophetes Doctryne, I thanke my Lord God therof. Thus had I in my troublous Iournaye from* Irelande *into* Germanye *all thoſe Chaunces in a Manner that S.* Paul *had in his Iournaie of no leſſe Trouble, from* Ieruſalem *to* Rome, *ſaving that we loſt not our Shippe by the Waye.*

If Helias, *that wetherdryuen Runnegate, remayne now in a foren Lande in Penurie with the* Sareptyſh *Wydowe, wkyls* Baals *chatteringe Chaplaynes and ſorcerouſe Sacrifiers*

do dwell ſtyl at Home flouriſhing in proſperouſe Welth, lecherouſe Ydelneſſe, and lordely Dignite, maruele not of it, for ſo hath he done afore. I ſpeake not thys for myne owne Part only, nether vtterly exclude I my ſelfe, but I vttre it alſo for my exyled Bretherne, of whom a great Nombre is at this Tyme in Germanie, Denmarcke, *and* Geneua. *The true Churche of God had neuer ſumptuouſe Hoſpitalles any longe Tyme together but very ſimple Cottages and Caues, if ye marke the ſacred Hyſtoryes and ancyent Cronicles. The pleaſaunt Poſſeſſions, and gorgious Dwelling Places, haue euermor remained to the glorious Epicures, the very Enemyes alwayes of Chriſtes Goſpell. We are not now to lerne how to take theſe our preſent Afflictions in good Part, for we knowe them afore hande, and haue had them long Tyme, as it were in an Exerciſe. Nether are we all barayne of friendly Receptacles, for the Heauenly Doctrynes Sake, though our Aduerſaries in* Englande *with Violence throwe Stones at vs, and ſeke vtterly to deſtroye vs. They are truly much deceiued which thinketh the Chriſten Churche to be a politicall Commen Welthe, as of* Rome *and* Conſtantinople, *mayntayned by humayne Polyeyes, and not by the only Wurde of God. Suche are they which now haue the Doynges in theſe preſent Controuerſyes, and oppreſſe the moſt manifeſt Verite. God amende it.*

I write not this rude Treatiſe, for that I woulde receyue Praiſe therof, but that I wolde God to haue all the Prayſe, which hath bene a moſte wonderfull Wurker therin. For I am but a Clodde of Corruption, felinge in my ſelf, as of my ſelf, nothing els but Sinne and Wickedneſſe. I haue done it alſo, to declare my moſt earneſt Reioice in the ſame God, which by Grace hath called me, by Perſecucion hath tried me, and of Fauour, Beniuolence, and Mercye, hath moſt wonderfully deliuered me. Lete hym that reioyceth (ſaith S. Paule) *reioyce in the Lorde. For he that prayſeth himſelfe, is not allowed, but he whome the Lorde prayſeth,* 2 Corint. 10. *Moreouer I haue done it, for that my perſecuted Bretherne might in lyke Maner haue their Reioyce in that heauenly Lorde, whiche mightelye hath wrought in them their Saluacion, by his graciouſe Callinge of them from wicked Papiſme to true Chriſtianyte, and now tryeth their Paciences by contynuall Afflictions, and finally will delyuer them, either from tyrannouſe Moleſtacions, as he hath done me, eyther els into Martirdome for his Truthes Sake. For God will be knowne by none other Doctryne, than he hath ſent hyther by hys Sonne, whom he ſo earneſtly commaunded to be heard. He will alſo be worſhipped by thoſe Rules only, which he hath to hys Church proponed by hys Prophetes and Apoſtles. I beſiche that euerlaſtyng God for hys dere Sonnes Sake, in the holy Ghoſt to rule vs, and alwayes to augment and preſerue hys true Churche confeſſing his only Name. Amen.*

I called vppon the Lorde in my Trouble, and the Lorde hearde me at large. The Lorde is my Helper, I will not feare what Man doeth vnto me. *Pſal.* 118.

Veritas Domini manet in æternum. *Pſalm.* 116.

Novit Dominus Viam iuſtorum, & iter impiorum peribit. *Pſalm.* 1.

O Lorde thu God of Truthe, I haue hated them that hold of ſuperſticiouſe Vanitees, and my Truſt hath bene in the.

I will be glad and reioyce in thy Mercye, for thu haſt conſidered my Trouble, and haſt knowne my Sowle in Aduerſitees.

Thu haſt not ſhut me vp into the Hande of the Enemie, but haſt ſet my Feet in a large Rowme. *Pſalm xxxi.*

Stande by (O Lorde God of Hoſtes) thu God of *Iſrael*, to vyſet all Heathen, and be not mercyfull to them that offende of malycyouſe Wickedneſſe. *Pſalm lix.*

God is my Helper.

In

IN the Olde and Newe Teſtament is it not expreſſed, that any iuſt or fayth-full Man euer yet toke vpon hym the Adminyſtracyon of the heauenly Doctryne, in Teachynge the true Worſhippynges of God, and in Perſuadynge Men to Repentaunce, or Amendement of their former Lyfe, without the Vocacyon and ſpeciall Election of God. No truly; *Balaam*, the notable Sothſayer, coulde neyther curſe, nor yet bleſſe, without Gods Permiſſion, as he apertly confeſſed, *Num.* 22. And to beginne with the formeſt Examples: *Adam*, our firſt Progenitour, whiche had receyued moſt helthſome Inſtructions of Gods eternall Sonne in Paradyſe, and the Fathers, him ſucceding in the righteous Lyne befor the generall Floude, neuer had taken that high Office vpon them, had not he therunto both called them, and alowed them, *Noe*, Gods true Seruaunt, at his moſt graciouſe Appointement alſo, by the Space of an C. Yeares and xx. earneſtly preached to the People of that Age, exhorting them to ceaſe from the Abhominacions than vſed, as thei wold auoide the vniuerſall Deſtruccion whiche folowed. After the ſeyd Floude, by Vertue of the ſelfe ſame Precepte and Autoryte of God, *Noe* taught the People, than growne to an Increaſe againe by longe Continuaunce; ſo ded *Melchiſedech* in *Salem*, *Iob* in *Arabia*, *Abraham* in *Chaldie*, *Iacob* in *Meſopotamy*, and *Ioſeph* in *Ægypte*; *Helias*, with the other Prophetes, in *Iſrael*; *Ionas* in *Ninyue*, *Daniel* in *Babylon*, *Zorobabel* in *Perſie*, and *Iohan Baptiſt* in *Iewrye*: Marke the open Places of the Scripture concernyng Vocacyon and Election.

And, as towchyng Chriſte in our Manhode, he was called of God his eternall Father, as was *Aaron*, to be our euerlaſting Preſte, accordinge to the Ordre of *Melchiſedech*, *Hebre.* 7. He was alſo, by his owne godlie Mouthe, to the Worlde declared that wele beloued Sonne of his, in whom he was moſt highly both pleaſed and pacifyed. Finally, he was, by hys moſt heauenly Ordinaunce, conſtituted oure vniuerſall Doctour, and of him commaunded, as a moſt perfight Maiſtre, of all Men to be moſt diligently hearde and obeyed. From the Shippe, from the Cuſtomehowſe, and from other homely Miniſterys called he not the ſtought, ſturdye, and heady Sort of Men, but the lowly harted, ſimple, and beggarly Ydiotes; them he elected moſt gracyouſly, and they not him, to be the Miniſters of his holy Goſpell, *Iohan.* 15. Them choſe he out from the World, *to gyue Knowlege of Saluacion to hys People, for the Remiſſion of their Synnes*, Mat. 10. Luce 2. *Thoſe*, ſayth S. *Paule, whom the Lorde appointed before, thoſe hath he alſo called; and thoſe whom he hath called, thoſe hath he lykewiſe iuſtified*, or made mete for that heauenly Office, *Rom.* 8. For, *How ſhuld they haue preached*, ſayth he, *vnleſſe they had ben ſent*, Rom. 10. *Peter* was to him an elect Apoſtle, affirminge hys Doctrine to be the Wurdes of eternall Lyfe, *Iohan* 6. *Iohan* was his derely beloued Diſciple, and became a moſt mightie Thunderer out of the ſame, *Act.* 4. *Paul* was a peculiar choſen Veſſel vnto him, to manifeſt hys Name before the Gentyles, Kynges, and Chyldren of *Iſrael*, Act. 9.

The Idolatour, the Tyraunt, and the Whoremongar are no mete Myniſters for hym, though they be neuer ſo gorgyouſly mytered, coped, and typpeted, or neuer ſo fynely forced, pylyoned, and ſcarletted. *The deceytfull Prophetes*, ſayth the Lorde, *made ſpedy Haſte, but I appoynted them not; they ranne a great Pace, but I ſent them not; they prophecyed faſt, but not out of my Spret*, Hier. 23. *To the wicked Doar the Lorde hath ſpoken it*, ſayth *Dauid, Whie doeſt thu ſo vniuſtly preſume to talke of my Righteouſneſſes? And, with thy polluted Mouthe, of my eternall Teſtament whie makeſt thu Relacion?* Pſal. 50. After the Apoſtles, immediatly ſucceded in the primative Churche *Tymotheus*, *Ignatius*, *Policarpus*, *Irenæus*, *Paphnutius*, *Athanaſius*, *Lactantius*, and other true Miniſters of the Goſpell: Theſe loytered not in the Vineyearde of the Lorde, as our ydell Maſmongers doe, but faithfully they laboured in ſekinge Gods Glorie and the Sowles Helthe of the People; but, whan great *Conſtantine* the Emperour had gyuen Peace to the Chriſten Churche, that all Perſecucion ceaſed, than came in Ceremonie vpon Ceremonie, and none Ende was of them; euery Yeare entered one Poyſon or other, as Mannes fyckle Nature, in this frayle Lyfe, is neuer without Vice.

So that S. *Auguſtine*, in his Tyme, very muche lamented, that ſo many Superſticions were than crepte in, confeſſinge the Seruitude of the Chriſten Churche to be more

greuouſe in thoſe Daies, than it was to the People vndre *Moyſes*. And ſo muche the more he lamented the Caſe, that, beinge but one Man, he coulde not reforme it; neither was he able in euerye Pointe to reſiſt that Euill, beinge with Heretykes ſo ſore toſſed on euery Syde. But what wolde he haue ſayde, if he had ſeane the abhominable Ydolatries of our Time without Nombre? Specially the Worſhippinge of Breade and of Wyne, which are only the Seruauntes of our Bellies, and corrupt in the ſame, yea, whan they are at the beſt and holieſt; for, whan they haue done their Office, beinge Sacramentes of Chriſtes Bodie and Bloude, that is to ſaye, preached the Lordes Deathe till he come, and declared vs, of manie Members, to be one miſticall Bodie in Chriſte, they aſcende not into Heauen, but, beinge eaten and diſgeſted, they are immediatly reſolued into Corruption; yea, Chriſt ſayth, that they *deſcende downe into the Bellie, and are caſt out into the Draught*, *Math.* 15. which declareth them vnmete to be worſhipped.

This write I, not in Vnreuerencinge the Sacrament, but in Deteſtacion of the abhominable Ydolatries therin moſt beſtially committed.

And, breuely to ſaye ſumwhat of the Chriſten Churche of our Realme, in thoſe Dayes called *Britaine*, and now named *Englande*; What Originall it had, and from whens; what Continuaunce, what Darkeninges, what Decayes, what Falle, and what Rayſe againe.

To fatche this Thinge from the firſt Foundacion, for that Lande lyke as for other Landes. By the eternall Sonne of God in Paradyſe receyued *Adam* the firſt Promiſe of Saluacion, in the Womans Sede: This acknowleged *Abel*, in his firſt Offeringe vp of the Firſtlinges of his Flocke, and Fatt of the ſame, beinge ſo inſtructed by that religiouſe Father of his, *Gene.* 4. By *Faithe* in his plentuouſe Sacrifice, ſayth S. *Paule*, *obteined* Abel *Witneſſe, that he was righteouſe*, Heb. 11. This, with the right Inuocacion of the Name of God, taught by *Seth* and *Enos*, was continued by the Choſen of that Line, to remayne ſtyll in Remembraunce to their Poſteritees, and was renued after the Floude by righteouſe *Noe*, Gene. 8. To S. *Paule* alſo in Reuelacion was this Miſterie ſhewed, *That the Gentiles likewyſe were Partakers of the Promyſe*, *Ephe.* 3. Wherunto S. *Iohan* ſayth, that the *Lambe* was ſlayne from the *Worldes Beginninge*, Apo. 13. that is to ſaye, in Promyſe, in Faithe, and in Miſterie of their Sacrifices. Applied is it alſo to thoſe Gentiles, in the ſeyd *Reuelacion* of S. *Iohan* (who now, amonge other, includeth our Lande) that they, from that Tyme, haue cryed with a lowde Voyce, ſeinge, *Helthe be to him that ſitteth vpon the Seate of our God, and vnto the Lambe*, Apo. 7. and therupon *Gildas*, *in Excidio Britannie*, concludeth, that the Inhabitours of our Realme haue alwayes had Knowlege of God, almoſt ſens the Worldes Beginninge.

This Rule of Sacrifice and Inuocacion helde *Japheth* after the Floude alſo, the Father of *Europa*, containinge our Lande amonge others, accordinge to the Prayer of his righteouſe Father *Noe*, that he might dwell in the Tentes of *Sem. Gen.* 9. or in Faithe of the promiſed Sede, which is Chriſte, *Gala.* 3. So perfyght was *Melchiſedech*, or the forenamed *Sem*, a Father than of the *Gentiles*, for that his Kindrede (ſayth *Paule*) is not reckened amonge the Tribes, that he toke Tithes of *Abraham*, and bleſſed him that had the Promyſes, *Hebre.* 7, and *Gene.* 14. For ſo muche as God (ſayth *Luther* vpon *Geneſis*) eſtabliſhed the Kingedomes of the Ilandes, whan they were diuided, by the choſen Fathers, it ſemeth wele that they helde his true Worſhippinges, received a fore of them. To theſe holy Fathers in the *Gentilite* for that Realme, by Courſe ſucceded, as *Beroſus*, *Plinius*, *Strabo*, *Cæſar*, and other Authors writeth, the *Samothees*, *Sarronites*, *Druydes*, *Bardes*, *Sybylles*, *Eubages*, or *Vates*, *Flamines*, and ſuche other, till the Comminge of *Ieſus*, Gods Sonne in the Fleſhe. Which all acknowleged but one God, what though it were by the Diverſite of Rytes and Doctrines. This haue I written here, to declare what Church was in our Lande afore Chriſtes Cominge. I ſpeake nothyng of them which folowed ſtraunge Worſhippynges, or manifeſte Ydolatryes of the Heathen, as the Papiſtes do in thys Age. If it be reaſoned, How they coulde heare? S. *Paule* anſwereth it out of *Dauid*, that the Heauens preached to them, all the Worlde hearyng it, if none had done it els, *Rom.* 10, and *Pſal.* 19, beſyde the Lawe of Nature, which was alſo their Leader.

In the 63. Yeare after Chriſtes Incarnacion, to reſort to my Purpoſe, was *Ioſeph*, an *Hebrue*, and diſparſed Diſciple, thydre ſent with

hys

hys Companyons, by *Philipp* the Apoſtle, than preachynge in *Fraunce*, as *Freculphus*, in the ſeconde Part of hys Chronycle, and *Iſidorus* alſo, *de vita & obitu ſanctorum patrum*, rehearſeth. He publiſhed there amonge them that Goſpell of Saluacion which Chriſte firſt of all, and afterwardes hys Apoſtles, had taught at *Ieruſalem*; vntruly, therfore, are we reported of the *Italyane* Writers, and of the ſubtylle Deuyſers of Sanctes Legendes, that we ſhulde haue our firſt Faythe from *Rome*, and our Chriſten Doctryne, from their unchriſten Byſhoppes. From the Schole of Chriſte hymſelfe, haue we receyved the Documentes of our Faythe. From *Ieruſalem*, and not from *Rome*, whom both *Peter*, and alſo Chriſte, hath called *Babylon*, for that ſhe ſo aptely thervnto agreeth in miniſtryng Confuſion to the World. And this wele accordeth with the Wurdes of the Prophete, that the Lawe of the Goſpell ſhulde come from *Sion*, and the Wurde of God from *Hieruſalem*, *Eſa.* 2. S. *Paule* alſo, which had been chriſtenly familiar at *Rome*, with *Claudia Rufina*, a *Britayne* borne, and with *Aulus Pudens*, her Huſbande, of whome he maketh Mencion, 2 *Timoth.* 4. ſhulde ſeeme, in his owne Perſone, to haue preached in that Nacion of ours, by this Sainge of his in the ſame Epiſtle and Chaptre: *The Lorde aſſiſted me, and ſtrengthened me, at my firſt Anſweringe, that by me the Preachinge ſhulde be fulfilled to to the uttermoſt, and that all the* Gentiles *ſhulde heare.* That Clauſe, all the *Gentiles*, includeth ſomewhat concerninge the *Britaines*, if they were than *Gentiles*, and in the Weſt Part of the Worlde, as we can ſaye none other of them.

Bartholemeus Tridentinus, and *Petrus Calo*, reporteth, in their Bookes of the Liues of Sanctes, that *Timothe*, S. *Paules* Diſciple, by his Preachinge, in *Britaine*, converted Kinge *Lucius*, and him baptiſed, in Confirmacion of that is ſaid afore. Nurriſhed, brought vp, and continued, was this *Britiſh* Churche in the Doctrine of Faithe, without Mennes Tradicions, by the wurthie Doctours of that Age, *Eluanus*, *Meduinus*, *Melanius*, *Amphibalus*, and ſuche other like, till the Time of *Diocleciane*, the tirannouſe Emperour; which, by his wicked Miniſters, made Hauock of the Chriſten Flocke there, as teſtifieth *Gildas*. Though the Kings of *Britaine* in that Age, *Aruiragus*, *Marius*, *Coillus*, *Lucius*, and *Seuerus*, with others, were not all chriſtened, yet were they no cruell Perſecuters of Chriſtes Congregacion, that we reade of.

In the generall Quyetneſſe prouided to the Churche by the forenamed *Conſtantine*, *Arrius*, *Pelagius*, *Leporius*, and one *Tymothe*, partly by ſubtile Allegories, and partly by open Hereſies greatly obſcured the Glory therof.

Anon after there folowed a certen Kind of Monkery, with an Heap of Ceremonies, but yet without blaſphemouſe Superſticions, till Antichriſt had faſhioned them to his execrable Vſe.

In that Age were *Faſtidius*, *Ninianus*, *Patritius*, *Bachiarius*, *Dubricius*, *Congellus*, *Kentigernus*, *Iltutus*, *Dauid*, *Daniel*, *Sampſon*, *Eluodugus*, *Aſaphus*, *Gildas*, *Beulanus*, *Elhodus*, *Dionotus*, *Samuel*, *Nennius*, and a great Sort more, by Chriſten Doctrine, the Vpholders of the *Brittiſh* Churche, the cyuyle Gouernours for the Time, beinge diſſolute and careleſſe, as the forſeyd *Gildas*, very ſharply, doth laie it to their Charge.

Conſequently whan the barbarouſe Nacions had ſubdued the Chriſten Regions of *Europa*, ſpecially here in this Realme, the Heatheniſh *Saxons*, the Chriſten *Britaines*, for not obeyenge and folowinge Gods Wurde that Time faithfully preached: Than entered in an other Swarme of Monkes, much wurſe than the other. For they had their Beginninge of thoſe ſolitary Bretherne, which had fled to the Wilderneſſe in the Tyme of Perſecucion. Theſe, lyke layſye Locuſtes, ſprange fourth of the Pytt bottomleſſe. They ſerued God in Lyberte, and were fedde of their owne true Labours. Theſe ſerued Antichriſt in Bondage, and deuoured vp the Labours of other. They were ſumwhat ceremoniouſe, but theſe altogyther ſuperſticiouſe. Of this lattre Swarme, after the firſt Enteraunce of *Auguſtine* the *Romiſh* Monke, was *Egbert*, *Egwine*, *Boniface*, *Wilfride*, *Dunſtane*, *Oſwolde*, *Lanfranck*, *Anſelme*, and ſuche other, without Nombre, by whom the ſincere Faithe of the *Engliſh* Church decayed. Theſe were bytter Stingars in Antichriſtes Cauſe, yea, terrible Accuſers, and Suppreſſers of Kinges, and of other Chriſten Magiſtrates. Theſe cauſed the Sunne, which is the clere Verite of the Lorde, to apere as Sackeclothe made of Heare, *Apo.* 6. placinge, in the Rowme therof, their own fantaſtical Doctrines, vaine Tradicions, and ſuperſticiouſe Ordinaunces. So that they made Gods heauenly Wurde to ſeme to the People darke, rough, harde

harde, and vnpleaſaunt, for their ydle Bellyes Sake.

Yet denye I it not, but ſome godly Men were amonge them in thoſe Dayes. As *Beda*, *Iohan* of *Beuerle*, *Alcuinus*, *Neotus*, *Hucarius*, *Serlo*, *Achardus*, *Ealredus*, *Alexander Neckam*, *Nigellus*, *Seuallus*, and ſuche other.

Which though they than erred in many Thinges, yet was not their Errour of Obſtinacie and Malice. Than followed the Schole Doctours with the. iiij. Ordres of Friers, very wicked Kindes of Men; and they, with their ſophiſticall Sorceryes, poyſened vp altogyther, clerely ouerthrowinge the Chriſten Churche, and ſettinge vp in her Place the moſt filthye Sinagoge of Sathan.

In that malignaunt Aſſemblye were falſe Wurſhippinges commaunded for Gods holy Seruice, and monſtruouſe Buggery, for a profeſſed Virginite, in our conſecrate Clergye admitted.

Thus were the People nuſled vp from their Yowth, in Callinge vpon dead Men, and Ymages, the Preaſtes and Religiouſe, in the meane Time, occupied in all beaſtly Wurkes of the Fleſh. I haue the Regiſtre of the Viſitacions of the Cloyſters of *Englande*, and therfor I know it to their Confuſion. The Monkes, afore their Time, ded no more but mixe the Chriſten Religion with the Paganes Superſticions, but theſe fowle lecherouſe Locuſtes haue baniſhed the Chriſten Religion altogyther. They haue taken vpon them a Power by Vertu of Tranſubſtanciacion, farre aboue Gods Power, as of corruptible Creatures to make Goddes to be worſhipped, bearing them a broade with *Perfical* Pompes, as it were, in their Gaddinge and gagglinge Proceſſions, fit for wanton Goſſippes, to ſhewe their ſelues in their holy Daye Apparelinges.

Yet were there alwayes ſome in that Miſte of palpable Darkneſſe, that ſmelled out their Miſcheſes, and in Part maintened the ſyncere Doctrine; as *Mathew Parys*, *Oclyf*, *Wickleff*, *Thorpe*, *White*, *Purueye*, *Pateſhulle*, *Paine*, *Gower*, *Chaucer*, *Gaſcoigne*, *Iue*, and now in our Time, *William Tindale*, *Iohan Frith*, *Bilneye*, *Barnes*, *Lambert*, and a great Sort more. Now, truly in this lattre Age and Ende of the Worlde, God, ſhewinge great Mercy to his elected Heritage, hath gathered them togyther from the Parels of of Perdicion, by the Voyce of his holy Goſpell: Yea, like as by *Hieremie* the Prophete, before that Exile, into *Babylon*, by *Iohan Baptiſt*, Chriſte, and his Apoſtles before the Deſtruction of *Hieruſalem*, and by the Apoſtles Followers, before the Diuiſion and firſt Ruyne, and the *Romiſh* Empire he called his diſparſed Remnaunt; ſo doth he now agayne, before hys generall Comminge to Iudgement, call togither hys Churche of true Beleuers, by the godly Preachers of thys Age. That wonderfull Wurke of God, that noble Prince, Kynge *Henrye* the 8, within thys Realme by hys Royall Power aſſyſted, after that he had gyuen an Overthrowe to the Great *Golias* of *Rome*, oure moſt godly Soueraygne Kynge *Edward* the 6. for hys Tyme perfourmyng the ſame.

The fyrſt, with noble Kynge *Dauid*, prepared thys Buyldynge of the Lorde; but thys other, with the wyſe Kynge *Salomon*, to hys Power made all Thinges very perfyght. And though now, after hys Death, a *Hieroboam*, parauenture, is riſen, which will ſett up the golden Calues in *Samaria*, or mayntayne the Popyſh Religyon agayne, in Ymages, Aulters, ydle Ceremonyes, and blaſphemouſe Superſticions. Yet doubt I it not, but a faythfull *Aſa* ſhall folowe, eyther els a *Ioſaphat*, an *Ezechias*, or a myghtye *Ioſias*, which will diſſolue thoſe Ydolatryes agayne. And, as concerning the fornamed Kynge *Edwarde*, I will recite here what hys Wurthineſſe ded for me his moſt vnwurthie Subject, that I ſhuld, among others, be a Collectour, or a Caller togyther of the Chriſten Flocke in thys Age.

Vpon the 15. Daye of *Auguſt*, in the Yeare from Chriſtes Incarnation, 1552, being the firſt Daye of my Deliuerance, as God wolde, from a mortall Ague, which had holde me longe afore: In Reioyce that hys Maieſtie was come in Progreſſe to *Southampton*, whiche was 5. Myle from my Perſonage of *Byſhoppes Stoke*, within the ſame Countye: I toke my Horſe about 10 of the Clocke, for very Weakneſſe ſcant able to ſytt hym, and ſo came thydre. Betwixt 2. and 3. of the Clocke, the ſame Day, I drew towardes the Place where as his Majeſtie was, and ſtode in the open Strete ryght againſt the Gallerye. Anon, my Frinde, *Iohan Fylpot*, a Gentylman, and one of hys Preuie Chambre, called vnto him 2. more of hys Companyons, which, in mouing their Heades towardes me, ſhewed me moſt friendely Countenaunces. By one of theſe 3. the Kynge hauynge Informacion that I was there in the Strete, he marueled therof, for ſo much

much as it had bene tolde hym a lytle afore, that I was bothe dead and buried. With that hys Grace came to the Wyndowe, and earneſtly behelde me a poore weake Creature, as though he had had vpon me, ſo ſymple a Subiect, an earneſt Regard, or rather a very fatherly Care.

In the very ſame Inſtaunt, as I haue bene ſens that Tyme credibly inſourmed, hys Grace called unto him the Lordes of his moſt honourable Counſel, ſo manye as were than preſent, willinge them to appoint me to the Biſhoprick of *Oſſorie*, in *Irelande*. Wherunto they all agreeably conſentinge, commaunded the Letters of my firſt Callinge therunto, by and by to be written and ſent me. The next Daye following, which was the xvj. Day of *Auguſt*, the Lettre beinge written by *B. Hamptone*, a Clarke of the Counſell, they very favourably ſubſcribed to the ſame, in Maner as herafter foloweth:

The Coppie of the ſeyd Lettre.

To our very louinge Frende, Doctour Bale.

After our hartye Commendacions. For as muche as the Kinges Maieſtie is minded, in Conſideracion of your Learning, Wyſdome, and other vertuouſe Qualityes, to beſtowe vpon yow the Biſhoprick of *Oſſorie*, in *Irelande*, preſently voyde, we haue thought mete, both to giue yow Knowledge therof, and therwithall to lete yow vnderſtande, that his Maieſtie wolde ye made your Repayre hyther to the Courte, as ſone as conueniently ye maye, to Thende, that if ye be enclined to embrace this Charge, his Highneſſe maye, at your Comminge, gyue ſuche Ordre for the farther Proceding with yow herin, as ſhal be conuenient. And thus we bid yow hartely Farewell. From *Southampton*, the xvj. Daye of *Auguſt*, 1552.

Your louing Frendes,

W. Wincheſtre, T. Darcy,
I. Bedford, T. Cheine,
H. Suffolke, Iohan Gate,
W. Northampton, W. Cecill.

And to conclude, thus was I called, in a Maner from Deathe, to this Office, without my Expectacion, or yet Knowlege therof. And thus haue ye my Vocacyon to the Biſhoprick of *Oſſorie*, in *Irelande*. I paſſe ouer my earneſt Refuſall therof, a Moneth after that, in the Kinges Majeſties Returne to *Winchęſtre*; where, as I alleged (as I than thought) my lawfull Impedimentes, of Pouerty, Age, and Syckeneſſe, within the Biſhopes Howſe there; but they were not accepted. Than reſorted I to the Court at *London* within vj. Wekes after, accordinge to the Tenure of the forſeyd Lettre; and within vj. Dayes had al Thinges perfourmed perteininge to my Election and full Confirmacion, frely without any Maner of Charges or Expenſes, wherof I muche marueled.

On the xix. Daye of *Decembre*, I toke my Iourneye from *Byſhoppes Stoke* with my Bokes and Stuffe towardes *Briſtowe*, where as I tarryed xxvj. Dayes for Paſſage, and diuerſe Times preached in that worſhipfull Cytie, at the inſtaunt Deſyre of the Cytiezens. Vpon the xxj. Daye of *Ianuary* we entred into the Shippe, I, my Wyfe, and one Seruaunt; and, being but ij. Nyghtes and ij. Dayes vpon the Sea, we arryued moſt proſperouſly at *Waterforde*, in the coldeſt Time of the Yeare, ſo merciſull was the Lorde vnto vs.

In beholdynge the Face and Ordre of that Citie, I ſee many abhomynable Ydolatryes mainteined by the Epicuryſh Preſtes, for their wicked Bellies Sake. The Communion, or Supper of the Lorde, was there altogyther vſed lyke a Popyſh Maſſe, with the olde apyſh Toyes of Antichriſt, in Bowynges and Beckynges, Knelinges and Knockinges, the Lordes Death, after S. *Paules* Doctrine, neyther preached nor yet ſpoken of. There wawled they ouer the Dead, with prodigyouſe Howlynges and Patterynges, as though their Sowles had not bene quyeted in Chriſte and redemed by hys Paſſion, but that they muſt come after and help at a Pinche with *Requiem Eternam*, to delyuer them out of Helle by their ſorrowfull Sorceryes: Whan I had beholden theſe Heathnyſh Behauers, I ſeyd vnto a Senatour of that Cytie, that I wele perceyued that Chriſte had there no Biſhop, neyther yet the Kynges Maieſtie of *England* any faythfull Officer of the Mayer, in ſuffering ſo horryble Blaſphemies. The next Daye after I rode towardes *Dublyne*, and reſted the Night folowinge in a Towne called *Knocktauer*, in the Howſe of Maiſter *Adam Walſhe*, my Generall Commiſſarye for the whole Dyoceſe of *Oſſorie*.

At Supper, the Pariſh Preſt, called Syr *Philypp*, was very ſeruiceable, and, in familyar Talke, deſcribed vnto me the Howſe of the *White Fryres*, which ſumtyme was in that Towne; concludinge in the Ende, that the laſt Prior therof, called *Wyllyam*, was his naturall Father. I axed him, if that were in Mariage? He made me Anſwere, No. For that was, he ſayd, againſt his Profeſſion. Than counſelled I hym, that he neuer ſhulde boaſt of it more. Whie, ſayth he, it is an Honour, in this Lande, to haue a Spirituall Man, as a Byſhop, an Abbot, a Monke, a Fryre, or a Preſt, to Father. With that I greatly marueled, not ſo much of his vnſhamefaſt Talke, as I ded that Adultery, forbidden of God, and of all honeſt Men deteſted, ſhulde there haue both Prayſe and Preferrement, thinking in Proceſſe, for my Part, to refourme it. I came at the laſt to *Dublyne*, wher as I founde my Companyon Maiſtre *Hugh Goodaker*, that Archebiſhop of *Armach* elected, and my olde Fernde, M. *Dauid Coper*, Parſon of *Galan*. Much of the People ded greatly reioice of our Cominge thidre, thinkinge, by our Preachinges, the Popes Superſticions wolde diminiſh, and the true Chriſten Religion increace.

Vpon the *Purificacion* Daye of our Ladye, the Lorde Chancellour of *Irelande*, Sir *Thomas Cuſake*, our ſpeciall good Lorde and earneſt Ayder in all our Procedinges, appoynted vs to be inueſted or conſecrated, as they call it, by *George*, the Archebiſhop of *Dublyne*, *Thomas*, the Biſhop of *Kyldare*, and *Vrbane*, the Biſhop of *Duno*, aſſiſtinge him. I will not here deſcribe at large the ſubtyle Conueyaunce of that greate Epicure the Archebiſhop, how he went about to diſſarre the Daye of our Conſecracion, that he might by that Meanes haue preuented me, in takinge vp the Proxyes of my Biſhoprick to his owne glottonouſe Vſe, and in ſo depriuinge me of more than halfe my Lyuynge for that Yeare. As we were comminge fourth, to haue receyued the Impoſicion of Handes, accordynge to the Ceremonye, *Thomas Lockwode* (Blockheade he myght wel be called) the Deane of the Cathedrall Churche there, deſired the Lord Chauncellour very inſtauntly, that he woulde in no wiſe permyt that Obſeruacion to be done after that Boke of Conſecratinge Biſhoppes, which was laſt ſet fourth in *Englande* by Acte of Parlement; alleginge that it wolde be both an Occaſion of Tumulte, and alſo that it was not as yet conſented to by Acte of their Parlement in *Irelande*. For whie, he muche feared the newe changed Ordre of the Communion therin, to hindre his Kychin and Bellye. The Lorde Chauncellour proponed this Matter vnto vs. The Archebiſhop conſented therunto, ſo ded the other ij. Biſhoppes. Maiſtre *Goodaker* wolde gladly it might haue haue bene otherwiſe, but he wolde not at that Time contende there with them.

Whan I ſee none other Waye, I ſtepped fourth, and ſayde, If *Englande* and *Irelande* be vndre one Kinge, they are both bounde to the Obedience of one Lawe vndre him. And as for vs, we came hyther as true Subiectes of his, ſworne to obeye that Ordinaunce. It was but a Biſhopprick, I ſayde, that I came thydre to receiue that Daye; which I coulde be better contented to treade vndre my Fote there, than to breake from that Promyſe or Othe that I had made. I bad them, in the Ende, ſett all their Heartes at Reſt, for, came I ones to the Churche of *Oſſorie*, I wolde execute nothinge for my Part there, but accordinge to the Rules of that lattre Boke: With that the Lorde Chauncellour right honourably commaunded the Ceremonie to be done after the Boke. Than went the Aſſeheaded Deane awaie, more than halfe confuſed; neyther followed there any Tumulte amonge the People, but euery Man, ſauinge the Preſtes, was wele contented. Than went the Archebiſhop about that Obſeruacion, very vnſauerly, and as one not muche exerciſed in that Kinde of Doynge, ſpecially in the Adminiſtracion of the Lordes holy Supper. In the Ende the Lorde Chauncellour made to vs and to our Frendes a moſt frendly Diner, to ſaue vs from excedinge Charges, which otherwiſe we had bene at that Day.

Within ij. Dayes after was I ſycke agayn, ſo egerly, that no Man thought I ſhulde haue lyued, which Malladie helde me till after *Eaſtre*. Yet, in the meane Tyme, I founde a Waye to be brought to *Kylkennie*, where as I preached euery *Sondaye* and holy Daye in *Lent*, tyll the *Sondaye* after *Eaſtre* was fully paſt, neuer ſelinge any Maner of Greſe of my Syckeneſſe, for the Tyme I was in the Pulpet; whereat many Men, and my ſelfe alſo, greatly marueled. Neyther had I, for all that Tyme Space, any Minde to call for any temporall Profites, which was afterwardes to my no ſmall Hynderaunce. From that Daye of our Conſecracion, I traded

with

with myſelfe, by all Poſſybylyte, to ſet fourth that Doctrine, which God charged his Churche with, euer ſens the Beginninge; and thought therwith in my Minde alſo, that I had rather that *Aethna* ded ſwallowe me vp, than to mainteine thoſe Wayes in Religion, which might corrupte the ſame. For my daily Deſire is, in that euerlaſtinge Schole, to beholde the eternall Sonne of God, both here and after this Lyfe: And not only to ſee the Fathers, Prophetes, and Apoſtles therein, but alſo, for Loue of that Doctrine, to enjoye their bleſſid Feliſhip heraftter. And ſo muche the rather I traded thus with myſelfe, that I ſee than the Kinges Majeſtie, the Archebiſhopp of *Canterbury*, and the honourable Lordes of the Counſell, ſo feruently bent that Waye, as to ſeke the Peoples Helthe in the ſame. I thought it, therupon, no leſſe than my bounde Dewtie, to ſhewe my ſelfe faithfull, ſtudiouſe, and diligent in that ſo chargefull a Function.

My firſt Procedinges, in that Doynge, were theſe: I earneſtly exhorted the People to Repentaunce for Sinne, and required them to giue Credite to the Goſpell of Saluacion. To acknowledge and beleue that there was but one God, and him alone, without any other, ſincerely to worſhip. To confeſſe one Chriſte for an only Sauer and Redemer, and to truſte in none other Mannis Praiers, Merites, nor yet Deſeruinges, but in his alone, for Saluacion. I treated at large both of the heauenly and politicall State of the Chriſten Church; and Helpars I founde none amonge my Prebendaries and Clergy, but Aduerſaries a great Nombre.

I preached the Goſpell of the Knowledge and right Inuocacion of God; I mayntened the politicall Ordre by Doctrine, and moued the Commens alwayes to obeye their Magiſtrates. But, whan I ones ſought to deſtroye the Ydolatries, and diſſolue the Hypocrites Yockes, than folowed Angers, Slaunders, Conſpiricyes, and, in the Ende, the Slaughter of Men. Much a do I had with the Preſtes; for that I had ſayd amonge other, that the whyte Goddes of their Makinge, ſuch as they offered to the People to be worſhipped, were no Gods, but Ydoles; and that their Prayers for the Dead procured no Redempcion to the Sowles departed, Redempcion of Sowles beinge only in Chriſte, of Chriſt, and by Chriſte. I added, that their Office, by Chriſtes ſtrayght Commaundement, was chifely to preache, and inſtruct the People in the Doctrine and Wayes of God, and not to occupie ſo muche of the Tyme in Chauntynge, Pypynge, and Synginge.

Muche were the Preſtes offended alſo, for that I had, in my Preachinges, willed them to haue Wiues of their owne, and to leaue the vnſhameſaſt Occupienge of other Mennes Wiues, Doughters, and Seruauntes. But heare what Anſwere they made me alwayes, yea, the moſt viciouſe Men amonge them: What ſhulde we marrie, ſayd they, for Halfe a Yeare, and ſo looſe our Liuynges? Thinke ye not that theſe Men were ghoſtly inſpired? Eyther yet had Knowlege of ſome ſecrete Miſchefe wurkinge in *Englande?* I, for my Part, haue not a little, ſens that Time, marueled, whan it hath fallen to my Remembraunce. Well, the Truthe is, I coulde neuer yet, by any godly or honeſt Perſuaſion, bringe any of them to Mariage, neither yet cauſe them, whiche were knowne for vnſhamfaſt Whorekepers, to leaue that fylthye and abhomynable Occupienge, what though I moſt earneſtly laboured it. But, ſens that Tyme, I haue conſidered, by the Iugement of the Scriptures, that the impenytent Ydolatour muſt therwith be alſo a fylthie Adulterer or moſt deteſtable Sodomite. It is his iuſt Plage, *Rom.* 1. We can not ſtoppe it. Lyke wyſe the diſſemblinge Hypocrite, in contemning Gods Truthe, muſt nedes folowe Errours and Lyes in the Doctrine of Deuyls, 1 *Timot.* 4, to haue in the Ende the greatter Confuſion. *Lete him that is wicked*, ſayth that Angell to S. *Iohan*, *become more wicked, and he that is fylthie, become more fylthye, that hys Damnacion maye be the depar, and his Sorowes extremer.* Apoca. 22.

The Lord, therfor, of his Mercie, ſende Diſcipline with Doctrine, into his Church. For Doctrine without Diſcipline, and Reſtraint of Vices, maketh diſſolute Hearers. And, on the other Syde, Diſcipline without Doctrine maketh eyther Hypocrites, or els deſperate Doars. I haue not written this in Diſprayſe of all the Preſtes of *Kylkennye*, or there about; for my Hope is, that ſome of them, by thys Tyme, are fallen to Repentaunce, though they be not manye. An other Thinge was there, that muche had dyſpleaſed the Prebendaryes, and other Preſtes: I had earneſtly, euer ſens my firſt Comminge, requyred them to obſerue and folowe that only Boke of Commen Prayer, whych the Kynge and hys Counſell had that Yeare put fourth by Acte of Parlement. But that wolde they at no Hande obeye, allegynge, for their vayne and ydle Excuſe, the lewde Example

ample of the Archebiſhop of *Dublyne*, which was alwayes ſlacke in Thynges perteyninge to Gods Glorie; alleginge alſo the Want of Bokes, and that their owne Iuſtices and Lawers had not yet conſented therunto; as though it had bene lawfull for their Iuſtices to haue denyed the ſame, or, as though they had rather haue hanged vpon them, than vpon the Kinges Autoritie, and Commaundement of his Counſell.

In the Weke after *Eaſter*, whan I had ones preached xii Sermons amonge them, and eſtabliſhed the People, as I thought, in the Doctrine of Repentaunce, and neceſſarie Beleue of the Goſpell, in the true Worſhyppynges of one God, our eternall Father, and no more; and in that Hope of one Redemer, *Ieſus Chriſte*, and no more: I departed from *Kylkennie* to an other Place of myne, v Myles of, called *Holmes Court*, where as I remained tyll the *Aſſenſion Daye*. In the meane Time came forowfull Newes vnto me, that M. *Hugh Goodacker*, the Archebiſhop of *Armach*, that godly Preacher, and virtuouſe learned Man, was poyſened at *Dublyne*, by Procurement of certen Preſtes of his Dioceſe, for Preachinge Gods Verite, and Rebukinge their commen Vices. And Letters by and by were directed vnto me, by my ſpeciall Frendes from thens, to be ware of the like in my Dioceſe of *Oſſorie*; which made me paraventure more circumſpect than I ſhulde haue bene. Vpon the *Aſſenſion Daye*, I preached again at *Kylkennie*, likewyſe on *Trinite Sondaye*, and on S. *Peters* Daye at *Midſomer* than folowinge.

On the xxv Daye of *July*, the Preſtes were as pleaſauntly diſpoſed as might be, and went by Heapes from Tauerne to Tauerne, to ſeke the beſt *Rob Dauye* and *Aqua Vite*, which are their ſpeciall Drinkes there. Thei cawſed all their Cuppes to be filled in, with *Gaudeamus in dolio*, the Miſterie therof only knowne to them, and, at that Time, to none other els.

Which was, that Kynge *Edwarde* was dead, and that they were in Hope to haue vp their maſkynge Maſſes againe; as we haue in S. *Iohans* Reuelacion, That they which dwell on the Yearth (as do our earthly minded Maſmongers) ſhulde reioyce and be glad, whan Gods true Witneſſes were ones taken awaye, and ſhulde ſende Gyftes one to an other for Gladneſſe, becauſe they rebuked them of theyr wycked Doyngs, *Apoca.* xi. For ye muſt conſydre, that the Preſtes are commenly the firſt that receiue ſuche Newes. The next Daye folowinge, a very wicked Iuſtice called *Thomas Hothe*, with the Lorde *Mountgarret*, reſorted to the Cathedrall Churche, requyrynge to haue a Communion, in the Honour of S. *Anne*. Marke the blaſphemouſe Blyndeneſſe and wylfull Obſtinacye of thys beaſtly Papyſt. The Preſtes made hym Anſwere, That I had forbydden them that Celebracion, ſauynge only vpon the *Sondayes*; as I had, in dede, for the abhomynable Ydolatries that I had ſeane therein. I diſcharge you, ſayth he, of Obedience to your Biſhop in this Point, and commaunde yow to do as ye haue done heretofore; which was, to make of Chriſtes holy Communion an ydolatrouſe Maſſe, and to ſuffre it to ſerue for the Dead, cleane contrarye to the Chriſten Vſe of the ſame.

Thus was the wicked Iuſtice not only a Vyolatour of *Chriſtes Inſtitucion*, but alſo a Contempner of his Princes earneſt Commaundement, and a Prouoker of the People, by his vngraciouſe Example, to do the lyke. Thys coulde he do, with other Miſcheſes more, by his longe Beynge there by a whole Monthes Space; but for Murthers, Theftes, Ydolatryes, and abhominable Whoredomes, wherwith all that Nacion habundeth, for that Time he fought no Redreſſe, neyther appointed any Correction. The Preſtes thus reioycing that the Kinge was dead, and that they had bene that Daye confirmed in their ſuperſticiouſe Obſtinacie, reſorted to the forſeyd falſe Iuſtice the ſame Night at Supper, to gratifye him with *Rob Dauye* and *Aqua Vite*, for that he had bene ſo frendly vnto them, and that he might ſtyll continue in the ſame. The next Daye after was the Ladye *Jane Gylforde* proclamed their Quene, with Solemnite of Proceſſions, Bonefyres, and Banquettes; the ſeyd Iuſtice, as I was infourmed, ſore blamynge me for my Abſence that Daye, for, in dede, I muche doubted that Matter.

So ſone as it was there rumoured Abrode, that the Kynge was departed from this Lyfe, the Ruffianeſs of that wilde Nacyon, not only rebelled againſt the *Engliſh* Captaines, as their lewde Cuſtome, in ſuche Chaunges, hath bene alwayes, cheſely no *Engliſh* Deputye beinge within the Lande, but alſo they conſpired into the very Deathes of ſo many *Engliſh* Men and Women, as were left therin alyue; mindinge, as they than ſtoughtly boaſted it, to haue ſet vp a Kinge of their owne. And, to cauſe their wilde People to beare the more Hate to our Nacion, very ſubtilly, but yet falſely, they cauſed

cauſed it to be noyſed ouer all, that the yonge Earle of *Ormonde*, and *Barnabe*, the Barne of *Vpper Oſſories* Sonne, were both ſlaine in the Court at *London*.

Vpon this wylye Practiſe of Myſchefe, they raged, without Ordre, in all Places, and aſſaulted the *Engliſh* Fortes euery where.

And at one of them, by a ſubtyle Trayne, they got out ix of our Men, and ſlewe them.

On the xiii Daye of *Auguſt*, a gentill Woman, the Wyfe of *Mathew Kinge*, hauynge a Caſtell not farre of, her Huſbande than beinge at *London*, fledde with her Familie and Goodes, in Cartes, towardes the forfeid *Kylkennie*; and, in the Hyghwaye, was ſpoyled of all, to her very Petycote, by the Kearnes and Galoglaſſes of the forenamed Barne of *Vpper Oſſorie*, *Michell Patricke*, and of the Lorde *Mountgarret*, which ought rather to haue defended her. In this Outrage had ſhe, after longe Conflicte with thoſe Enemyes, iiii of her Companie ſlain, beſides other Miſchefes more.

On the xx. Daye of *Auguſt*, was the Ladye *Marye* with vs at *Kylkennye* proclamed Quene of *Englande*, *Fraunce*, and *Irelande*, with the greateſt Solempnyte, that there coulde be deuyſed, of Proceſſions, Muſters, and Diſgyſinges, all the noble Captaynes and Gentilmen there about beinge preſent. What a do I had that Daye with the Prebendaryes and Preſtes abought Wearinge the Cope, Croſer, and Myter in Proceſſion, it were to muche to write.

I tolde them earneſtly, whan they wolde haue compelled me therunto, that I was not *Moyſes* Miniſter, but Chriſtes; I defyred them not to compell me to his Denyall, whiche is, S. *Paule* ſayth, in the Repetinge of *Moyſes* Sacramentes and Ceremoniall Schaddowes, *Gal.* v. With that I toke Chriſtes Teſtament in my Hande, and went to the *Market Croſſe*, the People in great Nombre folowinge. There toke I the xiij. Chap. of S. *Paule* to the *Romanes*, declaringe to them breuely what the Auſoritie was of the worldly Powers and Magiſtrates, what Reuerence and Obedience were due to the ſame. In the meane Tyme, had the Prelates goten ij. diſgyſed Preſtes, one to beare the Myter afore me, and an other the Croſer, makinge iij. Proceſſion Pageauntes of one. The yonge Men, in the Forenone, played a Tragedye of Gods Promyſes in the olde Lawe, at the *Market Croſſe*, with Organe, Plainges, and Songes very aptely. In the Afternone agayne they played a Commedie of Sanct *Iohan Baptiſtes* Preachinges, of Chriſtes Baptiſynge, and of his Temptacion in the Wilderneſſe, to the ſmall Contentacion of the Preſtes and other Papiſtes there.

On the *Thurſdaye* next folowinge, which was S. *Bartylmewes* Daye, I preached agayne amonge them, bycauſe the Prebendaryes and other Preſtes there had made their Boaſtes, that I ſhulde be compelled to recante all that I had preached afore; and, as I was entered into the Pulpit, I toke this Sainge of S. *Paule* for my Thema: *Non erubeſco Euangelium*; *Virtus enim Dei eſt in ſalutem omni credenti*, &c. *I am not aſhamed of the Goſpell.* And whie? *For it is the Power of God unto Saluacion, to all them that beleue it*, Rom. 1. Than declared I vnto them all that I had taught there, ſens my firſt Comming thydre, the Iuſtice *Hothe* beinge preſent; as, That our God was but one God, and ought alone to be worſhipped; and that our Chriſte was but one Chriſte, and ought alone to be truſted to for Redempcion of Sinne. I earneſtly charged the People to reſt vpon theſe ij. Principles firmely, as vpon the chefe Stayes of their Saluacion, as they wolde anſwere it at the dredefull Daye, and not to ſuffre themſelues to be led, by a contrariouſe Doctrine of deceytfull Teachers, into any other Beleue, from thens fourth. *Item*, Concerninge the Sacramente of Chriſtes Bodye and Bloude, wherin they had bene moſt prodigiouſly abuſed, through the vnſaciable Couetouſneſſe of the Preſtes, I required them very reuerently to take it, as a Sacramente only of Chriſtes Deathe, wherby we are redemed, and made innocent Membres of hys miſticall Bodye, and not to worſhip it as their God, as they had done, to the vtter Derogacion of hys heauenly Honour. And, as I came in the vſuall Prayer to Remembraunce of the Dead, I willed them to gyue harty Thankes to God for their Redempcion in Chriſte, largely declaringe, That the Sowles of the Righteouſe were in the Hande of his Mercye, without cruell Torment, *Sap.* 3. and that the Preſtes, with all their Maſſes and Funerall Exequies, coulde nothinge adde to their Redempcion, if they had bene otherwiſe beſtowed.

After the Prayer, I toke the Goſpell of the Daye, *Beati oculi, qui vident quæ vos videtis*, &c. *Luce* 10. wherin I was occaſioned to ſpeake of certen Degrees of Men, as of Kinges, Prophetes, Lawers, Iuſticiaryes, and ſo fourth: As,

As, That the Kinges were deſierouſe to ſee Chriſte, the Prophetes to embrace him, the ſwellinge Lawers to riſe vp againſte him and to tempte him, and the ambiciouſe Iuſticiaryes to toye with him and to mocke him. The wounded Man to haue Nede of him, the Preſte to ſhewe no Compaſſion, the Leuite to miniſtre no Mercye, and, laſt of all, the contemptuouſe *Samaritane* to exerciſe all the Offices of Pitye, Loue, Beniuolence, and liberall Mercye, vpon the ſame wounded Creature; as, to reſort to him, fauourably to ſee him, with Layſer to beholde him, to haue Compaſſion on him, to bynde vp his Woundes, to poure in Oyle and Wyne, to ſett him on his owne Beaſte, to brynge him to a Place of Comfort; finaly, to ſocour him, and to paye his whole Charges: All theſe Matters I declared there at large, which were now to muche to repete here againe.

The ſame Daye, I dined with the Mayer of the Towne, whome they name their *Suffran*, called *Robert Shea*, a Man ſober, wiſe, and godly; which is a rare Thinge in that Lande.

In the End of our Dyner certen Preſtes reſorted, and began very hotely to diſpute with me concerninge their Purgatorye and Suffrages for the Dead. And as I had alleged the Scriptures prouing Chriſtes Sufficiencie for the Sowles Diſcharge afore God, without their dirtie Deſeruinges, they brought fourth, as ſemed to them, contrary Allegacions, that there ſhulde apere no Truthe in thoſe Scriptures. As S. *Paule* prophecied of them, *Rom.* 1. That ſuche as they were, *ſhulde ſeke to turne the Veryte of God into a Lye.* And whan I had ones deprehended them in that Theuerie, and agreed both our alleged Scriptures, to the Mayntenaunce of my firſt Princyple, to their manifeſt Reproche: I demaunded of them, What a Chriſtenmannys Office was, whan ſuche a Scripture was vttered as neyther Man nor Angell was able to denie any Truth therof? But they made me no Anſwere. Than ſayde I vnto them, Ye haue ſet me fourth a newe Leſſon, and taught me this Daye to knowe a good Man from an Hipocrite, and to diſcerne a true Chriſtiane from a wicked Papiſt. The good Man, ſaid I, beleueth a Truthe in the Scriptures, the Hipocrite denieth it, the Chriſtian embraceth it, the Papiſt doubteth and diſputeth againſt it; as ded the Deuill in the Wildernesſe with Chriſte, whan he ſought by one Scripture to confounde an other.

The next Daye I departed from thence, and went Home with my Cumpanye to *Holmes Court* agayne.

Where as I had Knowledge the next Daye folowinge, that the Preſtes of my Dioceſe, ſpecially one Sir *Richard Routhe*, Treaſurer of the Churche of *Kylkennie*, and one Sir *Iames Ioys*, a familiar Chaplaine of mine, by the Helpe of one *Barnabe Bolgar*, my next Neibour and my Tenaunt, at the ſeyd *Holmes Court*, had hired certen Kearns of the Lorde *Mountgarret*, and of the Barne of *Vpper Oſſorie*, whom they knew to be moſt deſperate Theues and Murtherers, to ſlea me.

And I am in full Beleue, that this was not all without their Knowleges alſo; for ſo muche as they were ſo deſierouſe of my Landes in diuerſe Quarters, and coulde neyther obtaine them by their owne importunate Sutes, nor yet by the Frendeſhipp of others. As for the Lorde *Mountgarret*, I ſuſpect him by this:

An Horſe Grome of his, with an other of his brecheleſſe Gallauntes beſides, came into my Court one Daye, and made a ſtought Bragge among my Seruauntes, that he wolde both ſteele my Horſes, as it is there reckened no great Faulte to ſteel, and alſo that he wolde haue my Heade, if I came abroade.

I ſent my Seruaunt vnto him, not as one deſierouſe to be reuenged, but to knowe what Cauſe his Grome had, to vttre ſo muche Malice. Yea, I afterwarde complayned therof my ſelfe, to his owne Perſone, and had but a ſlendre Anſwere, with no Redreſſe at all. The Barne of *Vpper Oſſorie* moleſted my pore Tenauntes in the Quarter wher as he dwelte, moſt maliciouſly; and *Barnabe Bolgar* maryed his yonge Doughter to one of thoſe Murtherers, called *Grace Graceleſſe*, to helpe the Matter forwarde: For he thought by that Meanes to haue the full Occupienge of *Holmes Court* yet ones agayne.

On the *Thurſdaye* after, which was the laſt Daye of *Auguſt*, I beinge abſent, the Clergie of *Kylkennie*, by Procurement of that wicked Iuſtice *Hothe*, blaſphemouſly refumed agayne the whole *Papiſme*, or Heape of Superſticions of the Biſhop of *Rome*; to the vtter Contempte of Chriſte and his holy Wurde, of the Kinge and Counſell of *Englande*, and of all Eccleſiaſticall and Politike Ordre, without eyther Statute or yet Proclamacion. They ronge all the Belles in that Cathedrall, Minſtre, and Pariſh Churches; they ſtonge vp

their

their Cappes to the Battlement of the great Temple, with Smylinges and Laughinges moſt diſſolutely, the Juſtice himſelfe beinge therwith offended: They brought fourth their Coopes, Candelſtickes, holy Waterſtocke, Croſſe, and Senſers: They muſtered fourth in generall Proceſſion moſt gorgiouſly, all the Towne ouer, with *Sancta Maria*, *Ora pro nobis*, and the reeſt of the *Latine* Letanie: They chattered it, they chaunted it, with great Noiſe and Deuocion: They banketted all the Daie after, for that they were deliuered from the Grace of God into a warme Sunne.

For they maye, now from thens fourth, againe deceiue the People, as they ded afore Tyme, with their *Latine* Momblinges, and make Marchaundice of them, 2 *Petre* ii. They maye make the witleſſe Sort beliéue, that they can make euery Daye newe Goddes of their lyttle whyte Cakes, and that they can fatche their Frendes Sowles from flaminge Purgatory, if Nede be, with other great Miracles els.

They maye now, without Checke, haue other Mennes Wiues in occupienge, or kepe Whores in their Chambers; or els playe the buggery Knaues, as they haue done alwayes, and be at an vttre Deſiaunce with Mariage, though it be the Inſtitucion of God, honourable, holye, righteouſe, and perfight.

I wryte not this without a Cauſe, for whie, there were ſome amonge them, which boaſted both of this and muche more, to vayne to be tolde.

And, whan they were demaunded, How they wolde, afore God, be diſcharged?

They made Anſwere, that Eare Confeſſion was able to burniſh them agayne, and to make them ſo white as Snowe, though they thus offended neuer ſo oft. And one of them, for Example, was the dronken Biſhop of *Galwaye*, which, beſides theſe vncomly Bragges, furioſly boaſted, in the Howſe of one *Martine*, a faithfull *Italiane* and Seruaunt to the Earle of *Ormonde*, and in other Howſes more, that the Biſhop of *Rome* was the Heade Supreme of the Chriſten Churche in Earthe, and ſhulde ſo be proclamed in *Irelande*, the ſaid *Martine*, as Gods true Frende, rebukinge him for it. The Exerciſe of this beaſtly Biſhop is none other, but to gadde from Towne to Towne ouer the *Engliſh* Part, confirminge yonge Children for ij. Pence a pece, without Examinacion of their Chriſten Beleue, contrary to the Chriſten Ordinaunces of *Englande*, and at Night to drinke all at *Rob Dauye* and *Aqua Vite*, like a Man: To whome, for a Mocke now of late, a Galoglaſſe of the Lande brought hys Dogge, wrapped in a Sheet, with ij. Pens about his Necke, to have him confirmed, among Neybers Children: In this he noted this beaſtly Biſhop more fit to confirme Dogges, than Chriſten Mennes Children.

On the *Frydaye* next followinge, which was the eyt Daye of *Septembre* v. of my Howſholde Seruauntes *Rycharde Foſter*, a Deacon, *Rycharde Headley*, *Iohan Cage*, an *Iriſh* Horſegrome, and a yonge Mayde of xvj. Yeares of Age, went out to make Haye abought halfe a Myle of betwixt viij. and ix. of the Clocke, after they had ſerued God according to the Daye. And, as they were come to the Entraunce of that Medowe, the cruell Murtherers, to the Nombre of more than a Score, leaped out of their lurkynge Buſſhes, with Sweardes and with Dartes, and cowardly ſlewe them all vnarmed and vnweaponed, without Mercy. This ded they, in their wicked Furye, as it was reported, for that they had watched ſo long afore, yea, an whole Month Space they ſaye, and ſped not of their Purpoſe concerninge me. They fellonouſly alſo robbed me of all my Horſes, and of all Maiſtre *Coopers* Horſes, which that Time ſoiourned with me for Sauegarde of hys Lyfe, to the Nombre of vij. dryuynge them afore them. In the Afternoone, abought iij. of the Clocke, the good Suffren of *Kylkennye*, hauinge Knowledge therof, reſorted to me with an hondred Horſemen, and iij hondred Fotemen, and ſo with great Strengthe brought me that Nyght to the Towne, the yonge Men ſyngynge Pſalmes and other godly Songes all the Way, in Reioyce of my Deliueraunce.

As we were come to the Towne, the People, in great Nombre, ſtode on both Sydes of the Waye, both within the Gates and without, with Candels lyghted in their Handes, ſhoughting out Prayſes to God for deliuerynge me from the Handes of theſe Murtherers. The Preſtes the next Daye, to colour their Myſchefe, cauſed it to be noyſed all the Countrey ouer, that it was by the Hande of God that my Seruauntes were ſlain, for that they had broken (they ſayde) the great holy Daye of our Ladyes Natiuitie. But I wolde fayne knowe what holy Dayes theſe bloudthurſtye Hypocrites and malycioufe Murtherers kepte,

which had hyred their cruel Kearnes to do that Myſchefe? O! abhoymynable Traytours, both to God and to all godly Ordre. Ye here commende Murther undre a Colour of falſe Religyon, to hyde your owne Myſchefes to the Eyes of the People, but the Eyes of God ye cannot deceuye. Youre horrible Slaughter muſt now be Gods Doynge, and yet was it the Devyll that ſett ye a Wurke. Ye prate here of the Obſeruacion of the holy Daye, which neuer yet kepte the holy Daye as it ſhulde be kepte. For ye neuer yet preached the Wurde of God truly, neither mynyſtred the Sacramentes ryghtly, neyther yet taught the People to honour God purely, and to keepe his Commaundementes inuiolably, which are the only Kepinges of the holy Dayes.

But on thoſe Dayes, more than on any other, ye pampre them vp in all Superſticions, falſe Worſhippynges, and Ydolatryes, to the utter Defilynge both of the Dayes and of them. Ye are much offended that a good Wurke ſhulde be done on the Sabboth Daye, as were your Forefathers the *Phariſees*, but, with Whoredome, Ydolatrye, Dronkenneſſe, and Slaughter of Men, ye are nothinge at all offended, but wickedly ye do mainteine them, as I am able to proue by a thouſande of your lewde Examples. The Natiuitie of our Ladye was at that Daye a Feaſt abrogated, by Autoritie of a Chriſten Kynge, and his whole Parlement; and yet you ſaye the holy Daye is broken, whan it is no holy Daye at all, but as all other Dayes are holy to them only which are holy through their true Obedience to Gods moſt holy Wurde. Ye had kepte the Daye much holyar, in my Opinyon, if ye had, in the Fear of God, obeyed the Commaundement of your Chriſten Kynge; where as, in diſobeynge the ſame, ye haue reſiſted the holy Ordinaunce of God for a Superſticion, procuringe thereby to your ſelues Damnacion, *Roma.* 1. Chriſte, our heauenly Maiſtre and Redemer, was wele contented that his moſt holy Natiuitie gaue Place to an Heathnyſh Emperours Obedience, *Luc.* 2. And yow diſdaine that Daye to obeye a moſt Chriſten Kynge, Counſell, and Parlement, and yet ye are not aſhamed to boaſt it, that ye kepte the Daie holy. O! right Antichriſtes. On the Daye next followinge, which was *Saturdaye* in the Afternoone, the forſeid Treaſurer, a Man vnlearned, and therwith an outragiouſe Whorekepar, reſorted to me with a Nombre of Preſtes, to tempte me, like as Sathan ded Chriſte in the Wilderneſſe, ſauing that Sathan to Chriſte offered Stones, and that temptinge Treaſurer both Apples and Wyne. And, as they had than compaſſed me in rounde about, the ſeid Treaſurer proponed vnto me, that they were all fully minded to haue ſolempne Exequies for Kynge *Edwarde*, lately departed, lyke as the Quenes Highneſſe had had them in *Englande*. I axed them how that was? They made me Anſwere, with a *Requiem* Maſſe and *Dirige*. Than aſked I of them agayne, Who ſhulde ſinge the Maſſe? And they anſwered me, that it was my bounde Dewtie to do it, beinge their Biſhop. Than ſayde I vnto them, Maſſinge is an Office appointed of that Antichriſte, the Biſhop of *Rome*, to whom I owe no Obedience, neither will I owe him any ſo longe as I ſhall lyue. But if ye will haue me there, to do that Office, which Chriſte, the Sonne of God, hath earneſtly commaunded, which is to preach hys holy Goſpell, I will do it with all my Heart.

No, ſayde they, we will haue a ſolempne Maſſe, for ſo had the Quene. By my Trouth, ſayde I, than muſt ye go ſeke out ſome other Chaplayne; for, truly, of all Generacions, I am no Maſſe-mongar; for, of all Occupacions, me thinke, it is moſt foliſh; for there ſtandeth the Preſte diſgyſed, lyke one that wolde ſhewe ſome Conveyaunce or iuglyng Playe. He turneth his Back to the People, and telleth a Tale to the Walle, in a foren Language. If he turn his Face to them, it is eyther to receyue the Offering, eyther to deſyre them to giue him a good Wurde, with *Orate pro me fratres*, for he is a poore Brother of theirs; eyther to bid them God ſpede, with *Dominus vobiſcum*, for they get no Part of his Banket; eyther els to bleſſe them with the Bottom of the Cuppe, with *Benedictio Dei*, whan all the Brekefaſt is done. And of theſe Feates, ſaid I, can I now lyttle Skille. With that the Treaſurer, beinge in hys Fuſtene Fumes, ſtoughtely demaunded a determinate Anſwere, as though he came not thydre without Autoritie. Than ſuſpected I ſomwhat the Wickedneſſe of Iuſtice *Hothe*, and ſuch other; notwithſtandinge, I axed him ones again, What Profyght he thought the Kynges Sowle to haue of thoſe funerall Exequies? Than

Than anſwered one of the Preſtes, that God knewe wel inough what he had to do. Yet yow muſt appoint him, ſayde I.

If theſe poure Suffrages be a Waye for him to Heauen, and that he cannot go thydre without them, ye are much to blame, that ye haue diffarred them ſo long. Ye had, ſayde I, a Commaundement, the laſt *Saterdaye*, of the Iuſtice *Hothe*, to haue ſolempniſed them that Nyght, and the next Daye after. But the Deuyll, which that Daye daunſed at *Thomas-Towne* (for they had a Proceſſion with Pageauntes) and the *Aqua vite*, and *Rob Dauie* withall, wolde not ſuffre ye than to do them. I deſire yow, conſidering that the laſt *Sondaye* ye diffared them to ſee the Deuyll daunſe at *Thomas-Towne*, that ye will alſo this *Sondaye* differre them, tyll ſuch Tyme as I ſende to the Quenes Commiſſioners at *Dublyne*, to knowe how to be diſcharged of the Othe which I made to the Kynge and his Counſell for Abolyſhement of that Popiſh Maſſe; for I am loth to incurre the Daunger of Periurie. With that, after a few Wurdes more, they ſemed content, and ſo departed. The next Daye came thydre a Proclamacion, that they which wolde heare Maſſes, ſhulde be ſuffered ſo to do, and they that wold not ſhulde not therunto be compelled.

Thus was that Buyldynge clearly ouerthrowne, and that Practyſe of Blaſphemye wolde not take at that Tyme, as God wolde.

And, as I had continued there certen Dayes, I chaunced to heare of manye ſecrete Mutteringes, that the Preſtes wolde not ſo leaue me, but were ſtyll conſpiringe my Deathe.

It was alſo noyſed Abroade, by the Biſhop of *Galwaye*, and others, that the Antichriſt of *Rome* ſhulde be taken agayne for the ſupreme Heade of the Churche of *Irelande*.

And, to declare a contemptuouſe Chaunge from Religion to Superſticion againe, the Preſtes had ſodainly ſet up all the Aulters and Ymages in the Cathedrall Churche. Beholdinge therfor ſo many Inconueniences to enſewe, and ſo many Daungers towarde, hauinge alſo (which was worſt of all) no *Engliſh* Deputie or Gouernour within the Lande to complaine to for Remedie, I ſhoke the Duſt of my Fete againſt thoſe wicked Colligyners and Preſtes, accordinge to Chriſtes Commaundement, *Math.* 10, that it might ſtande againſt them as a Witneſſe at the Daye of Iudgement. The next Daye, early in the Morninge, by Helpe of Frendes, I conuayed my ſelfe awaye to the Caſtell of *Lechline*, and ſo fourth to the Cytie of *Dubline*, where as I, for a certen Time, amonge Frendes remayned.

As the epicurouſe Archebiſhop had Knowlege of my beinge there, he made Boaſt vpon his Ale Benche, with the Cuppe in his Hande, as I hearde the Tale tolde, that I ſhulde, for no Mannis Pleaſure, preache in that Cytie of his. But this neded not, for I thought nothinge leſſe at that Time, than to poure out the preciouſe Pearles of the Goſpell afore ſo brockiſh a Swine as he was, becominge than, of a diſſemblinge Proſelite, a very perniciouſe Papiſt. And as towchinge Learninge, wherof he muche boaſted amonge his Cuppes, I knowe none that he hath ſo perfightly exerciſed as he hath the knowne Practiſes of *Sardinapalus*; for his Preachinges twiſe in the Yeare, of the Ploughman in Winter, by *Exit qui ſeminat*, and of the Shepeherde in Somer, by *Ego ſum paſtor bonus*, are now ſo wele knowne by Rott, of euery Goſſipp in *Dublyne*, that, afore he cometh vp into the Pulpet, they can tell his Sermon. And as for his Wife, if the Mariage of Preſtes endureth not, he hath already prouided his olde Shifte of Conueyaunce, by one of his Seruauntes. But I wolde wiſhe, that, amonge other Studies, he remembred old *Debethes* at *London*, for Surgerie; for ywys there is yet ſome Moneie to be paied, and an *Iriſh* Hobby alſo by Promyſe.

About thre Yeares a go, he made Interpellacyon to the Kynge, in his *Lente* Sermon, for his Doughter *Irelande*; but now he commaundeth her to go a Whoringe againe, and to folowe the ſame Deuyll that ſhe folowed afore; for that he ded than, was but only to ſerue the Time. He neded lyttle than to haue accuſed Sir *Antony Sellenger* of Treaſon, if ye marke him wele now, but that he thought, by ſuch Conueyaunce, to winne Eſtimacion, and to obtayne the Hygh Primacie of *Irelande*, from the Archebiſhopryche of *Armach*, as he ded in dede. Full wele beſtowed. Suche diſſemblinge Gluttons, and ſwynyſh Papiſtes, are a ſore Plage to that Lande, which, for their wicked Bellyes, make the People beleue, that Sower is Swete, and Darkeneſſe Lighte, with their Aulters, Maſſes, and Ymages. And that cauſeth me to write this to his Shame.

The Salte (ſayth Chriſte) *that is become vnſauerie, is from thens fourth good for nothinge,*

but to be caſt out at the Dores, and troden vndre Mennes Fete, Math. 5. After certen Dayes within my Hoſtes Howſe, a yonge Man of *Eſſexe*, called *Thomas*, was comminge and goynge, which, for his Maiſters Affayres into *Scotlande*, had hyred a ſmall Ship, there called a *Pyckarde*.

I reioyced at the Chaunce, as one that had founde a great Treaſure, and thought it a Thinge prouided of God, for my Sauegarde and Deliueraunce at that Preſent. Anon I couenaũnted with him, to paye the Halfe Charges of that Shippe, that I might paſſe thydre with him, and deliuered to him out of Hande the more Part therof.

I thought at all Tymes by him, and by an other whom I there had alſo herde of, hauinge their continuall Occupyenges thydre, to haue, from Tyme to Tyme, Knowlege of the Deputyes comminge ouer into *Irelande*, and ſo to reſort againe to myne owne, in Caſe all Thinges were to my Minde: As that the tirannouſe Biſhop of *Rome* had not his Primacye and old Doynges there againe, as it had bene boaſted he ſhulde, and that the Chriſten Religion gaue not Place to blaſphemouſe Papiſtrie. And as he and I were togyther in the Shippe, there tarrienge vpon the Tyde for Paſſage, an *Iriſhe* Pirate, yea, rather a cruell Tiraunte of Helle, called *Walter*, beinge *Pylate*, as they call them, or Loades Man in a *Flemmiſh* Shippe of Warre, made the couetouſe Captaine therof to beleue that I was a *Frenche* Man, and that I had about me innumerable Treaſure. The Captaine, hearinge of this, with an excedinge Fearceneſſe, inuaded our poore Shippe, and remoued both the yonge Man *Thomas* and me from thens into his great Shippe of Warre: Where as he ſearched vs both to the very Skinnes, and toke from vs al that we had in Moneye, Bokes, and Apparell. He toke alſo from the Maiſtre of our Pickarde, or lyttleShippe, v. Pounde, which I and the ſeyd *Thomas* had giuen to him in Part of Payement, with all his Beere and Vitayles, notwithſtandinge that he perfightly knewe vs to be *Engliſhe* Men, and no *Frenche* Men.

In the Ende I loked fourth of the Captaines Cabyne, and behelde a fayre Howſe, as it had bene a Mile from vs, and axed of the yonge Man, whoſe Howſe that was? He made me Anſwere, that it was the Howſe of one Mr. *Parker*, the Searcher there. I inſtauntly deſiered of the Captayne to be deliuered to him, but in no wiſe wolde he graunt it. I required anon after, as I beheld a farre of, the Citye of *Dublyne*, to be brought thydre for my honeſt Tryall (for they had accuſed me of Treaſon) but it might not be allowed. The next Daye after, we came into the Hauen of *Waterforde*, where as alſo, for my Tryall, I deſired to go a Lande, but in no wyſe wolde it be graunted. After that we paſſed more than the Halfe Seas ouer, towardes *Cornewale*, and were driuen backe againe with ſo fearce and terrible a Tempeſt, that the whole Seas, to our Syght and Feling, went ouer vs. And, as we were come yet ones againe into the Hauen of *Waterforde*, I ſayde vnto the Captaine, God hath with Violence brought vs hyther, againe (I perceyue it) that I ſhulde trye my Innocencye. I deſyre yow (ſayd I) as I haue done heretofore, to deliuer me into the Cytie of *Waterforde*, where as I am wele knowne. He refuſed vtterly ſo to do, and, after certen other Talk, he deſiered me to content myſelfe, and I ſhulde, he ſayde, in the Shippe haue all Thinges to my Mynde. Whie, ſayde I, ye go not my Waye, neither is it fit for me to ſeke for Pryſes, and to go a Roauinge as yow do, but to ſattle myſelfe ſumwhere.

Sens ye came to our Shippe, ſayde he, I hearde yow wiſhe yourſelfe in *Duchelande*; and I promiſe yow, we will honeſtly brynge yow thydre, and not longe tarry by the Waye. My Chaunce was, in dede, to fynde there amonge them an *Hollander*, called *Leonarde*, which knewe me in *Nortwick*, with Maiſtre *Iohan Sartorius*. To him, in familiar Talke, I had wiſhed myſelfe there at that Preſent: But how will ye leade me, ſayde I to the Captaine, as ye haue done hytherto, lyke a captiue Priſoner, or lyke a free Paſſenger? No, ſayde he, I take ye now for no Priſoner, but for a Man of Worſhipp, and for a moſt honeſt Paſſenger, and ſo will I deliuer yow there. But all this Time he had my Moneye in his owne Kepinge. Within ii Dayes after, we were driuen into S. *Iues* in *Cornewale* by Extremitie of Wether; where as the forſeid wicked Pyrate *Walter* got him a Lande afore vs ſo faſt as euer he coulde, and accuſed me there for an haynouſe Traitour, yea, for ſuch a one as for that Cauſe had fledde out of *Irelande*.

And, to bringe his wicked Purpoſe to paſſe of Winninge ſumwhat by me (for he thought than to haue Halfe my Moneye which was in the Captaines Hand, he fatched thydre one

Downinges

Downinges from vii Myles of, by the Counſell of the Mariners of that Towne, which was noyſed to be the moſt cruell Termagaunt of that Shire, yea, ſuche a one as had bene a Begynnar of the laſt Commocion there, both to examine me and apprehende me.

And, as I was commen to that Examinacion before one of the Baylyſes, the Conſtables, and other Officers, I deſiered the ſeyd Baylyſe, apearinge to me a very ſober Man, as he was in dede, to axe of the ſeyd *Walter*, How longe he had knowne me, and what Treaſon I had done ſens that Tyme of his Knowlege? He anſwered, That he neuer ſawe me, neyther yet had hearde of me, afore I came into that Shippe of Warre a iiii or v Dayes afore. Than ſayde the Baylyſe, What Treaſon haſt thu knowne by this honeſt Gentelman ſens? For I promiſe the, he ſemeth to be an honeſt Man? Mary, ſayde he, he wolde haue fledde into *Scotlande*. Whie, ſaith the Baylyſe, and knoweſt thu any Impediment, wherfor he ought not to haue gone into *Scotlande*? No, ſayde the Fellawe, but he was goinge towardes *Scotlande*. If it be a Treaſon, ſayth the Baylyſe, to go towardes *Scotlande*, a Man having Buſineſſe to do there, it is more than I knewe afore, and truly, ſayth he, than are there manie Traitours Abroade in the Worlde.

Good Fellawe, ſayde he, take Hede that thy Grounde be good in Accuſinge this Man, els art thu wurthie to ſuffre due Ponniſhiment for it; for thu doeſt it els vpon ſome other Affection, than Deſire of Right. With that he ſtode ſtill, and was able to ſaye Nothinge, for he was as dronke as an Ape, in Hope of a bone Viage.

Than came in the Captaine and his Purſer, and reuiled the ſeyd *Walter*, reportinge him to be a very noughtye Fellawe, and a commen Dronkarde, and that I was a very honeſt Man. For they feared, at that Tyme, the Diſcharge of my Moneye out of their Handes, I offeringe myſelfe, for my Tryall againſt him, to be brought to the Seſſions, which were than not farre of.

Than ſayde the forſeid *Downinges* in great Diſpleaſure, Gods Sowle, what do I here? This is but a dronken Matter, by the Maſſe; and ſo went his Waye in a Fume, and for Anger wolde not ones drinke with vs, ſo that I went clere awaye in this prodygiouſe Conflict. The next Daye, beinge *Sondaye*, I reſorted to the Temple, to ſee the Faſhions there. As the Peales were all ended, they ſange Mattens, Houres, Holy Water-makinge, and Maſſe, all in *Latine*. Nothinge was there in *Engliſhe* but the poore Letanie, which the Preſte, a ſtought ſturdie Lubber, ſayde with the leaſt Deuocion of all, muche of the People lamentinge to beholde ſo miſerable a Mutacion, and ſaienge, Afore Time might we haue learned ſumwhat by our Comminge to the Churche, but now Nothinge at all to our Vnderſtandynge: Alas! what ſhall become of vs?

After Dyner, that Preſte reſorted vnto vs, as bolde as great *Hercules*, and, after a little Talke, fell to flat Raylinge of good *Myles Couerdale*, their Biſhop, after this Sort: Where is that Heretyke Knaue now, ſayth he, and other of his Companions, Vagabondes, Apoſtates, and Runnegates? With other vncomly Wurdes. And, as I was bent to haue made him an Anſwere, a Gentilman of the Countrey therabout rubbed me on the Elbowe, and bad me, in mine Eare, to lete him alone, and I ſhulde heare Wonders: And the ſeyde Gentilman brought him into an other Talke of olde Familiaritees: Wherin he confeſſed, that he had, in one Daye, bygetten ii Mennis Wyues, of that Pariſhe, with Childe, to encreace the Churches Profyght in Criſyms and Offeringes, where as their Huſbandes were not able to do it. Yea, mary Sir *Iames*, ſayth the Gentleman, and ye haue done more Miracles than that: Went ye not one Daye a Fiſhinge? ſayth he. Yes, by the Maſſe, ded I, ſayde the Preſte againe, and made the Fyſhes more holye, than euer the Whoreſons were afore: For I ſent out my Maker amonge them, whome I had that Daye receyued at the Aulter: By the Maſſe, quoth he, I was able to holde him no longar. Sens that Daye, I am ſure, quoth he, that our Fyſhars hath had better Lucke than euer they had afore.

Thus whan he had raged by the Space of more than an Houre, the laſt Peale calling him thens to Euenſonge, the Gentilman ſayde vnto me, Theſe are the ghoſtly Fathers, which now are permitted to be our ſpirituall Gydes. Are not we, ſayth he, wele apoynted, thynke yow? The Lorde be mercyfull to vs, for it is ſure a Plage for our Vnthankefulneſſe, whils we had the Truthe. Suche lewde bawdie Preſtes as this is, ſayde he, doth wonderfully now reioyce, not for any Vertue they loke for, but in Hope to be mainteined in Libertie of all Wickedneſſe, more than of late Dayes. Whan

Supper

Supper was done, certen of the Mariners reſorted to vs, declaringe what an vncomly Part the Preſte had played with their Pypar, as that he pyſſed in his Mouthe, beinge gapinge a ſlepe in the Churche after Euenſonge. This is the bewteouſe Face of our *Iriſhe* and *Engliſh* Churches at this Preſent.

The poore People are not taught, but mocked of their Mynyſters, their Seruauntes abuſed, their Wiues and Doughters defyled, and all Chriſten Ordre confounded.

As the Wether waxed fayre, the Captaine went awaye with the Shippe, and was more than ii Miles on his Waie, mindinge, as it apeared, to have gone awaye with all that I had, Moneye, Apparell, and Bokes, if the Winde had ſerued him wele. The Coſtomers Seruaunt, an *Iriſhe* Man alſo, beinge admoniſhed by his Countreyman *Walter*, of my Moneye in the Captaines Handes, came to my Lodginge in the Morninge, and tolde me therof, thinkinge, as I had bene in Poſſeſſion therof, if I had come to Lande agayne therwith, to have rayſed newe Rumours vpon me, and ſo to haue depriued me therof; for he ſhewed himſelf very ſeruiſable in Prouidinge me a Boate, and in Bringinge me to the Shippe. But whan he ones perceiued, that I wolde not demaunde my Moneye of the Captaine, and returne agayne with him, though I gaue him a Crowne for his Boate and Paynes, yet went he awaye in great Diſpleaſure, with no ſmall Reproches. And, at that Preſent, was the forſeid *Walter* banniſhed the Shippe for his only Troublinge of me, ſo beniuolouſe that Houre was the Captaine vnto me.

The next Daye after, I demaunded my Moneye of the Captaine, and it was very honeſtly deliuered me, all Scyſmes, as I thought, pacified. Howbeit, that wretched Mammon moſt ſtrongely wrought in the vnquietouſe Harte of the Captaine, ſo that, continually after that Time, he threttened to ſett vs on Lande, and Maruele it was that he threwe vs not both ouer the Borde. Alwayes were we wele contented to haue gone to Lande, but yet ſtill he droue it of till we came into *Douer* Roade, I not vnderſtandinge the Miſterie concerning the ſeyd Moneye, as that it was in my Hande and not in the Captaines, which marred all the whole Matter.

In the mean Tyme they went a Roauinge by a whole Wekes Space and more: And firſt they take an *Engliſhe* Shippe of *Totnes* going towardes *Britaine*, and loaden with Tinne, and that they ſpoiled both of Ware and Moneye vnder the Colour of *Frenche* Mennis Goodes. The next Daye in the Afternoone, behelde they ii *Engliſh* Shippes more, whom they chaced all that Night longe, and the nexte Daye alſo till x of the Clocke; and of them they toke one, by Reaſon that his Topſaile brake, and that was a Shippe of *Lynne*. In this had they Nothinge but Apples, for he went for his Loadinge. After that, traced they the Seas ouer more than Halfe a Weke, and found none there but their owne Countrey Men, beinge Men of Warre and Sea Robbers as they were.

At the laſt they came to *Douer* Roade, and there wolde the Captaine nedes to lande with his Purſer. My Companion *Thomas* and I, takinge ourſelfes for free Paſſengers, deſiered to go a Lande with them, but that might not be, he ſayde, till he had bene there afore. Yes, ſayth *Thomas*, I will go a Lande if any Man go, for I have Nothinge to do here. Thu ſhalt not go, ſayth the Captaine, but I will laye thee faſt by the Fete, if thu prate any more. With that one *Cornelis* ſtode fourth, and ſayde, We are muche to blame, that we haue not diſpatched him ere this, and throwne him ouer the Borde. Than doubted I ſome Myſchefe in Wurkinge amonge them; for one *Martin*, an *Engliſh* Pyrate, but yet a *French* Man borne, beinge ſumtyme *Tompſons* Man, and after that *Stranguyſhes* Man, and now one of their vnthriftie Nombre, had made them beleue, that I was he which not only had put downe the Maſſe in *Englande*, but alſo I had cauſed Doctour *Gardiner*, the Biſhopp of *Wincheſtre*, to be kepte ſo longe in the *Towre*, and that alſo I had poyſened (whome I loued and reuerenced aboue all mortall Men) the Kinge, with many other moſt prodigiouſe Lyes.

So went the Captaine and his Purſer with all theſe Newes a Lande, hauinge alſo with them my Biſhoppes Seale, and ij. Epiſtles ſent me from *Conradus Geſnerus* and *Alexander Aleſius*, with Commendacions from *Pellicanus*, *Pomeranus*, *Philippus Melanchthon*, *Ioachimus Camerarius*, *Mathias Flacius*, and other learned Men, deſierouſe of the *Engliſhe* Churches Antiquytees and Doctrines; which Letters I had receyued at *Dublyne*, the Daye afore I came to the Shippe, and not yet anſwered them. Theſe Epiſtles and Seale, with an other Letter ſent to me from the Counſell of *Englande*, concerninge my firſt Callinge to

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that Paſtorall Office, they had taken out of my Male, vnknowinge to me. For that they had ſeane the Kinges Armes in my Seale, as the Maner is of Byſhoppes Seales, they layde to my Charge the Counterfettinge of the Kinges Seale, upon the ij. Epiſtles, Hereſie, and vpon the Counſels Letter, Conſpiricie againſt the Quene; ſo wele were they ouerſeane in that Malice for Moneye. In *Douer*, amonge all his Cuppes, this Captaine diſcouered theſe Matters, as what a Man he had gotten in the Borders of *Irelande*, ſuſpiciouſly paſſinge ouer from thens towardes *Scotlande*, with all the reeſt. And, as he had perceiued ſome of the Hearers deſierouſe of that Praie, he called a great Pece of his Tale backe againe, and ſayde, that he had ſett vs a Lande at *Southampton*, and ſo letten vs go. His Minde was to haue ſolde me, if any Man wolde haue offered him a good Somme of Moneye.

After Midnyght, he returned agayne to the Shippe, pratinge amonge his Cumpany, what he had done a Lande, and how he had almoſt loſt all, by his buſye Talke. But he had hearde of me, he ſayde, muche more than he knewe afore, and he truſted that I ſhulde be to him, and to all the Shippe, a profitable Priſe. The next Daye in the Morninge, after his firſt Slepe, he aroſe, and, with ſtought Countenaunce, boaſted that he wolde ſtrayght to *London*, with his moſt daungerouſe Carryage, which were we ij. poore innocent Sowles, that had done Ill to no Man, ſauinge that we coulde not beare with the Blaſphemies of the Papiſtes againſt God and his Chriſte. Muche to and fro was amonge them about that Paſſage: In the Ende they all concluded, that better it was to tarry ſtill there with the Shippe, whils one or ij. of them went to the Counſell of *Englande*, in Maſſage, and came againe, than thydre to trauaile with Shippe and all. To Lande goeth the Purſer and an other beſides, to hyre their Horſes towardes *London*, for Mountaines of Golde wolde be gotten that Wayes, they ſayde.

As I behelde this Madneſſe, though I little than cared for my Life, yet ſayde I to the Captaine, Maiſtre Captaine, What do yow meane by theſe ſtrange Turmoilinges? Thinke ye there is no God? Neither yet a Reckeninge to be made, at the lattre Day, of theſe mad Procedinges? The Time hath bene ſens our firſt Metinge, that ye haue taken me for an honeſt Paſſenger, and defended my Innocencie againſt that cruel Pyrate *Walter*: How ſtandeth it with Equity than, that ye now proclame me ſo haynouſe a Traitor? I am ſure that ye knowe now no more by me, than ye ded afore. Your Allegacions, that I had put downe the Maſſe, empriſoned Doctour *Gardiner*, and poyſened the Kinge, are moſt falſe, as all the Worlde knoweth. My Seale, and my other Letters, are plaine Argumentes of my Truthe and honeſt Eſtimacion, and might be to your Confuſion, if I chaunced to haue righteouſe Hearers. I praie yow therfor in Conſcience, that ye tell me what Euyll ye knowe els by me, that ye make here ſo terrible Doynges? I can not ſee, ſayth the Captaine, that ye will be ordered after anye good Sort. My only Miſordre was than, that my Moneye was in my Purſe, and not in his. Wherunto I anſwered, with an Hart full of Dolour and Heauineſſe, to beholde Mennis ſo dampnable Practiſes of Myſchefe for fylthie Lucres ſake.

I am contented, Maiſtre Captaine, ſayd I, to be ordered as ye will reaſonably haue me. What will ye gyue than, ſayde the Captaine, to be deliuered into *Flaunders*, and our Purſer to be called againe? I anſwered, that I wolde gyue as his ſelfe wolde with Reaſon and Conſcience require. If ye had told vs ſo much yeſter Night, ſayde he, this Matter had bene at a Point, and we by this Tyme had bene in *Zelande*.

Than was all the Rable of the Shippe, hag, tag, and rag, called to the Reckeninge, ruſhelinge together as they had bene the Cookes of Helle, with their great *Cerberus*, and an whole hundred Pounde demaunded for my Deliueraunce. In the Ende it was concluded, that no leſſe might aſwage that hungrye Heate, than fiftie Pounde at the leaſt, with this Prouiſo, That all the Moneye, which I had in my Purſe, with Part of my Garmentes alſo, ſhulde be out of Hande deuyded amonge them and the Captaine; whiche was xxj. Pounde in the Whole. I inſtantly deſiered, that it might be receyued in Part of Payment of the other Somme. They cried all, with one Voice, Naye, we will none of that. Than I beſought them, that I might haue, at leaſt, an honeſt Porcion therof, for Payment of my Charges, whils I ſhulde be prouidinge of ſo great a Raunſome, as they had layde to me.

In fine, they aſſented, that I ſhulde haue vj. Crownes of myne owne Moneye allowed

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me for my Coſtes, till I had founde out my Frendes. Than cauſed the Captaine a Pece of Ordinaunce to be fiered, and a Gunne to be lete, to call backe the Purſer and his Companion; in whoſe Returne there was muche to and fro; for ſome wolde nedes to *London*, thinkinge that Waye to winne more, than to bringe me into *Flaunders:* And, of them which wolde into *Flaunders*, ſome wolde to lande for a Barrell of Drinke, for in the Shippe, at that Time, was neither Breade, Beſe, nor Beere. Some feared the Comminge of the Mayre and Captaine of the Caſtell for Searchinge their Shippe; ſo that our Captaine commaunded them at the laſt to hoyſe vp the Sayles, and ſpedily to paſſe towardes *Flaunders*. In the mean Tyme was I, poore Sowle, compelled to ſet my Hande to a falſe Bylle of their Deuiſinge, as, That I had hyred their Shippe in *Irelande*, for fiftie Pounde, to bringe me, without Delaye or Tarriaunce, into *Zelande:* Which I neuer ded, as the Almightie Lorde wele knoweth, but came from thens with them againſt my Will, and was toſſed to and fro vpon the Seas, by the Space of xxiiij. Dayes, in Folowinge *Priſes*, as they call their Roberies; and I was, by that Time, ſo full of Lyce, as I coulde ſwarme.

As we came ones thydre, they brought me into the Howſe of one of the iiij. Owners of the Shippe, which was a Man fearinge God, and his Wyfe a Woman of muche Godlyneſſe alſo; which was to me a carefull Creature, a ſingular Comfort prouided of God. The next Daye were all the iiij. Owners called to the Reckeninge, and a *Latyne* Interpretour wyth them, to knowe howe, where, and whan this Raunſome of fiftye Pounde ſhulde be payde; and more than xxvj. Dayes of Layſer for the Payment therof might not be graunted. I defiered to haue had Libertie to go Abroade to ſeke my Frindes, but that coulde I not obtaine, though it were in my formar Couenaunt, whan the vj. Crownes were deliuered me. In the Afternoone was it noyſed Abroade, by the dronken Mariners all ouer, That they had brought ſuche a one with them out of *Irelande*, as payed Halfe an hundred Pounde for his Paſſage, to the Wonderinge of all the Towne; ſo that my Hoſte was fayne to kepe me cloſe in his Howſe, and to ſaye, both to the Mariners and others, That I was gone to *Andwerpe*, the People there reſorted ſo faſt to ſee me; they reported there alſo, in their Dronkenneſſe, That I was he which had put downe the Maſſe in *Englande*, and had throwne Doctour *Gardiner* into the *Tower*, wyth a great Sort of Lyes and Slaunders more.

Thus continued I there, as a Priſoner, by the Space of iij. Wekes, ſumtyme threttened to be throwne in their commen Iayle, ſumtyme to be brought afore the Magiſtrates, ſumtyme to be left to the Examinacion of the Clergie, ſumtyme to be ſent to *London*, or els to be deliuered to the Quenes Embaſſadours at *Brucels*; but alwayes, by Gods Prouyſyon, I had myne Hoſte and Hoſteſſe to Frendes. And, beholde a moſt wondrefull Wurke of God! The Perſone of the Towne, a moſt cruell Monke, a Maiſtre of *Louayne*, and an Inquiſitour of Heretykes, as they call thoſe Rabyes, the next Daye after my Comminge ſore ſyckened, and neuer came out of his Bedde, ſo longe as I was there; which was greatly marked of ſome of the Inhabitauntes, beinge godly affected: At the laſt, in Deliberatinge the Matter, that they requyred ſo muche Moneye of me, and wolde not ſuffre me to go Abroade to ſeke it, mine Hoſte bad the Captaine and Mariners conſidre how farre they had ronne beyonde the Limites of their Commiſſion, in myſuſynge the *Engliſhe* Nacion, with whome they had no Warre. It maye chaunce herafter, ſayth he, depely to be layde to your Charges; therfore, by my Aſſent, ye ſhall agree with this good Man for leſſe Moneye; than were they contented to receyue xxx. Pounde, as I ſhulde be able to paye it, and ſo to diſcharge me.

Thus hathe my Lorde God moſt miraculouſly deliuered me from all thoſe daungerouſe Parels, and from the gredye Mouthes of deuourynge Lions, into the wurthie Lande of *Germanye* yet ones againe, I hope to the Glorie of his moſt holie Name; euerlaſtinge Praiſe be to him for it. *Amen.*

Here haue ye, dere Frendes, a moſt lyuely and wondrefull Example of Gods Chaſtenynges, and of his moſt gracyouſe Deliueraunces agayne; for no choſen Chylde receyueth he to Enherytaunce without muche Correction, *Hebre.* 12. The mercyfull Lorde throweth downe into Helle, and bringeth from thens agayne, 1 *Reg.* 2. Though Sathan be ſuffred, as Whete, to ſyfte vs for a Time, yet faileth not our Faythe, through Chriſtes Ayde, but that we are at all Tymes readye to confirme the Faythe of our weake Bretherne,

Luce

Luce 22. I thought my ſelfe now of late, for the Cares of this Lyfe, wele ſatteled in the Biſhopricke of *Oſſorie* in *Irelande*, and alſo wele quieted in the peceable Poſſeſſion of the pleaſaunt *Euphrates*, I confeſſe it; but the Lorde of his Mercye wolde not there leaue me: What though, for the ſmall Tyme, I was in his Vyneyarde not at all an ydell Wurkeman? But he hath prouyded me, I perceyue it, to taſte of a farre other Cuppe.

By Vyolence hath he yet ones agayne, as ye in this Treatiſe haue redde, driuen me out of that gloryouſe *Babylon*, that I ſhulde not taſte to muche of her wanton Pleaſures, but, with his moſt derely beloued Diſciples, to haue my inwarde Reioyce in the Croſſe of his Sonne *Ieſus Chriſt*; the Glorie of whoſe Churche, I ſee it wele, ſtandeth not in the harmoniouſe Sounde of Belles and Organes, nor yet in the Glitterynge of Miters and Coopes, neither in the Shyninge of gylte Ymages and Lyghtes, as the blinde bludderinge Papiſtes do iudge it, but in continuall Labours and dayly Afflyctions for his Names Sake. God, at this Preſent, in *Englande* hath his Fanne in Hande, and, after his great Harueſt there, is now ſyftinge the Corne from the Chaffe; bleſſed ſhall they be, which perſeuer in Faythe to the Ende. In Caſe, without Doubt, is *Englande* now, as was *Iewrie*, after the heauenly Doctryne was there plentuouſly ſowne by Chriſte and by his Apoſtles, the true Myniſters of his Wurde beinge partly enpriſoned, and partly diſperſed, as they were: God of his great Mercye preſerue it from that Plage of Deſtruction, which not only *Hieruſalem*, but alſo that whole Lande, taſted, for their wylfull Contempte of that Maſſage of their Saluacyon. *Amen.*

I wryte this vnto the, thu ſorrowfull Churche of *Englande*, that in the Middes of thy Afflictions thu ſhuldeſt not deſpayre. Beholde how gracyouſly, yea, if I maye ſo ſpeake it, how miraculouſly and glorioufly, the heauenly Lorde hath delyuered me, his moſt vnworthie Seruaunt of all Men, and an excedinge great Sinner. He called me of Grace to that Office in his Vyneyarde, by ſore Perſecucions he proued me of Loue, and at the Lattre of Mercye and Goodneſſe he preſerued me from the deadly Furye of moſt fearce Enemies. Thy Callinge to the Goſpell is not vnknowne to the, thu carefull Congregacion. Now ſuffreſt thu Perſecucions diuerſly, for not Regardinge the Time of thy Viſitacion. Repent yet in the Ende, and doubtleſſe thu ſhalt have a moſt proſperouſe Delyueraunce. They are no Noblemen, that do vexe the at this Preſent. They are but pilde peltinge Preſtes, Knightes of the Dongehill, though they be Sir Swepeſtretes, Maiſtre Doctours, and Lorde Biſhoppes. Loke vpon their Faces, though thu meaſure not them by their Frutes, and thu ſhalt ſone knowe their Vertues. They are fierye, hawtie, and lecherouſe as Gootes, the chaſteſt amonge them. But that ſhall other Mennis Wyves knowe, and not thu. A wele papped Pygion of *Paules* is wholſome (they ſaye) for a tippetted Gentilman of the Popes Spialte, in a darke Euenynge, to coole the contagiouſe Heates of a coltiſh Confeſſour.

No Noblemen are they, which trouble the in this Age, as I told the afore. For true Nobylitie neuer yet hated the Truthe of God, but hath aduaunced it by all Ages. Examples we haue in *Adam*, *Noe*, *Abraham*, *Moyſes*, *Dauid*, *Ioſias*, *Nycodeme*, *Ioſeph*, Kynge *Lucius*, *Conſtantine*, *Iuſtinyane*, *Theodoſius*, Kynge *Arthour*, *Alphrede*, *Ethelſtane*, *Henry the Seconde*, *Edwarde the Thirde*, and now laſt of all the Virgine Kynge *Edwarde the vj.* which neuer was defyled with the Popes Ydolatryes. Immortall Fame, and Note of Renowne, remayneth yet to them for it. Such Men (ſayth the Lorde) as worſhipp me, will I make worſhipfull, and they, that deſpiſe me, ſhall become ignoble or wretched, j. *Reg.* 2. Theſe will not take awaye the Keye of Knowlege from Gods People, as do the Hypocrites, *Math.* 23. and as the wicked Lawers do alſo, *Luce* 11. Wo to them for it. But as the noble *Dauid* requireth, they will open the Gates that the Kinge of Glorie maie entre. Open the Gates (ſayth he) O ye Noblemen, lete the euerlaſtinge Dores be opened, that the Kinge of Glorie may come in, *Pſ.* 24.

If any be wicked in this Behalfe, which beare the Name of Noblemen and Women, lete them wele weygh with themſelues, how *Pharo*, *Antiochus*, *Herode*, and ſuche other, whome God by princely Autoritie had made noble, by only Tirannie againſt his manifeſt Truthe, are now become more vile, than any kichine Slaue or yet Lazar. *Fœlix* (ſayth *Horace*) *quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.* Happie is he, whome an other Mannis Misfortune maketh wyſe.

Ouer the now triumpheth the Biſhoppes, the Phariſees, the Preſtes, and the couetouſe Lawers. At thy late ſoden Fall, reioyceth the Hypocrites,

Hypocrites, the Epicures, the Ydolatours, and the wicked Papiſtes. What ſhall I ſaye more? *Iohan Baptiſt* is now derided in the Priſon. *Ieſus* the Sonne of God is grenned at vpon the Croſſe. *Paule* now in *Athens* is hyſſed at. The poore Apoſtles are ſtiely laughed to Scorne. Naye, ſhall I yet ſaye more: *Mycheas* is ſmitten on the Face, whils *Sedechias* plaieth the falſe Harlot, 2 *Paralt.* 18. *Helias* is driuen into the Wilderneſſe, whils *Baals* Chaplaines are banketinge amonge Ladies, 3 *Reg.* 18. *Eſaye* is contempned, whils the Preſtes are giuen to Ydolatrie and Dronkenneſſe, *Eſa.* 28. *Hieremie* is ſore afflicted, while *Semeias* peruerteth the Truthe of the Lorde, *Hiere.* 29. *Daniel* is throwne into the Lyons Denne, whils Myſcheſes are in wurking amonge the Wicked, *Dan.* 6. *Peter* is accuſed of the Biſhoppes Wenche, whils *Cayphas* ſitteth in Conſiſtorie, condempninge the Innocent, *Math.* 26. *Steuen* is called to a Reckenninge, whils the Preſtes and wicked Lawers are banniſhinge the Goſpell, *Acto.* 6. *Antipas* (they ſaye) is now ſlaine at *Pergamos*, whils *Simon Magus* triumpheth in *Samaria*, *Apo.* 2. And *Iohan Zebede* is ſent into *Pathmos*, whils *Cerinthus*, *Menander*, and *Hebion* playe the heretike Knaues at Home, *Apo.* 1. well, lete them plye it a Pace. It maye chaunce to coſt theyr poluted *Hieruſalem* a fowle Ouerthrowe, for ſo Perſecutynge the Seruauntes of God, in her Whoredome, *Eſa* 1. yea Seruauntes I ſaye, for they ſerued faithfully in the paynefull Office of the Goſpell.

Thoſe ydell Mercenaries not only loyter in the Vineyarde, but alſo like cruell Wolves they rauiſhe and deſtroye, *Ioan.* 10. Of that which God hath expreſſely forbidden, they make nowe a ſolempne Religion, both in the Refuſall of Mariage, and in the prodygyouſe Veneracyon of Ymages, ſayinge Yea to his Nay, and Naye to his Yea. God ſayth, it is not good for Man to be alone, without an Helpe, which is a Wife in Mariage, *Gene.* 2. They ſaye contrariouſly, that it is more than good, for it is Holy, Religiouſe, and Preſtlike, to haue no Wiues of their owne, whatſoeuer they haue of other Mennis, beſides buggery Boyes. I trowe Doctour *Weſton* will ſaye none other at this Daye, what though not longe ago he brent a Beggar in S. *Botolphes* Pariſhe without *Biſhopſgate*, geuinge her no wurſe than he had receiued afore of that religiouſe Occupienge. The ſame *Weſton* proponed to another Woman of his Pariſhe, which was a Mannis Wife, that, her Huſbande being a ſlepe, ſhe might lawfully occupie with him, by Vertue of this Texte, *Mulier, dormiente viro, a lege ſoluta eſt.* 1 *Cor.* 7. If this Scripture were not religiouſly applyed, lete them tell me which knowe the right Handelinge of them. Whils this priapuſtick Prelate is Prolocutor in the Conuocacion Howſe, I truſt we ſhall lacke no good Lawes for Religion, the Man is ſo religiouſe. O Abhominacion. Though they now are buſily ſpiſinge and paintinge of a Toorde (the Ydolatrouſe Maſſe) yet will a Toorde be but a ſtinkinge Toorde, both in Smelle and Syght, pepper him and bawme him, garniſh him and gilde him, as wele as they can, all the Packe of them. To conclude. Now are their moſt filthie Buggeries in the Darke, with their other prodigiouſe Whoredomes, holden a moſt pure State of Liuinge, holy Mariage diſgraced, contempned, and banniſhed.

God ſayth, Thu ſhalt make no grauen Ymage to worſhipp. They ſay, Ye ſhall not only make Ymages, but ye ſhall alſo gylde them, ſenſe them, worſhipp them, and axe Helpe of them, for whie they are the Layemennis Goſpell. In dede *Porphirius* the blaſphemouſe Heretike, and Troubler of the Chriſten Church, as *Euſebius* reporteth him, was the firſt that called them the Layemennis Calender. And though S. *Gregorie* the Great, cominge after, confirmed the ſame Calender, yet ſhall it remaine an horrible Blaſphemie, bycauſe God hath in Paine of Dampnacion forbidden it. *Epiphanius*, that worthie Father of the Churche, nombreth the Worſhippinge of our Ladyes Image among Hereſies.

If we be of his Opinion, we muſt iudge yow no leſſe than moſt perniciouſe Heretikes. Moreouer it is now become a Religion agayne in *Englande*, to call vpon dead Men, with *Sancte Petre ora pro nobis.* This alſo is fatched from the olde Paganes Sorceries, for Holde hath it none of the Scriptures canonicall. How Howllinge and Iabberinge in a foren Language ſhulde become Gods Seruice, that can I not tell. But wele I wote that S. *Paules* Doctrine doth vtterly condempne it, as ſuperſticiouſe Beggerie, bycauſe it is but an ydell Noiſe and nothinge to Edificacion. 1 *Cor.* 14.

Some Men perauenture will maruele, that I, utteringe Matters of *Irelande*, ſhulde omitt, in this Treatiſe, to write of Coyne and Lyuerie: Which are ſo cruell Pillages and Oppreſſions of the poore Commens there, as are no where els

in this whole Earthe, neither vndre wicked *Saracene* nor yet cruell *Turke*, beſides all prodigiouſe Kindes of Lecherie and other Abhominacions therin committed. Thre Cauſes there are, which hath moued me not to expreſſe them here. One is, for ſo muche as they perteine nothinge to the Tyttle of this Boke, which all concerneth Religion. An other is for that the Matter is ſo large, as requireth a muche larger Volume.

The thirde Cauſe is, for that I haue knowne ij worthie Men, whome I will not nowe name, to haue done that Thinge ſo exactly, as no Man (I ſuppoſe) therein can amende them. But this will I utter breuely, that the *Iriſhe* Lordes and their vndre Captaines, ſupportinge the ſame, are not only Companions with Theues, as the Prophete reporteth, *Eſa.* 1, but alſo they are their wicked Maiſters and Mainteners. So that they both coupled togyther, the Murtherer with his Maiſtre, and the Theſe with his Maintener, leyue nothinge vndeuoured behinde them in that fertile Region, no more than ded the deuouringe Locuſtes of *Egypte*, *Exo.* 10. Anon after their Harueſtes are ended there, the Kearnes, the Galloglaſſes, and the other brecheleſſe Souldiers, with Horſes and their Horſegromes, ſumtyme iij waitinge vpon one Iade, enter into the Villages with muche Crueltie and Fearceneſſe; they continue there in great Rauine and Spoyle, and, whan they go thens, they leaue nothinge els behinde them for Payment, but Lice, Lecherye, and intollerable Penurie for all the Yeare after. Yet ſet the Rulers therupon a very fayre Colour, that it is for Defence of the *Engliſhe* Pale. I beſiche God to ſende ſuch Protection a ſhorte Ende, and their Lordes and Captaines alſo, if they ſee it not ſone amended. For it is the vtter Conſuſyon of that Lande, and a Maintenaunce to all Vices.

Thre Peoples are in *Irelande* in theſe Dayes, Preſtes, Lawers, and Kearnes, which will not ſuffre Faythe, Truthe, and Honeſtye to dwell there; and all theſe haue but one God, their Bellye, and glory in that wicked Feate to their Shame, whoſe Ende is Dampnation, *Phil.* 3. I ſpeake only of thoſe which are bredde and borne there, and yet not of them all: Theſe, for the more Part, are ſworne Bretherne togyther in Myſchefe, one to maintaine an others maliciouſe Cauſe, by Murther preuily procured. And, to bringe their conceyued Wickedneſſe to paſſe, they can do great Miracles in this Age, by Vertue of Tranſubſtanciacion belyke, for therin are they very conninge; for they can very wittely make, of a tame *Iriſhe*, a wilde *Iriſhe* for Nede, ſo that they ſhall ſerue their Turne ſo wele as though they were of the wilde *Iriſhe* in dede. Lyke as they ded properly and fynely, in the moſt ſhamefull and cruell Slaughter of my v. Seruauntes, by the Lorde *Mountgarrettes* Kearnes, and the Barne of *Vpper Oſſoryes* farye Knyghtes. By ſuche fyne Conueniaunce of Accuſinge the wilde *Iriſhe*, and Colour of the holy Daye broken, as is written afore, they can alwayes apere to haue fayre white Handes, and to be innocent Maydes, what Murther ſo euer is by them committed. But I axe of the Preſtes, chefely of *Richard Routhe* the Treaſurer, and of Sir *Iames Joys*, his Companion, What they ment by their ſo oft Rydinge to that Barne of *Vpper Oſſorie*, whan I was dwellinge at *Holmes Court?* Whome they neuertheleſſe to me reported, to be the moſt errande Theſe and mercileſſe Murtherer of all the Lande. And what they haue ment alſo, to be ſo familyar with the furiouſe Famelye of *Mountgarrett?* Commenly reſortinge in the Endes of all thoſe Iournayes to the Howſe of *Barnabe Bolgar*. As I ſuſpected the Matter than, ſo haue I ſens that Time proued it effectually true. Moreouer, I myght axe of the Lawers, why they ſeke to haue ſo many Theues and Murtherers perdoned, ſpecially whan they haue ſlaine *Engliſh* Men, and done their Robberies within the *Engliſh* Pale? But at this Time I leaue them, and returne againe to my Purpoſe.

Now muſt I ſaye ſumwhat to the, thu carefull Churche of *Englande*, concerninge thy Miſbehauer againſt thy moſt louinge Creatour. God choſe the for his elect Vyneyarde; yea, he plenteouſly pourged and prepared the. *But, whan thu ſhuldeſt haue brought hym fourth Frute, for Grapes thu gaueſt him Thornes*, Eſa. 7. He loked to haue had at thy Handes, after the Goſpell preachinge there, Faythe, Knowledge, Feare, Loue, Repentaunce, Obedience, true Inuocacion, and hartie Thankes for his manifolde Giftes, with ſuch other wholſome Frutes of Lyfe.

And, in ſtede of them, thu haſt brought fourth Ydolatrie, Blindeneſſe, Impenitencie, Frowardneſſe, Crueltie, Pride, Fornication,

Vnclenneſſe, Couetouſneſſe, ingratefull Contempte of the Truthe, and Hate of the faithfull Preachers therof, with other ſower Crabbes of Dampnacion.

Thu woldeſt fain be like the malignaunt Churche of the Papiſtes, proſperouſe and welthye in worldly Affaires, and therwith ſumwhat glorioufe; but thy eternal Father in Heauen will not ſo haue the, but by Perſecucions transfourmeth the into the very Similitude of his derely beloued Sonne, to whome he hath eſpowſed the, to reigne with him at the Lattre in eternal Glorie.

God hath ſufficiently declared in the Scripture, what his Churche is in this Worlde; as that it is an afflicted and ſorowfull Congregacion, forſaken in a Maner, and deſtitute of all humaine Confort in this Lyfe. It maye right wele be compared to a Flocke of Orphanes, which, beinge deſtitute of Father and Mother, are in this Worlde ſubject to manye ſorowfull Calamitees and Miſeryes; but, becauſe that poore Churche ſhulde not utterly diſcourage, in her extreme Aduerſitees, the Sonne of God hath taken her to his Spowſe, and hath promiſed her Protection, Helpe, and Confort in all her Afflictions and Parels: So that ſhe maye at all Tymes confort herſelfe with this Verſe of *Dauid*, *Though my Father and Mother hath left me, yet hath the Lorde taken me up for his*, Pſalm 26. In the firſt Promyſe was ſhe taken to Grace after Tranſgreſſion, and aſſured of Delyueraunce from Sinne, Deathe, Helle, and the Deuyl; for, if God had not moſt wonderfully collected her togyther, preſerued her, ſaued her, and defended her, it had not bene poſſible for her to haue eſcaped in ſo horrible Daungers, as were in the Vniuerſall Floude, in the Burninge of *Sodome* and *Gomer*, undre the Tirannie of *Pharao*, in the Iourneie through the *Red-ſea*, in the Captiuite of *Babylon*, and Deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, and in ſo manye wonderfull Alteracyons and terryble Ruynes of the *Romane* Empyre, ſo manye Deuyls, Paganes, *Mahumetes*, *Turkes*, *Iewes*, Epicures, Heretykes, Popes, Byſhoppes, Monkes, Preſtes, and Tyrauntes reigninge.

A perpetuall and vnplacable Enemye is Sathan, and euermore hath bene to that poore Congregacion, ſekinge not only to disfigure her, but alſo to ſpoyle her and deſtroye her vtterly. Like as it is ſayed, *Gen.* 3. That he ſhulde treade Chriſte on the Hele. This excedinge great Benefight of the Goodneſſe of God ought to be remembred, that he, after the Sinne of our firſt Parentes, not only receiued this Churche to Grace, but alſo hath euer ſens both preſerued and defended it; but alac! great is the Vntowardneſſe, and muche is the Hardeneſſe of Mannis Harte, that he neglecteth ſo high a Benefight as is alſo the Pateſaction of Chriſte in the Goſpel, by whome we are redemed, and ſo remayne vnthankefull for the ſame. A moſt ſwete Voyce is it vnto vs, from the Son of God, *Ieſus Chriſt*, That he will not leaue vs as Orphanes, or Fatherleſſe and Motherleſſe Children, without Confort, but will come vnto vs, *Ioan.* 14. That is, like a gentill and mercifull Lorde he will continually ſtande by his Churche, aſſiſtinge, helpinge, and ſcouringe it alwaies. *I will be with yow*, ſaith he, *to the End of the Worlde*, Math. 28. Lete this be thy Confort thu ſorowfull Churche of *Englande*, and ſtaie thy ſelfe in him which was incarnate, lyued, wrought, taught, and dyed for thy Sinne; yea, he aroſe from the Deathe and aſcended to Heauen for thy Iuſtificacion, *Rom.* 4. Cleaue thu faſt to him, repent thy Folyes paſt, and take Heede to thy Doynges from hensfourth. Praye and faſt buſily, for this frantyck Kinde of Deuyls is neuer taken awaye, but in Prayer and Faſtinge, *Math.* 17. So ſhalt thu be reſtored plenteouſly, and floriſh in Vertues hereafter fruitfully, to the Prayſe of one God eternal, which liueth and reigneth Worlde without Ende. *Amen.*

The

The Character of a Coffee-Houſe, with the Symptoms of a Town-Wit. With Allowance, *April* 11th, 1673. *London:* Printed for *Jonathan Edwin*, at the *Three Roſes* in *Ludgate-ſtreet*, 1673. *Folio*, containing eight Pages.

A Coffee-Houſe is a Lay-Conventicle, Good-fellowſhip turned Puritan, Ill-huſbandry in Maſquerade, whither People come, after Toping all Day, to purchaſe, at the Expence of their laſt Penny, the Repute of ſober Companions; a *Rota*-Room, that, like *Noah*'s Ark, receives Animals of every Sort, from the preciſe diminutive Band, to the hectoring Cravat and Cuffs in *Folio*; a Nurſery for Training up the ſmaller Fry of Virtuoſi in confident Tattling, or a Cabal of kittling Criticks that have only learned to ſpit and mew; a Mint of Intelligence, that, to make each Man his Penny-worth, draws out into petty Parcels, what the Merchant receives in Bullion: He, that comes often, ſaves Two-pence a Week in *Gazettes*, and has his News and his Coffee for the ſame Charge, as at a Three-penny Ordinary they give in Broth to your Chop of Mutton; it is an Exchange where Haberdaſhers of political Small-Wares meet, and mutually abuſe each other, and the Publick, with bottomleſs Stories, and headleſs Notions; the Rendezvous of idle Pamphlets, and Perſons more idly employed to read them; a High Court of Juſtice, where every little Fellow in a Camlet Cloke takes upon him to tranſpoſe Affairs both in Church and State, to ſhew Reaſons againſt Acts of Parliament, and condemn the Decrees of General Councils: It is impoſſible to deſcribe it better than the moſt ingenious of the *Latin* Poets has done it to our Hand, and that ſo excellently, we cannot but tranſcribe it:

Unde quod eſt uſquam quamvis Regionibus abſit
Inſpicitur, penetrâtque cavas vox omnis ad aures;
Nocte diéque patet, tota eſt ex ære ſonanti,
Tota fremit, vocéſque refert, iterâtque quod audit.
Nulla Quies intus, nullâque ſilentia parte,
Nec tamen eſt Clamor, ſed parvæ Murmura Vocis:
Qualia de Pelagi (ſi quis procul audiat) undâ
Eſſe ſolent, qualemve ſonum cum Jupiter *atras*
Increpuit nubes, extrema tonitrua reddunt;
Atria turba tenet, veniunt leve vulgus, euntque,
Miſtâque cum veris paſſim Commenta vagantur,
Millia Rumorum, confuſâque verba volutant;
E quibus hi vacuas implent ſermonibus aures,
Hi narrata ferunt aliò, menſuráque ficti
Creſcit, & Auditis aliquid novus adjicit Author.
Illic Credulitas, illic temerarius Error
Vanâque Lætitia eſt, conſternatique Timores
Seditióque recens, dubióque Authore Suſurri.
Ipſa quid in Cœlo Rerum, Pelagóque geratur
Et Tellure videt, totúmque inquirit in Orbem.

Thus ſtrictly Engliſhed:

Here all that's done, though far remote, appears,
And in cloſe Whiſpers penetrates our Ears;
As built of Braſs, the Houſe throughout reſounds,
Reports Things heard, and every Word rebounds.
No Reſt within, nor Silence, yet the Noiſe
Not loud, but like a hollow murmuring Voice;
Such as from far by rolling Waves is ſent,
Or like *Jove*'s fainting Thunder almoſt ſpent:
Hither the idle Vulgar come and go,
Carrying a thouſand Rumours to and fro;
With ſtale Reports ſome liſt'ning Ears do fill,
Some coin freſh Tales in Words that vary ſtill;
Lyes mixt with Truth, all in the Telling grows,
And each Relator adds to what he knows:
Here dwells raſh Error, light Credulity,
Sad panick Fears, Joys built on Vanity;
New rais'd Sedition, ſecret Whiſperings,
Of unknown Authors, and of doubtful Things:
All Acts of Heav'n and Earth it boldly views,
And, through the ſpacious World, enquires for News.

The Room ſtinks of Tobacco worſe than Hell of Brimſtone, and is as full of Smoke as their Heads that frequent it, whoſe Humours are as various as thoſe of *Bedlam*, and their Diſcourſe oftentimes as heatheniſh and dull as their

their Liquor; that Liquor, which, by its Looks and Taſte, you may reaſonably gueſs to be *Pluto*'s Diet-drink, that Witches tipple out of dead Men's Skulls, when they ratify to *Belzebub* their ſacramental Vows.

This *Stygian* Puddle-ſeller was formerly notorious for his ill-favoured Cap, that aped a Turbant, and, in Conjunction with his Antichriſtian Face, made him appear perfect *Turk*: But of late, his Wife being grown acquainted with Gallants, and the provocative Vertue of Chocolate, he finds a broad-brimmed Hat more neceſſary: When he comes to fill you a Diſh, you may take him for *Guy Faux* with a dark Lanthorn in his Hand, for no ſooner can you taſte it, but it ſcalds your Throat, as if you had ſwallowed the Gunpowder-Treaſon; tho' he ſeem never ſo demure, you cannot properly call him Phariſee, for he never waſhes either Out or Inſide of his Pots or Diſhes, till they be as black as an Uſurer's Conſcience; and, then only ſcraping off the contracted Soot, makes Uſe of it, in the Way of his Trade, inſtead of Coffee-powder; their Taſte and Vertue being ſo near of Kin, he dares defy the verieſt Coffee-Critick to diſtinguiſh them: Though he be no great Traveller, yet he is in continual Motion, but it is only from the Fire-ſide to the Table, and his Tongue goes infinitely faſter than his Feet, his grand Study being readily to eccho an Anſwer to that threadbare Queſtion, *What News have you, Maſter?* Then with a grave Whiſper, yet ſuch as all the Room may hear it, he diſcovers ſome myſterious Intrigue of State, told him laſt Night by one that is Barber to the Taylor of a mighty great Courtier's Man; relating this with no leſs Formality than a young Preacher delivers his firſt Sermon, a ſudden Hickup ſurpriſes him, and he is forced twenty Times to break the Thread of his Tale with ſuch neceſſary Parentheſiſes, *Wife, ſweep up thoſe looſe Corns of Tobacco, and ſee the Liquor boil not over.* He holds it as Part of his Creed, that the Great *Turk* is a very good Chriſtian, and of the Reformed Church, becauſe he drinks Coffee, and ſwears that *Pointings*, for Celebrating its Virtues in Doggerel, deſerves to be Poet-Laureat; yet is it not only this hot Hell-broth that he ſells, for never was Mountebank furniſhed with more Variety of poiſonous Drugs, than he of Liquors; Tea and Aromatick for the ſweet-toothed Gentleman, Betony and Roſade for the addle-headed Cuſtomer, back-recruiting Chocolate for the conſumptive Gallant, *Herefordſhire* Redſtreak made of rotten Apples at the *Three Cranes*, true *Brunſwick* Mum brewed at St. *Catharine's*, and Ale in Penny Mugs, not ſo big as a Taylor's Thimble.

As you have a Hodge-podge of Drinks, ſuch too is your Company, for each Man ſeems a Leveller, and ranks and files himſelf as he liſts, without Regard to Degrees or Order; ſo that often you may ſee a ſilly Fop and a worſhipful Juſtice, a griping Rook and a grave Citizen, a worthy Lawyer and an errant Pickpocket, a Reverend Nonconformiſt and a canting Mountebank, all blended together to compoſe an Oglio of Impertinence.

If any Pragmatick, to ſhew himſelf witty or eloquent, begin to talk high, preſently the further Tables are abandoned, and all the reſt flock round (like ſmaller Birds, to admire the Gravity of *Madge-Howlet.*) They liſten to him a While with their Mouths, and let their Pipes go out, and Coffee grow cold, for pure Zeal of Attention, but on the ſudden fall all a Yelping at once with more Noiſe, but not Half ſo much Harmony, as a Pack of Beagles on the full Cry; to ſtill this Bawling, up ſtarts

Capt. *All-man-ſir*, the Man of Mouth, with a Face as bluſtering as that of *Æolus* and his four Sons, in Painting, and a Voice louder than the Speaking Trumpet, he begins you the Story of a Sea Fight; and though he never were further, by Water, than the *Bear-garden*, or *Cuckold's-haven*, yet, having pirated the Names of Ships and Captains, he perſuades you himſelf was preſent, and performed Miracles; that he waded Knee-deep in Blood on the Upper-Deck, and never thought to ſerenade his Miſtreſs ſo pleaſant as the Bullets Whiſtling; how he ſtopped a Vice-Admiral of the Enemy's under full Sail, till ſhe was boarded, with his ſingle Arm, inſtead of Grappling-irons, * and puffed out with his Breath a Fire-ſhip that fell foul on them. All this he relates, ſitting in a Cloud of Smoke, and belching ſo many common Oaths to vouch it, you can ſcarce gueſs whether the real Engagement, or his romancing Account of it, be the more dreadful: However, he concludes with Railing at the Conduct of ſome eminent Officers (that, perhaps, he never ſaw) and proteſts, had they taken his Ad-

* *Vide Juſtin.* Lib. ii. *de Cynægiro.*

vice

vice at the Council of War, not a Sail had eſcaped us.

He is no ſooner out of Breath, but another begins a Lecture on the *Gazette*, where, finding ſeveral Prizes taken, he gravely obſerves, if this Trade hold, we ſhall quickly rout the *Dutch*, Horſe and Foot, by Sea: He nicknames the *Poliſh* Gentlemen wherever he meets them, and enquires, Whether *Gayland* and *Taffaletta* be *Lutherans* or *Calviniſts? Stilo Novo* he interprets a vaſt new Stile, or Turnpike, erected by his Electoral Highneſs on the Borders of *Weſtphalia*, to keep Monſieur *Turenne*'s Cavalry from Falling on his retreating Troops; he takes Words by the Sound, without Examining their Senſe: *Morea* he believes to be the Country of the *Moors*, and *Hungary* a Place where Famine always keeps her Court, nor is there any Thing more certain, than that he made a whole Room full of Fops, as wiſe as himſelf, ſpend above two Hours in Searching the Map for *Ariſtocracy* and *Democracy*, not doubting but to have found them there, as well as *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*.

Next, Signior *Poll* takes up the Cudgels, that ſpeaks Nothing but Deſigns, Projects, Intrigues, and Experiments; one of thoſe in the old Comedian, *Plautus*, *Sciunt id quod in Aurem Rex Reginæ dixerit*, *quod* Juno *confabulata eſt cum* Jove, *ſciunt quæ neque futura neque facta ſunt*, *tamen illi ſciunt*, &c. All the Councils of the *German* Dyet, the *Romiſh* Conclave, and *Turkiſh* Divan, are as well known to him as his Laundreſs's Smock. He kens all the Cabals of the Court to a Hair's Breadth, and (more than an Hundred of us do) which Lady is not painted; you would take his Mouth for a Lembeck, it diſtills his Words ſo niggardly, as if he was loth to inrich you with Lyes, of which he has yet more Plenty than *Fox*, *Stowe*, and *Hollingſhead* bound up together: He tells you of a Plot to let the Lions looſe in the *Tower*, and then blow it up with White-Powder; of five-hundred and fifty Jeſuits all mounted on Dromedaries, ſeen by Moon-ſhine on *Hampſtead-heath*, and a terrible Deſign hatched by the College of *Doway*, to drain the narrow Seas, and bring Popery over dry-ſhod; beſides, he has a thouſand Inventions dancing in his Brain-pan; an Advice-boat on the Stocks, that ſhall go to the *Eaſt-Indies* and come back again, in a Fortnight; a Trick to march under Water, and bore Holes through the *Dutch* Ships Keels with Augres, and ſink them, as they ride at Anchor; and a moſt excellent Purſuit to catch Sun-beams, for Making the Ladies new-faſhioned Towers, that Poets may no more be damned for telling Lyes about their Curls and Treſſes.

But theſe are puny Pugs; the arch Devil, wherewith this Smoke-hole is haunted, is the Town Wit, one that plays *Rex* wherever he comes, and makes as much Hurry as *Robin Goodfellow* of old amongſt our Granam's Milk-Bowls; he is a Kind of a Squib on a Rope; a Meteor, compoſed of Self-conceit and Noiſe, that, by Blazing and Crackling, engages the Wonder of the Ignorant, till, on a ſudden, he vaniſhes and leaves a Stench, if not Infection, behind him; he is too often the Stain of a good Family, and, by his debauched Life, blots the noble Coat of his Anceſtors; a wild unbacked Colt, whoſe Brains are not half coddled, indebted for his Clothes to his Taylor, and for his Wit, ſuch as it is, to his Company: The School had no ſooner endued him with a few ſuperficial Sprinklings, but his Mother's Indulgence poſted him to Town for genteeler Breeding, where three or four wild Companions, Half a Dozen Bottles of *Burgundy*, two Leaves of *Leviathan*, a briſk Encounter with his Landlord's Glaſs-Windows, the Charms of a little Miſs, and the Sight of a new Play, dubbed him at once both a Wit and a Hero; ever ſince, he values himſelf mainly for underſtanding the Town, and, indeed, knows moſt Things in it that are not worth knowing: The two Poles, whereon all his Diſcourſes turn, are Atheiſm and Bawdy: Bar him from being profane or obſcene, and you cramp his Ingenuity, which forthwith flags and becomes uſeleſs, as a mere common Lawyer when he has croſſed the Channel.

He is ſo refractory to Divinity, that Morality itſelf cannot hold him; he affirms, human Nature knows no ſuch Things, as Principles of Good and Evil, and will ſwear all Women are Whores, though his Mother and Siſter both ſtand by: Whatever is ſacred or ſerious he ſeeks to render ridiculous, and thinks Government and Religion fit Objects for his idle and fantaſtick Buffoonry; his Humour is proud and aſſuming, as if he would palliate his Ignorance by Scoffing at what he underſtands not; and therefore with a pert and pragmatic Scorn depreciates all Things of nobler Moment but moſt paſſionately affects pretty *a-la-mode* Words; and is as covetous of a New Song or Air,

Air, as an Antiquary of *Cato*'s Statue with never an Arm, and but Half a Noſe; theſe keep him always employed, and fill up the Groteſco's of his Converſation, whilſt with a ſtately Gallantry, once in every half Hour, he combs out his Wig, careens his Breeches, and new marſhals his Garniture, to the Tune of *Methinks the poor Town has been troubled too long.*

His Mind uſed to whiſtle up and down, in the Levities of Fancy, and effeminated by the childiſh Toyings of a rampant Imagination, finds itſelf indiſpoſed for all ſolid Employment, eſpecially the ſerious Exerciſes of Piety and Virtue, which begets an Averſion to thoſe lovely Beauties, and that prompts him, on all Occaſions, to expoſe them as ridiculous and vain: Hence, by Degrees, he comes to abuſe Sacred Scripture, makes a Mock of eternal Flames, jokes on the venerable Myſteries of Religion, and, in Fine, ſcoffs at that all glorious and tremendous Majeſty, before whom, his Brother Wits below tremble: It is true, he will not confeſs himſelf Atheiſt, yet in his Heart the Fool hath ſaid it, and boaſts aloud, That he holds his Goſpel from the Apoſtle of *Malmſbury*, though it is more than probable, he never read, at leaſt underſtood, ten Leaves of that unlucky Author; talk of Witches, and you tickle him; ſpeak of Spirits, and he tells you, he knows none better than thoſe of Wine; name but immaterial Eſſence, and he ſhall flout at you, as a dull Fop incapable of Senſe, and unfit for Converſation: Nor is he ever better pleaſed, than when he can here hedge in ſome young raw Divine to bulbait with Scurrility, and all Kind of Profaneneſs.

By Means of ſome ſmall Scraps of Learning matched with a far greater Stock of Confidence, a voluble Tongue, and bold Delivery, he has the ill Luck to be celebrated by the Vulgar, for a Man of Parts; which Opinion gains Credit to his Inſolencies, and ſets him on further Extravagancies, to maintain his Title of a Wit, by continuing his Practice of Fooling; whereas all his mighty Parts are ſummed up in this Inventory: '*Imprimis*, A 'peddling Way of Fancy, a lucky Hit at 'Quibbling, now and then an odd Metaphor, 'a conceited Irony, a ridiculous Simile, a wild 'Fetch, an unexpected Inference, a mimick 'Geſture, a pleaſing Knack in humouring a 'Tale, and laſtly an irreſiſtible Reſolution to 'ſpeak laſt, and never be daſhed out of Coun-'tenance.'

By theſe Arts, dexterouſly managed, he engroſſes a vaſt Repute; the grave Citizen calls him a ſhrewd Man, and notable Headpiece; the Ladies (we mean the Things ſo called of his Acquaintance) vote him a moſt accompliſhed Gentleman; and the Blades ſwear, he is a walking Comedy, the only merry Andrew of the Age, that ſcatters Wit, wherever he comes, as Beggars do Lice, or Muſk-cats Perfumes, and that Nothing, in Nature and all, can compare with him.

You would think he had got the *Lullian* Art, for he ſpeaks *Extempore* on all Subjects, and ventures his Words, without the Relief of Senſe to ſecond them; his Thoughts ſtart from his Imagination, and he never troubles himſelf to examine their Decency, or Solidity, by Judgment. To diſcourſe him ſeriouſly, is to read Ethicks to a Monkey, or make an Oration to *Caligula*'s Horſe, whence you can only expect a Weehee or jadiſh Spurn; after the moſt convincing Arguments, if he can but muſter up one plauſible Joke, you are routed: For he, that underſtood not your Logick, apprehends his Droll; and, though Syllogiſms may be anſwered, yet Jeſts and loud Laughter can never be confuted, but have more Sway to degrade Things with the unthinking Croud, than Demonſtrations; there being a Root of Envy, in too many Men, that invites them to applaud that, which expoſes and vilifies what they cannot comprehend: He pretends great Skill in curing the Tetters and Ringworms of State, but blows in the Sores, till they rankle with his poiſonous Breath; he ſhoots Libels, with his forked Tongue, at his Superiors, and abuſes his deareſt Friends, chuſing to forfeit his Neck to the Gibbet, or his Shoulders to the Battoon, rather than loſe the drieſt of his idle Quibbles: In brief, he is the Jack-pudding of Society, a fleering Buffoon, a better Kind of Ape in the Judgment of all Wiſemen, but an incomparable Wit, in his own.

Thus have we led you from Board to Board, like the Fellow in the *Tower*, to ſhew you ſtrange Beaſts, wherewith this Place is ſometimes frequented. To take now a Farewel View of the Houſe will be difficult, ſince it is always ſhifting Scenes, and like *O Brazile* (the inchanted Iſland) ſeldom appears twice in a Poſture; the Wax Candles burning, and low

devout Whiſpers ſometimes ſtrike a Kind of religious Awe; whilſt the modiſh Gallant ſwears ſo often by *Jeſu*, an ignorant Catholick would take it for a Chapel, and think he were ſaying our Lady's Pſalter; in ſome Places, the Organs ſpeak it a Muſick Room; at others, a Pair of Tables and Draught-board, a ſmall Gaming-Houſe; on a Sudden it turns *Exchange*, or a Warehouſe for all Sorts of Commodities, where Fools are drawn in by Inch of Candle, as we betray and catch Larks with a Glaſs: The Bully-Rook makes it his Bubbling-Pond, where he angles for Fops, ſingles out his Man, inſinuates an Acquaintance, offers the Wine, and, at next Tavern, ſets upon him with high Fullums, and plucks him: The *Ingenioſi* uſe it for an after Rehearſal, where they bring Plays to Repetition, ſift each Scene, examine every uncorrected Line, and damn beyond the Fury of the *Rota*; whilſt the *incognito* Poet out of an overweening Affection to his Infant Wit ſteals in, muffled up in his Cloke, and ſlily eveſdrops like a mendicant Mother to praiſe the Prettineſs of the Babe, ſhe has newly palmed on the Pariſh.

But it is Time to be gone, Who knows what Magick may be a working? For behold! the Coffee Powder ſettles at the Bottom of our Diſh, in Form of a moſt terrible *Saracen*'s Head. For a parting Blow then give us Leave to unbend a little, and ſay,

A Coffee-Houſe is a Phanatick Theatre, a Hot-Houſe to flux in for a clapped Underſtanding, a Sympathetical Cure for the Gonorrhœa of the Tongue, or a refined Baudy-Houſe, where illegitimate Reports are got in cloſe Adultery, between lying Lips and itching Ears.

Si quid noviſti rectius, candidus imperti.

Coffee-Houſes Vindicated. In Anſwer to the late publiſhed Character of a Coffee-Houſe. Aſſerting from Reaſon, Experience, and good Authors, the excellent Uſe, and Phyſical Vertues of that Liquor. With the grand Conveniency of ſuch civil Places of Reſort and ingenious Converſation. *London*, printed by *J. Lock*, for *J. Clarke*, 1675. *Folio*, containing eight Pages.

WIT, of late, is grown ſo wanton, and the Humour of Affecting it, become ſo common, that each little Fop, whoſe ſpungy Brain can but coin a ſmall droſſy Joke or two, preſently thinks himſelf privileged to aſperſe every Thing that comes in his Way, though in itſelf never ſo innocent, or beneficial to the Publick. To the Influence of this predominant Folly, we may not improperly refer the Production of thoſe Swarms of Inſect Pamphlets, which the Preſs weekly ſpawns into the World; and, particularly, the Nativity of that *Folio* Impertinence which occaſions our preſent Reflexions: A Piece whoſe flaunting Title raiſed our Thoughts to an Expectation of ſomewhat extraordinary; but, finding little in it but downright Abuſe, the Quinteſſence of *Billingſgate* Rhetorick, Dregs of Canting, and ſuch Rubbiſh Language, as Bubbling, Bully-Rock, Fluxing, Gonorrhœa, *&c.* Charity itſelf could not but ſuſpect the Author more converſant ſomewhere elſe than in Coffee-houſes, and conclude thoſe Places, being too civil for a debauched Humour, had given Occaſion for his expoſing them as Lay-Conventicles, *&c.*

However, we ſhall preſerve that equal Regard to *Solomon*'s double-faced Advice, to anſwer and not anſwer ſuch as our characteriſing Author, that we ſhall decline Retorting any thing particularly to his Scurrilities: Let the Town-wit (whom we leave to take his own Satisfaction) fence with him, if he pleaſe, at thoſe Weapons; a formal Anſwer would

be too great an Indulgence to his Vanity, and make him think too conſiderably of himſelf: Beſides, to reply, in the pitiful Stile of his peddling Drollery, is to engage in a Game at Puſhpin; and to ſay any Thing ſerious will be no more (to borrow his Phraſe) than Reading a Lecture to a Monkey. Inſtead, therefore, of waſting our own or the Reader's Time ſo impertinently, we ſhall briefly endeavour to give you an Account of the Uſe and Vertues of Coffee, and next conſider ſome of thoſe many Conveniences Coffee-houſes afford us both for Buſineſs and Converſation.

Though the happy *Arabia*, Nature's Spicery, prodigally furniſhes the voluptuous World with all Kinds of Aromaticks, and divers other Rarities; yet I ſcarce know whether Mankind be not ſtill as much obliged to it for the excellent Fruit of the humble Coffee-ſhrub, as for any other of its more ſpecious Productions: For, ſince there is nothing we here enjoy, next to Life, valuable beyond Health, certainly thoſe Things that contribute to preſerve us in good Plight and Eucraſy, and fortify our weak Bodies againſt the continual Aſſaults and Batteries of Diſeaſes, deſerve our Regards much more than thoſe which only gratify a liquoriſh Palate, or otherwiſe prove ſubſervient to our Delights. As for this ſalutiferous Berry, of ſo general a Uſe through all the Regions of the *Eaſt*, it is ſufficiently known, when prepared, to be moderately hot, and of a very drying attenuating and cleanſing Quality; whence Reaſon infers, that its Decoction muſt contain many good phyſical Properties, and cannot but be an incomparable Remedy to diſſolve Crudities, comfort the Brain, and dry up ill Humours in the Stomach. In brief, to prevent or redreſs, in thoſe that frequently drink it, all cold drowſy rheumatick Diſtempers whatſoever, that proceed from Exceſs of Moiſture, which are ſo numerous, that but to name them would tire the Tongue of a Mountebank.

This Conſideration alone ſhould, methinks, be ſufficient to ingratiate it to our Eſteem, ſince the Uſe thereof does thence appear abſolutely neceſſary; eſpecially to us in whom Phlegm is apt to abound, both by reaſon of the Northern Situation of our Country, and the ill Habit of extraordinary Drinking, grown too Epidemical among us.

Experience proves, that there is nothing more effectual than this reviving Drink, to reſtore their Senſes, that have brutified themſelves by immoderate tippling heady Liquors, which it performs by its exſiccant Property before-mentioned, that inſtantly dries up that Cloud of giddy Fumes, which, boiling up from the over-charged Stomach, oppreſs the Brain: But this, being only a Kindneſs to voluntary Devils, as my Lord *Cook* calls common Drunkards, we ſhould ſcarce reckon amongſt Coffee's Vertues, did it not evidence its Quality, and ſhew how beneficial it may prove by Parity of Reaſon, when deſigned to more worthy and noble Uſes, ſuch as expelling Wind, fortifying the Liver, refreſhing the Heart, corroborating the Spirits, both Vital and Animal, quickening the Appetite, aſſiſting Digeſtion, helping the Stone, taking away Rheums and Defluxions, with a Thouſand other Kindneſſes to Nature, which we might enumerate, did we not think it a ſufficient Argument of its Excellency only to obſerve, how univerſally it takes in the World; for we cannot, without an Affront to our Nature, imagine Mankind ſo ſottiſh, as greedily to entertain a Drink that has nothing of Sweetneſs to recommend it to the Guſt, nor any of thoſe pleaſant Blandiſhments wherewith Wine and other Liquors tempt and debauch our Palates, unleſs there were ſome more than ordinary Vertue and Efficacy in it; yet we ſee, without any of theſe inſinuating Advantages, Coffee has ſo generally prevailed, that Bread itſelf (though commonly with us voted the Staff of Life) is ſcarce of ſo univerſal Uſe; for of that the *Tartars* and *Arabians*, vaſt and numerous People, eat little or none, whereas both they and the *Turks*, *Perſians*, and almoſt all the Eaſtern World, are ſo devoted to Coffee, that, beſides innumerable Publick-houſes for Sale of it, there is ſcarce a private Fire without it all Day long, as any, that are but moderately acquainted with Saſhes and Turbants, can witneſs: Is it not enough to ſilence the Barking of our little Wits againſt this innocent and wholeſome Drink, that is ſo generally uſed by ſo many mighty Nations, and thoſe too celebrated for the moſt witty and ſagacious?

Nor wants this Liquor the Suffrages of excellent Authors: The famous *Parkinſon*, in his exquiſite *Herbal*, p. 1622, commends it for the Strengthening weak Stomachs, Helping Digeſtion, and Obſtructions and Tumours of the Liver and Spleen; the incomparable

Verulam, in his *Natural Hiſtory*, fol. 155, amongſt other Encomiums, aſſerts, That it comforteth the Brain, and, by condenſing the Spirits, expelleth Fear, and maketh them ſtrong and chearful; *Sandys*, in his *Travels*, and the judicious Sir *H. B.* both in his *Voyage to the* Levant, and elſewhere, ſpeaks very advantageouſly of it; nor did the ingenious Mr. *Howel*, in his Life-time, deny it his publick Teſtimony in Print, in a Letter to Mr. Juſtice *R.* before his *Organum Salutis*.

After ſo many worthy Names have given it their Votes, What have our puiſne Quibblers to object; only this, It is black, and therefore Wit muſt be ſhewn to call it *Stygian Puddle*; and, beſides this, It is bitter, and therefore a Lye muſt be framed, That it is made of Soot.

For the Firſt, were they but ſo well acquainted with the Prince of *Latin* Poets, as our Character-maker would make us believe he is with *Ovid*, by his dull, tedious, and impertinent Quotation, they might remember,

Alba liguſtra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur.

It is the Opinion of better Heads, than any on their Shoulders, That this Liquor is no other, than that famous black Broth of the *Lacedemonians*, ſo much celebrated by Antiquity.

For its Taſte, it is a pitiful childiſh Humour always to indulge our Palates; Diſeaſes are removed by bitter Pills, and the moſt ſanative Potions are oftentimes very ungrateful to ſwallow; but the Truth is, this Drink has nothing in it of Nauſeouſneſs, nor any Taſte, but what, familiariſed by a little Uſe, will become pleaſant and delightful.

The dull Planet *Saturn* has not finiſhed one Revolution through his Orb, ſince Coffee-houſes were firſt known amongſt us; yet it is worth our Wonder to obſerve how numerous they are already grown, not only here in our Metropolis, but in both Univerſities, and moſt Cities and eminent Towns throughout the Nation; nor, indeed, have we any Places of Entertainment of more Uſe and general Conveniency, in ſeveral Reſpects, amongſt us.

Firſt, In Regard of eaſy Expence: Being to wait for or meet a Friend, a Tavern-reckoning ſoon breeds a Purſe-conſumption; in an Ale-houſe, you muſt gorge yourſelf with Pot after Pot, ſit dully alone, or be drawn in to club for others Reckonings, or frowned on by your Landlady, as one that cumbers the Houſe, and hinders better Gueſts: But here, for a Penny or two, you may ſpend two or three Hours, have the Shelter of a Houſe, the Warmth of a Fire, the Diverſion of Company, and Conveniency, if you pleaſe, of taking a Pipe of Tobacco; and all this without any Grumbling or Repining.

Secondly, For Sobriety: It is grown, by the ill Influences of I know not what hydropick Stars, almoſt a general Cuſtom amongſt us, That no Bargain can be drove, or Buſineſs concluded between Man and Man, but it muſt be tranſacted at ſome Publick-houſe. This, to Perſons much concerned in the World, muſt needs be very injurious, ſhould they always run to Taverns or Ale-houſes, where continual Sippings, though never ſo warily, would be apt to fly up into their Brains, and render them drowſy and indiſpoſed for Buſineſs; whereas, having now the Opportunity of a Coffee-houſe, they repair thither, take each Man a Diſh or two (ſo far from Cauſing, that it cures any Dizzineſs, or diſturbant Fumes) and ſo, diſpatching their Buſineſs, go out more ſprightly about their Affairs, than before. The like may be ſaid of Mornings Draughts, which, taken in Wine, Ale, or Beer, moſt Times either deſtroy, or very much maim the Buſineſs of the whole Day; whereas, if People would be perſuaded to play the Good-fellows, in this wholeſome, wakeful, innocent Drink, they would find it do no leſs Good to their Bodies, and much more promote and advance their Buſineſs and Employments.

Laſtly, For Diverſion. It is older than *Ariſtotle*, and will be true, when *Hobbes* is forgot, That Man is a ſociable Creature, and delights in Company. Now, Whither ſhall a Perſon, wearied with hard Study, or the laborious Turmoils of a tedious Day, repair to refreſh himſelf? Or where can young Gentlemen, or Shop-keepers, more innocently and advantageouſly ſpend an Hour or two in the Evening, than at a Coffee-houſe? Where they ſhall be ſure to meet Company, and, by the Cuſtom of the Houſe, not ſuch as at other Places, ſtingy and reſerved to themſelves, but free and communicative; where every Man may modeſtly begin his Story, and propoſe to, or anſwer another, as he thinks fit. Diſcourſe

is *Pabulum animi, cos ingenii*; the Mind's beſt Diet, and the great Whetſtone and Incentive of Ingenuity; by that we come to know Men better than by their Phyſiognomy. *Loquere, ut te videam*, Speak, that I may ſee thee, was the Philoſopher's Adage. To read Men is acknowledged more uſeful than Books; but where is there a better Library for that Study, generally, than here, amongſt ſuch a Variety of Humours, all expreſſing themſelves on divers Subjects, according to their reſpective Abilities?

But our Pamphlet-monger, that ſputters out ſenſeleſs Characters faſter, than any Hocus can vomit Inkle) will needs take upon him to be Dictator of all Society, and confine Company to ſit as mute in a Coffee-houſe, as a Quaker at a ſilent Meeting, or himſelf with a little Wench, when behind the Hangings they are playing a Game at Whiſt. To this Purpoſe, he babbles mightily againſt Tattling, and makes a great Deal of cold Mirth with three or four ſtale Humours, that you may find a thouſand times better deſcribed in a hundred old Plays; yet to collect theſe excellent Obſervables coſt the poor Soul above half a Year's Time, in painful Pilgrimage from one Coffee-houſe to another; where, planting himſelf in a dark Corner, with the Dexterity of Short-hand, he recorded theſe choice Remarks, whilſt all the Town took him for an Exciſe-man counting the Number of Diſhes; the World is now obliged with the Fruits of his Induſtry, which proves no more, than that ſome giddy-headed Coxcombs, like himſelf (whoſe Skulls, inſtead of Brains, are ſtuffed with Saw-duſt) do ſometimes intrude into Coffee-houſes, a Doctrine we are eaſily perſuaded to believe: For, if their Doors had been kept ſhut againſt all Fops, it is more than probable, himſelf had never known ſo much of their Humours. We confeſs, *In multiloquio non deeſt vanitas*, Amongſt ſo much Talk there may happen ſome to very little Purpoſe. But, as we doubt not, but the Royal Proclamation has had the good Succeſs to prevent, for the future, any dangerous Intelligence, ſaucy Prying into *Arcana Imperii*, or irreverent Reflexions on Affairs of State, ſo, for the little innocent Extravagancies, we hold them very diverting, every Fool being a Fiddle to the Company; for, How elſe ſhould our Author have raiſed ſo much Laughter through the Town? Beſides, How infinitely are the vain Pratings of theſe ridiculous Pragmaticks over-balanced by the ſage and ſolid Reaſonings, here frequently to be heard, of experienced Gentlemen, judicious Lawyers, able Phyſicians, ingenious Merchants, and underſtanding Citizens, in the abſtruſeſt Points of Reaſon, Philoſophy, Law, and publick Commerce!

In brief, it is undeniable, that, as you have here the moſt civil, ſo it is, generally, the moſt intelligent Society; the Frequenting whoſe Converſe, and Obſerving their Diſcourſes and Deportment, cannot but civiliſe our Manners, enlarge our Underſtandings, refine our Language, teach us a generous Confidence and handſome Mode of Addreſs, and bruſh off that *Pudor ſubruſticus* (as, I remember, *Tully* ſomewhere calls it) that *clowniſh Kind of Modeſty* frequently incident to the beſt Natures, which renders them ſheepiſh and ridiculous in Company.

So that, upon the whole Matter, Spight of the idle Sarcaſms and paltry Reproaches thrown upon it, we may, with no leſs Truth than Plainneſs, give this brief Character of a well-regulated Coffee-houſe (for our Pen diſdains to be an Advocate for any ſordid Holes, that aſſume that Name to cloke the Practice of Debauchery) That it is the Sanctuary of Health, the Nurſery of Temperance, the Delight of Frugality, an Academy of Civility, and Free-ſchool of Ingenuity.

Nuntius

Nuntius à Mortuis * : Or, a Meſſenger from the Dead : That is, A ſtupendous and dreadful Colloquy, diſtinctly and alternately heard by divers, betwixt the Ghoſts of *Henry the Eighth* and *Charles the Firſt* (both Kings of *England*) who lie entombed in the Church of *Windſor*. Wherein, as with a Pencil from Heaven, is liquidly, from Head to Foot, ſet forth the whole Series of the Judgments of God upon the Sins of theſe unfortunate Iſlands. Tranſlated out of the *Latin* Copy, by *G. T.* and printed at *Paris*, 1657. *Quarto*, containing twenty-ſix Pages.

To the READER.

Courteous Reader,

THOU *wilt wonder, perhaps, that this terrible Narration of a Colloquy, ſo full of Dread and Aſtoniſhment, long ſince had betwixt two Kings of* England, *both deceaſed, ſhould not ſooner have come forth, when, in the Interval of ſo great a Tract of Time, it ought rather to have been put to the Preſs : But thou muſt know, it was then ſtrangled in its Birth (all ready fitted by me to have come into the Light) when, the late King's Blood yet ſmoaking, the Severity of the Times ſuppreſſed it. Divers alſo were ſhut up cloſe Priſoners, leſt the Truth of ſuch ſtrange Prodigies ſhould walk Abroad with them ; and the Soldiers largely bribed, who watched his Hearſe, not to let any Thing of that Quality fall from them ; but now it is, by God's infinite Goodneſs (nor unhappy, as I may ſay, Midwifery of mine) that again it reſaluteth the Day, with Recommendation to be communicatively uſed by the* ——— ; *however, to myſelf the Author, who was preſent at the late King's Burial, and both Eye and Ear-witneſs of theſe Wonders, not as vain and only forged Things, ſpeaking, like to Poets,* Give thou Credit and Belief ; *but as tracing, through thoſe dead Kings Colloquies (in this Kingdom filled with helliſh Darkneſs) the true and hidden Paths of God's juſt Vengeance. Farewell, and, as thy Brother in Chriſt, pray for*

Thy, *&c.*

THrough the unlimited Wickedneſs of the *London Calviniſts* (the firſt of that Name in *England*) King *Charles* being taken away, his headleſs Body, by Order of Parliament (not to the Royal Abbey of St. *Peter* in *Weſtminſter*, the ſolemn Burial-place of all the Kings and Queens of *England*, but to *Windſor*, twenty Miles diſtant from *London*, in *Henry the Eighth*'s Monument) was tranſlated to be interred. There was no Pomp at all to grace his Funeral, only a few Soldiers ſent to guard his Body, which ſome few Nobles, with the Duke of *Richmond*, waited on ; where

* *Vide* the 250th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

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his Corpſe being put into the Sepulchre, from out of the Penetral thereof, there broke a horrid Sound, which the Standers-by at firſt amazed with much Wonder; but by and by a Voice, attending that Noiſe, forced them all into a fearful Aſtoniſhment. And it is credible that even the Soldiers would have taken to their Heels, but that, caſting away all Fears and Apprehenſion, which they long ſince had laid aſide of either Heaven or Hell, they reſolved to hear the Sequel of that Prodigy; I alſo, who, grown pale with Fear, had begun to fly, recollected my Spirits, and, comforting myſelf with the Preſence of the Soldiers, not uncovetous of Hearing what would follow, ſtood my Ground; and, with the reſt, at laſt diſcovered that it was the Voice of *Henry the Eighth*, thus complaining, with a loud and horribly frightful Vociferation.

Henricus. Ho! Who is this (with ſacraligious Impiety) that dares vex the ſo long quiet Aſhes of a King ſo many Years ſince deceaſed? This ſaid, another Voice ſtraight roſe ſomewhat ſofter, but extremely doleful, which ſeemed to be King *Charles*'s, thus anſwering:

Carolus. I am that unhappy King of *England*, your Succeſſor, the undoubted Heir of ſixty-two Monarchs, whoſe Scepters ſometimes ſwayed theſe Nations, and who myſelf have, now theſe twenty Years and upwards, worn the kingly Diadem.

Hen. As though thou indeed hadſt worn the kingly Diadem? Why, thou haſt no Head at all whereon to put it, Man.

Car. But I had one (oh! my Grief) and very lately, though my Subjects have rebelliouſly taken it from me.

Hen. Have thy Subjects then thus cruelly handled thee? O the Hatred of both God and Men! How, I pray you, came theſe Things to paſs? And what Wickedneſs hadſt thou done ſo execrable, which hath tranſported thy Subjects to that Madneſs?

Car. That, Sir, I am totally ignorant of; but this I dare, with Confidence, affirm, that I have violated no Man's Bed, have not offered Force unto any one's Daughter, and driven no Man from his Houſe or Lands; of all which yet *Henry the Eighth*, my Predeceſſor, is held guilty through the total Univerſe. Let theſe ſay who have brought me hither, Whether in any Thing I have belyed the Truth? Then he pauſed a While, as though to hear what they would ſay, whilſt the Soldiers, with their Looks caſt down, conſented, by their Silence, to theſe Verities. And moſt true it is, indeed, what hath been ſaid, for never King, ſince the World's Creation, was more wicked than that *Henry* I ſpeak of, as who, counſelled by one *Cromwell* of thoſe Times, either violated all divine and human Laws, or gave the Example to his Succeſſors of doing ſo. But as for *Charles*, who is ſo lately deceaſed, only abſtracting from the Blot of Hereſy, no King ever, not only of his Time, nor private Man, was either naturally more equitable, more holy, or endowed with greater Virtues, who, not finding what he ſaid oppoſed, in this Manner followed on his Narration: I was criminated for defending with Arms, what peaceably, but in Vain, I had endeavoured, thoſe very Laws the which my Anceſtors had left to me, and which, ſixteen, and upwards of Years, I had uncontrouledly, ruled by and reigned. Hereupon were the Judges appointed, by an uſurped Authority of Parliament, who ſhould ſit and determine of my Head; Witneſſes againſt me ſworn, and examined, who had conſpired to take away my Life: The Day ſet down, and Forces brought, the which ſhould carry me to be arraigned before their dire Tribunal, and though I called both God and Men to witneſs their Violation, in this Proceeding, of the Laws, and that no Power on Earth was capable of judging me; as alſo, that I took not up Arms before that Arms had firſt been actually taken againſt me, yet Judgment, or rather the Shadow thereof, was given, by which I ſuffered the Decollation of my Head.

Hen. Oh! Wickedneſs, even feared to Impudence, and of which, as Ages paſt are wholly ignorant, ſo thoſe to come will hardly ever give Credit to. We have heard perhaps of Kings and Potentates, who have ſuddenly been oppreſſed by the Fury of a raging and incenſed Multitude; but that any one, a Prince of ſuch high Majeſty, ſhould be brought to Death by the Cruelty of his Subjects, all of one and the ſelf-ſame Religion, under the Colour even itſelf of Juſtice, and be obtruncated by the publick Hangman, but eſpecially not found guilty of any Crime, unleſs propugning his paternal Rights, ſince Kings had Being, was never yet heard of; for that *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, that Niece of mine, was moſt cruelly and inhumanly beheaded, that *Eliſabeth*, my unhappy Daughter, Queen of *England*, and

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in Hatred of Religion, not the Unnaturalneſs of her Subjects brought to paſs; and therefore all Men have that *Izabel*, or rather *Jezabel*, in Veneration, as though indeed a Martyr.

Car. Leſt I ſhould ſeem too much to ſtand upon my Innocence, I confeſs I was to blame, although not charged therewith, when I aſſented unto *Strafford*'s Dying (not in the leaſt guilty on my Knowledge of his Charge) through the Lenity of my Nature, though unwillingly; wherefore, reſpecting that ſtrict Father of Juſtice, whoſe Dominion is juſter over Kings than that of Kings over other Mortals, I cannot bewail my Blood ſo ſpilt unworthily, who, *Pilate* like, ſubſcribed another's Death, having declared him firſt wholly innocent, in my Judgment.

Hen. Had this been the Cauſe of thy Calamity, thoſe other, rather much, ſhould have been puniſhed with the Loſs, by Heaven's juſt Vengeance, of their Heads, who, thee being innocent, made thus guilty by their Prejudice, and, however againſt thy Will and reluctting, as by the Shoulders forced thee headlong forwards, into that moſt horrid Iniquity of their Judgment. Therefore ſome Thing there muſt neceſſarily be more which hath cauſed this ſo execrable Fate to thee; nor know I why thou ſhouldeſt here be more obtruded on me: Thou thyſelf cannot tell me any juſt Cauſe why thou wert ſtripped out of this miſerable Life by ſo ſhameful and opprobrious a Death; if thou cameſt, as ſuch thou boaſteſt thyſelf, of Kings, Had it not been meeter thou hadſt laid thy Bones amongſt thy Anceſtors, than trouble here my Reſt and Quiet?

Car. I earneſtly (indeed, dying) deſired to have been buried in the Tomb of my Father, but who ſpoiled me of my Life denied that Boon to me; fearing, I believe, leſt, lying ſo near them, that the Voice of my Blood would cry more loud to them. But in this they have not only been inhuman to me: Many other and moſt grievous Indignities have I ſuffered, in my ſhameful Way of Dying. At *Weſtminſter*, where myſelf and my Anceſtors, the Kings of this Nation, were inaugurated, was I forced to hear the Sentence of my Life from the Mouth of a ſilly Petty-fogger, when, according to the Municipal Laws, no Nobleman can be judged but by his Peers. At *St. James*'s was I kept cloſe Priſoner, whilſt my Enemies did determine of my Head, wholly caſt upon their arbitrary Judging me; a Place above all others loved by me, through the Memory of my paſt Childhood there, where my Youth alſo had been harmleſly entertained with many innocuous and moſt innocent Oblectations: The Scaffold for my Death appointed, raiſed directly before the Court of my Houſe, unto which that I might come with more Regret and alſo Shame, even through thoſe Rooms they dragged me, where, to honour foreign States Ambaſſadors, with Royal Pomp, I uſed, and Maſques to recreate them. I beheld alſo, but with what Senſe of Indignation? his Head covered and Eyes ſternly fixed on me, *Oliver Cromwell*, one of ordinary Extraction, and, abſtracting from what Fortune hath reared him to, much more deſpicable than the meaneſt of my Nobles (how much ſhort then of the Majeſty of a King) ſitting Umpire of my Life and Death? But though theſe Things were very grievous and deplorable, yet that one was even than Death itſelf leſs tolerable to me, when my Ears, the Blood yet ſpinning out my Veins, ſwallowed in that fatal Mandate from the Cryer, that it ſhould be Death to call my Son the Prince of *Wales*, or deſtine him to be his Father's Succeſſor. And then indeed it truly appeared, as conjectured by the Wiſer in the Beginning, that not the King, ſo much as Rule, diſpleaſed the Rebels, who conſpired ſo unanimouſly my Death, to the End that that as well as I ſhould be extirpated: Yet this one thing very much conſolates my Griefs, that, at leaſt, I have been deſtined to this Place, where I cannot doubt of your more courteous Reception of me, as being Nephew of your Siſter the Princeſs *Margaret*; her I mean who, marrying *James the Fourth* of *Scotland*, bore that *Mary* of whom ſo lately you made Mention, and ſhe *James* my late Father ſince deceaſed, unto whoſe Scepter ſhe gave both *England* and *Scotland*, unto which *James*, I *Charles the Firſt*, as Heir unto my Father, have ſucceeded.

Hen. What is that I hear? And art thou that *Charles*, then, the Son of *James*, to whom from me, by *Eliſabeth*, that Kingdom is devolved by Succeſſion? Art thou, I pray thee, the ſelf-ſame *Charles*, and canſt not ſee how all theſe Evils have oppreſſed thee? But it ſeems thy Eyes yet very well ſee not, newly come into this Region of Darkneſs. No! hadſt thou remembered how long While ago I drew from out that Yoke my Neck, which in in the Church I had full twenty Years drawn in, after firſt I was anointed King; aye, and

defended

defended with both Sword and Pen too, thou wouldeſt leſs wonder, that, after twenty Years Reign, thy Subjects ſhould have ſo departed from thee; thou canſt not be ignorant, that, amongſt all the Chriſtian Kings, I was the firſt that ever arrogated the Supremacy, and would be called the Head of the Church; which Titles, that I might knit them to my Crown, with a Knot that ſhould never be untyed, Oh! what Blood have I not ſhed of Martyrs? This Sin of mine, ſo long ſince committed, being to be expiated by the Blood of a King, both this Scepter and monſtrous Head together were at once to periſh; this was long ago decreed by the Fates, as we may judge, now it is come to paſs. But more than all this I will tell you; there was a Perſon of great Note, during my Reign, of whom many Things thou canſt not chooſe but have heard, whoſe Name was called *Thomas Moore*. This Man, adorned with Virtues ſo tranſcendent many Ages could not match his Worth, from a Pleader, at the Bar, of the Law, and having Regard unto his Merit and Learning, I called to be Lord Chancellor of *England*. But I ſeemed only thither to have raiſed him, that I might depreſs him from the greater Height; for when, following the Dictates of his Conſcience, he would not own me the Head of the Church, I commanded forthwith, his to be cut off: So that, whilſt playing *Calliſthenes*, he fell into the Hands of *Alexander*. Go thou then now, Head of the Church, and complain, that, by the Sentence of a pitiful Lawyer, thine is alſo cut off from thy Shoulders. Or rather ſeeſt thou not plainly, in theſe Prodigies, the Tenor of God's admirable Judgments? It was grievous to thee, to be a Priſoner at St. *James's*, where thou haſt ſo innocently, in thy Youth, diſported thyſelf; but thou mindeſt not, that I formerly, by Violence and Sacrilege, ſnatched thoſe Houſes from the Church, as not long after all the Goods of the Monks, the *Carthuſians*, *Bernardins*, *Ciſterſians*, *Canon Regulars*, and ſo of all the reſt; but more eſpecially of thoſe of St. *Benedict*, whoſe Houſes and Eſtates I confiſcated, being the moſt ſplendid and opulent of all the Kingdom, by an Injuſtice, till that Time, not ever heard of; wherefore, as I, for that they owned me not their Head, caſt in Priſon many innocent Religious, and from their Houſes made them hye unto the Gallows, ſo thou hadſt for thy Priſon, where thou ſufferedſt, a Houſe that had been heretofore religious; I hanged up ſeveral Abbots at their Doors, to give a Terror, by their Sufferings, to the Monks. And what Wonder, if, to the Aſtoniſhment of Kings and Kingdoms, thou haſt ſuffered, at the Doors of thy Palace, an ignominious and opprobrious Death? But knoweſt thou not over and above, that this very Palace (the Houſe of thy Abode) was the Dwelling-Place of the Biſhops of *York*, which I extorted from Cardinal *Wolſey*, a Man ſometimes highly advanced by me, whilſt ſerving my unbridled Luſt; but whom afterwards I utterly confounded, when I judged it for the Avail of my Avarice. Nor prophaned I only the Epiſcopal Houſes to ungodly and nefarious Uſes, but compelled even themſelves the Biſhops (from their Obedience to the *Roman* See) into an Acknowledgment of my Juriſdiction in Church Affairs, unleſs only him who preſided over *Rocheſter*, whom, when neither with fair Words, nor Menaces, I could draw into the Defection of the reſt, I beheaded to compleat my Sacrilege. Behold therefore if, or not, it were fatal and moſt agreeable to the Heavenly Juſtice, that this Head of the Church, ſo adventitious, ſhould have been cut off before the Doors of the Biſhop? To give Promotion to the Affairs of my Primacy, I made me a Vicar of one *Cromwell* of thoſe Times, a Man of very mean Extraction, unto whom (and he of Lay Condition) both the Biſhops and Archbiſhops were as Underlings: Now another of that Name, and like Deſcent, rules as abſolute over all thy Nobles, and guides the Minutes of thy Life and Death. The very ſame, I made my principal Inſtrument of keeping from their Means the Church's Children, and of bringing on the Bane of that Religion, ſo long practiſed in the Times of my Anceſtors, which I would call, The Reformation of the Church; I entered to this Kingdom (from my Father) when it was blemiſhleſs, intire, and truly regal; nor in any Thing unto any one obnoxious, only, as fitting in Things that were Spiritual, paying Submiſſion to the Vicar of Chriſt: Thou receiveſt it, when ſtrengthleſs and wounded, rent, and torn from the Yoke of St. *Peter*, ſo juſt ſo ſweet, and ſo amiable; and, wholly inſlaved unto the Vicars of the People, choſe to govern by the Votes of the Multitude.

Car. Too true, by the Loſs of my Head, have I found thoſe very Things, which thou haſt ſaid to me, and now lately, unleſs,

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by others Allowance, that I had Nothing either of Life or Kingdoms, which was not wholly in the Hands of the Parliament, ſince puffed up with fond Pride and Contumacy, by thy Example, I have ſwerved from the Church; yet feared I not the publick Hatchet would have ſtruck me by the Hands of Rebels, with ſuch Pomp and ſeared Impudence at my Death, but much more dreaded ſecret Counſels and Impoiſonings.

Hen. But of that thou ſhouldeſt the leaſt have been afraid; for the Puniſhment would not have anſwered the Offence. Publick Sins muſt have publick Expiations, nor ſought I Corners in which to perpetrate my Wickedneſſes, but ſinned boldly after once I had begun, only I drew indeed the Maſk of Juſtice upon the Face of my Iniquities; the Supremacy, as though my Due, of the Church, unto myſelf I arrogated, calling a Parliament, by a Decree whereof, I quite aboliſhed the *Roman* See's Authority; I repudiated (by Pretence of Right) the Woman that was my lawful Wife; the Poſſeſſions, likewiſe, wholly of the Clergy, under the ſame Colour, I occaſioned to be confiſcated; whoſoever was averſe to my Supremacy, as though guilty of High-Treaſon, I put to Death. Wherefore, when our Sins for which we worthily are puniſhed, are covered over with the Veil of Juſtice, no Wonder, if the ſelf-ſame Vizard likewiſe veil us, when ourſelves, at laſt, we come to ſuffer.

Car. But theſe Audacities, from their Subjects unto Kings, are the Effects of moſt unheard of Wickedneſs.

Hen. I confeſs it, but with how much greater Wickedneſs are thoſe Inſolencies by ourſelves deſerved? Such ſin only againſt a mortal Prince, but we Princes againſt an eternal Deity. But you, Sir, unleſs a marked out Sacrifice, God ſo willing, for your Sins Enormities, could you not have mocked that Arreſt of popular Judgment, by your Prerogative in Diſſolving of the Parliament?

Car. I did what I could to diſſolve it, but I pray hear what followed after my ſo Doing: The *Scotchmen*, my natural Subjects, in hoſtile Sort, invaded *England* with their Armies, whom oppoſing in their March at *York*, an humble Book came to my Hands by *Kymbolton*, underwritten by certain Noblemen of my Kingdom.

Hen. King *Henry* hearing *Kymbolton* named, after fetching firſt a very deep Sigh: Oh, *Catharine*, ſays he, the Wife of *Kymbolton*, that Woman of all other moſt dear to me, as excelling all her Sex in Virtue, whom I baniſhed, Heaven forgive me, from my Bed, to make Place therein for that Strumpet *Anne* of *Bullen*, afterwards publickly beheaded for Adultery, hath exchanged this ſo hated Life! This Divorce, againſt both Heaven's and human Laws, to the End that I might make it firm, made me uſurp unto me the Authority of the Church, when (unleſs with ſo horrid a Sacrilege) I could not uphold the Impiety of that Villainy. Hence broke upon ourſelves, and both our Kingdoms, the Inundation of all theſe preſſing Miſeries.

Car. When, holding forth *Kymbolton*'s Book, from this, ſays he, as by one Wave of a Deluge, hath alſo flowed the total Sea of my Diſaſters; for unadviſedly, O my Grief, I condeſcended, they ſo craving, to a Treaty with the *Scots*, in which I bound myſelf firmly to make good what, in my Name, ſhould by my Delegates be agreed upon. Theſe deputed, O impudent Drones, or rather indeed perfidious Traytors, gave Conceſſions to the inſidiating *Scots* to take Strong-holds into their Hands within my Kingdom, till ſuch Time, as, by my Kingly Authority, the Parliament, then diſſolved, ſhould be revoked. Writs, therefore, I accordingly iſſued forth; the *Scots* are moſt liberally gratified, nor do they ſuffer them ſooner to leave *England*, than that firſt I had engaged my Princely Faith, by a Writing under my Hand and Seal; this *Hamilton* alſo unhappily counſelled me, that unfortunate Kinſman of mine, not to annull the ſaid new Seſſions of Parliament, till ſuch Time as they ſhould all thereto aſſent.

Hen. O Stupidity, or rather extremeſt Madneſs! Didſt thou not ſee, when to thy ſtiff-necked People thou grantedſt this, that thou puttedſt a final Period to the Sway of thy Kingly Authority? This was one and the ſelf-ſame Thing, as if thou hadſt given into the Hands of the Parliament thy Scepter, and thy Princely Diadem, on Condition not to have them again, until ſuch Time, as they ſhould pleaſe to reſtore them thee; but much otherwiſe ſhould I have handled mine: Though now it is as clear as Noon-day, that the Meaſure of my Sins hath been made up in thee, by thy unhappy Participation of my Schiſms; and that, by Blinding the Eyes of thy Mind, in Propitiation of the offended Deity, God's

juſt Vengeance hath brought on thee Deſtruction :— *Whom God will deſtroy, he taketh away their right Underſtanding.* But, when once it was come to that Paſs, thou ſhouldeſt have gained at leaſt, the Parliament's Votes unto thee, by giving Honours to them, and other vaſt Largitions.

Car. Even that, in what I could, I attempted: But much otherwiſe, God he knows, it came about; for my Catholick Nobility and Biſhops, whoſe Votes I moſt relied on, in Parliament, were ejected by the adverſe Faction. They were both indeed very paſſionate for my Good; the Catholicks, as hoping I would mitigate the Aſperity of the Laws, in Force againſt them, by Queen *Eliſabeth*'s and my Father's Conſtitutions: The Prelates alſo as probably expecting a Conſervation of their Means and Benefices, then threatened in another Way, from this Head of theirs, O God, how ridiculous! Having loſt thus in the Houſe of Lords, for the Lower was of little Conſideration to me, more than twenty and upwards of Suffrages, who remained more indulgent and firm to me, were intimidated, thereto Books being caſt Abroad, by the Tumultuouſneſs of the Apprentices and Tradeſmen, which Seditions the adverſe Party of the Parliament, with all the Eagerneſs that they could, fomented. At *Weſtminſter* alſo, ſcandalous Books were written againſt me, at the Pleaſure of thoſe Parliamentary Rebels, which, their Emiſſaries far and near diſperſing them, by ſome Provincials, thereto courted, were ſubſcribed, and exhibited, ſuddenly after, to the Parliament; as though, Nothing on their Part ſuggeſted, the whole Matter had, by the People, been exacted.

Hen. The very ſelf-ſame Fraud and Colluſion did I practiſe to the Church's Ruin: For firſt of all, by Writs and Declamations, who were refractory of the Clergy I indulged; in doing whereof, I pretended Reformation, and not Ruin, which was really my Deſign, like your Rebels, who in the Beginning of their Defection, even by Oath and publick Faith, obliged themſelves, not to attempt againſt your Perſon, Realms, or Church, but to defend them with their utmoſt Power, though however of ſome Defects in Church and State, by Removing from you certain evil Counſellors, they ſeemed to pretend a Reformation. And, leſt any Thing ſhould have the Face of Oppreſſion, which I did, I procured certain Books to fly Abroad, with whoſe Senſe I was very well pleaſed, which the Monks in their own Names ſhould write to me, near according to this following Tenor: ——

'Since the Goodneſs of God (with your 'Highneſs's Concurrence) hath ſo wrought, 'that in theſe latter Days (the Darkneſs of 'Times paſt diſperſed) a new and true 'Light hath appeared unto us; we heartily 'and humbly make Requeſt, that you will 'free us from this cloiſtered Slavery (the 'very Path unto moſt certain Perdition) 'and reſtore us to our ſpiritual Liberty; for 'which Doing (to expreſs our Gratitude) we '(freely and not any Ways forced, whom 'nor Fear nor yet Colluſion draws there-'to) give you all our Houſes, Goods, and 'Lands, nay Juriſdiction, to be your own for 'ever.'

Theſe Books I diſperſed through all the Monaſteries, and commanded that every one ſhould ſubſcribe them, who would not to be forthwith hanged: But eſpecially all the Abbots and Superiors, that the reſt might by their Suffering be intimidated; ſo that divers through the Fear of Death (as though really from their proper Motives) were induced to underwrite theſe Papers.

Car. I have ſigned alſo many Things conſtrainedly, and (what is worſe) been forced to ſwear I did ſo willingly. But ſo far was this my Eaſineſs from availing me (eſpecially about the City of *London*) that (after all whatſoever they aſked me I had given them with a full Compliance) they ſtill more and more increaſed their Tumults; and obſerving all my Caſtles, Strengths, and Navy taken from me (with the total Militia) it was then (when no Means elſe were left me) that I betook myſelf firſt unto Arms, whereby to guard my Life, my Crown, and my Dignity; wherefore, ſetting up my Kingly Standard, the moſt faithful of my Subjects fly to me, whoſe Numbers in ſhort Time ſo increaſed, that I waged ſeven Years War with the Parliament. During which Time it was remarkable to ſee how, more than others, the *Roman Catholicks* flocked to me, and, for my Good, expoſed their Lives and Fortunes: Thoſe, to wit, who were formerly traduced (by the Obloquies of moſt ſlanderous Calumniators) as ſuſpected to both King and Kingdoms, for Refuſing of the Oath of Allegi-

Allegiance, in which Point they never yet were found defective, though falſly therefore called Recuſants, but which alſo exacted from their Conſciences an Abjuration of the Pope's Authority, and an Acknowledgment of my ſpiritual Supremacy; theſe very Men, I ſay, though they took not that Oath, yet, unſworn, they never ſtuck at any Thing in the which they might be loyal to me and faithful. But the Covenanters, call them Proteſtants or Puritans, what did they (though againſt their Oaths, and highly abjuring any ſuch Kind of Practice) but even Tooth and Nail bend all their Forces to deprive their King of Life and Dignity. Nor wanted theſe their Plots at laſt Succeſs; for, Money falling ſhort to pay the Soldiers, whom I therefore was conſtrained to diſmiſs, being myſelf of all Things deſtitute to Extremity, I was glad, as to my very laſt Refuge, to betake myſelf wholly to the *Scots*. But (oh unheard of and moſt ſhameful Perfidiouſneſs!) thoſe ſold me to who would give moſt for me, by which Means thus toſſed from Priſon to Priſon, theſe Miſeries as you ſee have overwhelmed me.

Hen. I wonder not (by the Parliament's Authority and Inſinuations) that ſome of thine have left thee; but how cometh it, that thy Country-men the *Scots* have taken Arms againſt thee, joining with the Enemies?

Car. This threefold Defection, by the *Scots*, was indeed my utter Ruin and Overthrow; for if only I had conteſted with the *Engliſh*, by the Aid of other faithful of my Subjects (more in Number very many than the Rebels) as well in *England* as alſo in *Ireland*, I ſhould eaſily have made good my Prerogative. But the *Scots*, on this Occaſion, fell from me. I fancying, forſooth, as Head of the Church, that it belonged moſt peculiarly unto me, that not only the ſame Tenor of Faith, through the Extent of my whole Dominions, but the ſame Service alſo, Rites and likewiſe Ceremonies, ſhould be uniformly in the ſame obſerved (the Archbiſhop thereto moſt of all exhorting me, whom I reverenced as though indeed ſome Patriarch) I commanded the Book of *Common Prayer*, a Form of thy Son *Edward*'s firſt Compoſing, and the Surplice to be uſed by the *Scots*, who had not either publick Form of Worſhip, or other Decency of Ornaments in their Church, but, as now it is the Faſhion at *Geneva*, every one babbled as he pleaſes his own Impertinencies; ſtrictly threatening with exemplary Puniſhment who thereto ſhould not yield due Obedience; which the People of *Scotland* obſerving, and that already it was put in Practice, cried out Popery is now violently forced upon us. Then Tumults Day by Day increaſed, which the *Calviniſt* Miniſters fomented, who conſulting the Puritans of *England*, eſpecially *Hambden* the chief of that Faction, jointly brought in the *Scots* upon this Nation, then in Peace, who with their Armies invaded it. This Incurſion, ſo rebellious, of thoſe Traitors (like a River when its Banks are broken down) overflowed my total Realms with Sedition.

Hen. Is it not as clear then, tell me *Charles*, as Noon-day, that our inauſpicatiouſly Affecting Church Supremacy hath confounded us in this Sort which now thou ſeeſt?

Car. Very true, it is not void of Reaſon for ſo being; yet do I not reach how all thoſe Evils rather ſeized not thee, the firſt Invader of the *Engliſh* Primacy, who (convening all the States of thy Kingdom to be confirmed upon thyſelf and thy Succeſſors) than poor me who have but kept, and that too peaceably, what my Anceſtors by their Wills had left to me.

Hen. Oh *Charles*, how art thou groſly deceived if thou thinkeſt I do not ſhare in thy Misfortunes? No Sin yet ever eſcaped unpuniſhed, nor was Impunity ever allowed to wicked Perſons. And, to paſs by what now at preſent I ſuffer, What Tortures did not then diſtort me, when my Executioners were thoſe three Man-ſpillers, Avarice, Cruelty, and Luſt? —— And as for Avarice, ſo unſatiably it reigned in me, that having ſubverted three-hundred and ſeventy-ſix Religious Houſes, and ſnatched away their Lands and Goods, by an Edict to that Purpoſe which I made; ſcarcely one Year had yet been fully gone about, before I vexed with ſuch high Taxes all my Subjects as had never been before from them exacted, by which Morſel now made keen and fleſhed, as it were, not long after, oh how rich and opulent! I confiſcated what remained of the Church Revenues. In the Interim I gave Hopes unto the Laity that thoſe Goods of the Church would go ſo far with me, as to free them for ever from Exactions; a Hearing ſo grateful to the People, that they impenſly for it favoured my Abreptions. But ſo fooled they were in theſe their Expectations, that I alone a little after more oppreſſed them,

than in fifty Years before my Predeceſſors; after I had ſpoiled and razed a thouſand Churches, taken all unto my Uſe that belonged unto them; all their Coin, and ſacred Veſſels, robbed them of; Braſs, Lead, Shards, Seelings, nay, even the very Rubbiſh ſet to Sale, with all elſe vendible; beſides two Cheſts from out of the Church of *Canterbury*, ſo maſſy ſcarce four Men could carry one of them, ſo well crammed they were with Gold and precious Stones: After all, I ſay, theſe Things had been thus robbed by me, I was reduced unto ſuch very great Indigence, that, whereas I mixed at firſt but two of Braſs only with ten Ounces (by my Edict) of good Silver, I afterwards with two of current Silver mixed ten Ounces of adulterate Braſs; thus tortured, as you ſee, with endleſs Avarice, nor leſs roughly by my Cruelties handled. —— For full twenty Years at leaſt together, whilſt I lived in the Communion of the Church, no one ever of the Kings ſhed leſs Blood, in all which Time two only ſuffered of my Nobility: But afterwards, when I fell from the Church (not more thirſty of Gold than of Blood) of all Conditions, all Ages, and all Sexes, I exhibited a moſt fearful Maſſacre; and that upon no other Demerit, but that only they withſtood my Voluptuouſneſs. Four Queens, with either Steel or Impriſonments, I took away, which were the Conſorts of my Bed; two young Princeſſes, and alſo two Cardinals (proſcribing, in his Abſence, the Third) who was very near in Blood to me allied. Dukes, Marquiſſes, Counts, or Sons of Counts, at leaſt a Dozen, I put publickly to Death; Barons, Knights Bannerets, or Knights, to the Number of twenty, wanting two; Abbots and Priors thirteen; Prieſts and Religious ſeventy-ſeven; of leſſer Rank, and of the Vulgar, infinite. And, whilſt belching thus on all Sides my Cruelties, the faithfulleſt of my Subjects moſt feared me, as witneſs that moſt horrid Cataſtrophe of Cardinal *Wolſey*, of *Cromwell*, and the *Bullens*; of the *Howards*, of *Norris*, and, laſtly, *Compton*. But as for Luſt, ſo very inſatiably was I loſt in it, that, divorcing my beſt and lawful Wife, I ſaw not any Thing of that Sex the which I burnt not for; nor ſcarcely did I luſt that Woman, whom one Way or other I did not violate. Was it not alſo for the Puniſhment of my Sins, that your Father and yourſelf have reigned in *England*? Who left nothing on my Part unattempted, which I could think of to hinder your Succeſſion, that I might fix it by a Maſculine Birth unto the Houſe of which myſelf was deſcended. Two Wives I forced unjuſtly from my Bed, and as many made to quit this Life; the Fifth, who fell in troubleſome Labour, I commanded to be ripped up alive, to the End to ſave the Infant which ſhe went with; thus barbarouſly and inhumanly adding, That it was eaſier to get more Wives than Children. The Sixth I alſo afterwards married, whom when thinking to have ſpilt myſelf, I periſhed. Yet, for all this my Caring for Poſterity, during fifty Years Time of my Life, no one ever lived long of my Survivors. A Boy, indeed, of nine Years old, ſucceeded me in the uſurped Supremacy, little knowing how to govern himſelf, but much leſs the Helm of Church Juriſdiction, who had alſo firſt departed this Life before Attaining to his youthful Age. *Mary* alſo, my legitimate Daughter, who caſt out Hereſy, entered afterwards to the Crown, of whoſe Child I could have very well hoped, five Years married to the Catholick King; but that God (the juſt Revenger of Homicides, Rapes, Inceſts, and likewiſe of Sacrilege) barred my Seed from inheriting the Earth; nor in vain are his Words, or to be laughed at, thus importing, That the Days of the Sons ſhall be cut ſhorter for the Fathers Offences —— She dying ſoon after without Iſſue, this Empire was tranſlated into thy Line; but *Eliſabeth*, that illegitimate Daughter of mine (begot in Inceſt, and judged incapable of Governing by the Parliament, and myſelf thereto aſſenting) ſtepped, however, into the Kingly Throne, and would be called, forſooth, The Head of the Church, by my Example, under whoſe Womaniſh Popeſhip, at leaſt a thouſand ſuffered Death for being Prieſts. But ridiculous is that Head which hath no Tongue; and a Woman, as the Apoſtle averreth, is not allowed to ſpeak in the Church; yet it is admirable to ſee with what Audacity ſhe took upon her to uſurp the Church of God, who miſſioning (with a womaniſh Sollicitude) her Miniſters for the Planting of the Goſpel, ſowed the Seeds, as yet we ſee here in *England*, of a Multiplicity of ſowre-levened Hereſies. And, after ſeventeen Years Keeping her Priſoner, ſhe had cut off the Head of thy Grand-mother, doing Acts of moſt unparalleled Cruelty, by the Example of my former Tyrannies, ſhe deſcended without Iſſue into ——.

† Thus,

Thus, in the firſt Generation, ended my Progeny; ſo true it is what the kingly Prophet ſaid, That *the Seed of the Wicked ſhall periſh*, *Pſal.* xxxvii; and accordingly in another Place, *Their Fruits ſhall be extirpated from the Earth, and their Seed from the Sons of Men.* I have been admoniſhed by very woeful Experience of the Truth of this Prophet's Saying: So, to wit, it hath pleaſed the Almighty to laugh at the Counſels of Men. And this Reaſon the ſame Prophet ſuperaddeth, *For they contrived Counſels which they could not make good*, Pſal. xxix. *For there is no Counſel which will ſtand againſt God*, Prov. xxi.—As too late, and to my Coſt, I have found true: Wouldeſt thou yet be more confirmed of theſe ſad Verities? Unto King *Edward*, when I died, my Son, I left twelve Tutors all reputed Catholicks, and, abſtracting from the Supremacy only, which I deſired he ſhould keep in his Hands, commanded he ſhould be otherways bred up a Catholick. All Hereſies, this only excepted, by my Will, I wholly excluded and aboliſhed. But, as violating the Wills of my Anceſtors, and ſubverting what they built and conſecrated, ſo many Temples and Monuments of Religion, I deſerved not that my own ſhould be obſerved; amongſt the reſt, the Duke of *Somerſet* was one, Uncle to *Edward the Sixth* by the Mother, whom, at my Death, I did, as Guardian, prefer to him. He infected, and my Son by him, with Hereſy, brought in that, which moſt I hated, of the Sacrament, which Queen *Eliſabeth*, after both, confirmed. A Monument I appointed for my Aſhes much more ſumptuous than ever any of my Anceſtors, and yet hitherto I have failed of the ſame; though, alone of all the Kings of *Great-Britain*, three Children have, in Order, ſucceeded me; nor need I fear, now thoſe are dead, to be forgotten, who, for my Wickedneſs, ſhall eternally be remembered. I am the Mark of all Men's Hate of all Conditions. To the Catholicks, by good Reaſon, odious, cutting *England* from the Communion of their Church; abominated no leſs worthily by the Religious, as whoſe Families I have deſtroyed and ſold their Goods: Equally execrable to the Church and Laity; as firſt raiſing over the whole Body of the Catholicks that Perſecution, which, to this Hour, afflicted them; the Hereticks, even to Death, deteſted me, ſtill purſuing them with Fire and Sword: *Luther* called me a Stall-fed Ox, and very often a moſt inhuman Tyrant; *Calvin* drew out the Sword of his Pen againſt my Title of the Head of the Church, which, ſo Monſter like, to myſelf I had arrogated; and marked me out by the Dint of his Writings, as one deſtitute of both Fear and Shame, in Relation to both God and Man. All the Literate will perpetually hate my Memory, that I ſhould root out, and totally deſtroy, ſo many Monuments of Antiquity and Learning, ſuch as ſcarcely in the World are to be paralleled. To conclude, whilſt I lived, the moſt did hate me, every one feared me, and ſcarce any one loved me. In my latter Days, by the Furies of my Conſcience agitated, like to *Oreſtes*, I would fain have incorporated with the Church all thoſe Kingdoms which I had torn from its Obedience, and, in whatſoever I was able, I endeavoured a Reparation of thoſe Wrongs I had done my Wife. This at laſt, in ſome Sort, I provided for, giving Caution by my laſt Will and Teſtament, that, if *Edward* my Son ſhould die Iſſueleſs, my Daughter *Mary*, whom I had before diſinherited, born of *Catharine*, ſhould ſucceed me in theſe Kingdoms. Oh! how often have I talked with my Familiars about this firſt, to wit, of Bowing to his Holineſs, and being received again into his Grace and Favour? But, having formerly cozened divers by thoſe Arts, none would truſt me, as being by all ſuſpected, whom they eluded, as though ſeeking to intrap them. Thus abandoned and forſaken by every Body, I departed out of the Communion of the Church, theſe laſt Words before my Death ingeminating, *All is marred, all is marred, Monks, Monks, Friars, Friars.* My Burial was juſt like that of *Ahab*, in the Ruins of a Religious Houſe; for, when my Body was conveyed hither, even a Dunghill through Over-eating and Oppletion, the Lead, in which it was wrapped, unhappily unſoldering, as it was ſet down within the Ruins of this Houſe, where, while a Plumber, in all Haſte to help it, ran this Way and that Way for Materials, his Dog licked up my Blood moſt greedily. A Revenge for that of Prieſts and Religious which I ſhed, Oh God! How juſt and deſerved a one? Doſt thou not ſee, *Charles*, how, in my Perſon thus ſuffering, God hath warned thee that I departed not unpuniſhed?

Car. Theſe are Things very grievous indeed, and which deſerve to be well pondered to all Eternity.

Hen. But, though theſe Things may ſeem to Mortals very grievous, yet, in Compariſon of what

what I ſuffer in Hell, they are mere Trifles, and not worthy to be commemorated. For, beſides what I have merited by my own, whatſoever I have ſinned againſt another, what Innovations I have forced upon Religion, ſuperadd unto the Increaſe of my Torments; inaſmuch as, by my uſurping the Supremacy, I opened a Gap to all the Miſchiefs of Hereſies. Wherefore as, ſuperadditionally, I am here tormented by the Arrival of any new come Ghoſts, ſo is it juſt, ſince the Afflicted comfort the Afflicted, that thoſe very ſame ſhould have a Share in my Puniſhments, who have maintained and kept on Foot my Errors, as thou haſt done; who, though the Scourge of Heaven's juſt Ire, hath theſe ten Years through three Kingdoms cloſely followed thee, and that too chiefly, for thy Hatred to Religion, yet haſt thou breathed with thy laſt Breath a Diſobedience to the Authority of the See of *Rome*, thy Biſhop ſo of *London* perſuading thee; nay, moreover, not the Primacy only which I left thee, but new Errors, introduced by Queen *Eliſabeth* and thy Father, didſt thou ſtrive to uphold, of Prince *Edward* I here wittingly am ſilent; and, if other Things be true which I have heard, thou ſtampeſt thy Coin alſo with the Inſcription of Proteſtancy.

Car. Oh Heavens! that that fatal Proteſtancy had never been hatched, at leaſt not to come unto my Ears. It began, about thy Time, in *Germany*, when the Followers of *Luther* were called *Proteſtants*, whence it afterwards paſſed into *England*. And as Queen *Eliſabeth*, oh *Henry!* and my Father, were the firſt of all thoſe that went before them who proteſted thy Religion in theſe Kingdoms, whereupon hath come this Name of *Proteſtant:* So, ſoon after, roſe the Puritan Faction, or the *Calviniſt*, who impugned both the other, and our Ritual, or Book of Common Prayer, ſet in Force with the thirty-nine Articles: Which, ſubverting all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, doth yet glory in being called *Proteſtant*. Afterwards ſprings a Sect of Independants, which proteſt againſt the three that went before; theſe are divided into Hundreds of other tatterdimallion and new broached Opinions, which yet all will needs be termed *Proteſtants*; and perhaps as many more there will yet riſe, from out the *Hydra* of this unhappy Reformation, which will always be impugning one the other. Heaven grant that, with the Milk of my Mother, I had alſo ſucked in the Religion of my Anceſtors; for my Grandmother not only died a Catholick, but ſhed her Blood in the Defence of that Religion. But, as others may condignly have been puniſhed, for Introducing or Promoting of Errors; for Vexing with much Cruelty the Catholicks, and Uſurping or Maintaining this Supremacy; I certainly never innovated Religion, of all others have been mildeſt unto Catholicks, nay, even next of all acceded to their Tenets. In fine, I have exerciſed this Supremacy with a Moderation ſurpaſſing all the reſt, and (by Reaſon I did not judge it fitting or becoming any Layman's Undertaking) the whole Charge thereof, at leaſt the greater Part, I recommended to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Hen. But haſt thou not obſerved, that, of the whole *Engliſh* Epiſcopacy, only *Canterbury* in theſe Troubles loſt his Head? (Both Documents of the higheſt Inſtruction!) Thou, for Kings; and that Patriarch for Prelates; who, if their Heads they would have ſtand upon their Shoulders, muſt not make themſelves Heads of the Church, by hereafter prejudicing the *Roman* Juriſdiction: But what availed it thee to have approximated unto Popery, unleſs thoroughly thou hadſt embraced that Faith? For it ſufficeth not to ſtand in the Porch, unleſs thou enter into the Boſom of the Church. Moreover, many, in theſe Gulfs below the Earth, are much more grievouſly tormented and vexed, becauſe they knew, but have not exerciſed the Truth: That, in ſome Things, King *Agrippa* was a Chriſtian, was not ſufficient to work his Salvation: No, for that thoroughly he was not converted by *Paul*, he now burns with me in Eternal Flames. Did I not myſelf ſometimes profeſs that Faith in all Particulars, only abſtracting from the Pope's Supremacy? But, ſinning in that one ſole Defection, I am guilty of all thoſe other Abominations. But he that ſpared not *Paul*'s Incredulity (doing Things of which he then was ignorant) will not ſpare this moſt execrated Head of mine, who have wittingly, nay, and willingly, periſhed. But, how frivolous is that which thou pretendeſt to extenuate the Malice of thy Crime, when thou ſayeſt, thou didſt not exerciſe the Supremacy, only left it unto *Canterbury* to do it; as though, indeed, thou hadſt not exerciſed that Charge whereunto thou hadſt deputed another? Nay, more, I hold that *Strafford* loſt his Head (ſo provided by the Eternal Juſtice)

Juſtice) for that alſo he then carried thine, as being thy Vicar, in the Church of *Ireland*.

Car. As I have not wholly been exempt from all Faults, ſo having proceeded much more moderately in the Supremacy, and promoted more the Peace of the Church, than all theſe others, who have paſſed before me, I would fain know why I am the moſt of all puniſhed?

Hen. Thou haſt not obſerved, it ſeems, that jealous God, who puniſheth in the Child the Father's Faultineſs, how he ſcourgeth the Impieties of the Wicked, to the Third and alſo Fourth Generation, leſt, if only he ſhould ſcourge us in ourſelves, we might think that any enormous Impiety would be eaſily and more ſuddenly expiated; nor defers he to puniſh till ſo long after, that his Memory who ſinneth ſhould die, but leſt it ſhould be forgotten that he was puniſhed for Sinning. Thou art the Third now, from the Cradle of Schiſm, who hath reigned King, in which Generation thou ſuffereſt: For, though my two Daughters, firſt *Mary*, then *Eliſabeth*, have ſucceſſively inherited the Crown, yet thoſe two, with their Brother King *Edward*, who was my Son, make up but one Generation; if you number therefore either the Kings or Generations; —*Edward* me, *James* him, and thou *James*, have ſucceſſively and in Order followed: Nor hath it happened, but by the Hand of God, that the heavenly Vengeance ſhould have fallen upon thy Head, the moſt innocent and moderate of all the reſt, to ſhew that not ſo much thy private Sins have been chaſtiſed by his Rod of Juſtice, as the Hereditary Evils of thy Office, with what Impieties ſtill attend thy Titles,—as it is ſaid,—*The Fathers have eaten ſowre Grapes, and the Teeth of their Children have been ſet on Edge*, Ezek. xviii. Which take not as though Children intirely innocent ſhould be overwhelmed by their Fathers Faultineſs; for the Soul that ſins itſelf ſhall die: But that ſuch who are leſs faulty, nay, even innocent, as it were, in Compariſon of their Fathers Crimes, do yet ſuffer often ſomething of their Merit. For, if that Puniſhment had happened in the Time of any wicked and luxurious Prince, I ſhould not have ſought for its Infliction any where elſe, than from the Crimes of ſuch a truſſed-up Potentate: But that my Subjects, who ſtile themſelves *Proteſtants*, ſhould, by taking off thy Head, thus puniſh thee whom thy very Enemies cannot aſperſe with any Crime, came not indeed by any other Way to paſs, but through that capital Tranſgreſſion of our Pride, in preſuming to be Heads of the Church; and, as I was the laſt of my Name both King and alſo Head of the Church, ſo thou, oh! too unfortunate *Charles*, art the firſt of thy Name that ever reigned, and the laſt that ſhall be Head of the Church.

Car. I feel indeed the Judgments of God to have fallen very heavily upon me, for, as out of one falſe Principle in Faith many Abſurdities ariſe of Opinions, ſo out of one unhappy Apoſtaſy from the Church, many others have followed after at the Heels, which the newer and more recent that they are, the more dangerous, and more to be took Heed of. Thou beganneſt, others increaſed that Sacrilege, which when, afterwards, ſome had fully perfected, I at laſt bore the Heft of all: Thou, tearing from the *Roman* Obedience thy People and Biſhops of *England*, wouldeſt be accounted, aye, and wert, independent; and the Head of the Reformed Church? Now a Sect of Independants hath broke out, God revenging ſo the Sin of thy Sacrilege, who, regarding neither King nor Biſhops, firſt took off my ſpiritual Head, then my own cut and ſevered from my Shoulders; one *Cromwell* in thy Time then lived (of thy Cabinet and moſt ſecret Counſels) who perſuaded thee, a King, to ſpoil the Church; now another of that Name, and not unlike him, forced the People to deſtroy their King: *Oh how juſt are the Judgments of God and his Ways inſcrutable!* For, if not ſooner in ourſelves, in our Poſterities, ſhall we at laſt be puniſhed, in that very Kind in the which we have offended. Oh God, that, whilſt I lived in this world, I had ſeriouſly pondered theſe Things, at the leaſt (when ſo much Leiſure ſometimes ſerved me) in the Time of my moſt tedious Impriſonment! Happy Man, had I paſſed upon the Series of God's Judgments, from above ſo threatening me, in the Amaritude and Bitterneſs of my Soul; I had Leiſure, indeed, to dally with my Pen, and write a Book of other Things, a whole one, as my Armies how they came to be deſtroyed, of the Miſeries and Diſtreſſes of my Life, and the Inſolencies thoſe eſpecially of the Soldiers, but never once called to Mind thoſe very Things which I ſhould moſt of all have printed on my Thoughts. Oh *Juxonius* (ſo I called the Biſhop of *London*) or elſe *Laud*

my

my faithful Counſeller and Friend, Why have neither of you admoniſhed me of theſe Things, either by Letters, or Friends that did commune with me? For, being three Years a Priſoner before my Death, I had Time enough to think of all theſe Things: *But they had Eyes, and they could not ſee.* Oh, how blind were all theſe that ſaw me! and well may what follows be applied to us:

At length we Phrygians *(but too late) grew wiſe.*

Hen. This alſo I would have Men duly ponder, how the Parliament, the very Name whereof is ſo idoliſed, eſpecially by the faſcinated *Engliſh*, is devolved now into a Lower Houſe, both the Biſhops and the Lords ejected, in whoſe Votes was once the total Authority, the Houſe of Commons being not any thing regarded. A juſt Puniſhment indeed for their flattering me into a Preſumption of being Head of the Church, who themſelves are now all trodden under Foot (ſometimes ſitting as the Heads of Parliament) and this by that third Order, without Order, unto which they are ſo ſhamefully ſubjected. For *England*, as now plainly it appeareth, from a Paradiſe is tranſlated into a Hell, in which no Order but perpetual Horror inhabiteth, where *a Man ſtrong in Arms keeps our Court, and holds peaceably his uſurped Poſſeſſions:* This third Order being grown to that Height, that Kingly Government which had its Period in thy Fate, unleſs by Miracle, can never hold up its Head.

Hence learn, O ye Kings, to be wiſe, and take Inſtructions, you that judge the Earth.

The Soldiers, then at Hand, of *Cromwell*, underſtanding this hard Fate of Monarchy, which ſhould hardly ever riſe from out of its Ruins, took good Heart, and, with great Noiſe and Laughter, ran in Crouds from out the Church of *Windſor*, each one glad that he had lent a Hand, by cutting off this Head of the Church, to the Execution of the Heavenly Juſtice: But not knowing or leſs, happily, ruminating, that the Father, oftentimes, burns the Rod with which he doth chaſtiſe his Child.

In Malevolos hujus Narratiunculæ Obtrectatores.

Zoile, ne laceres morſu mea ſcripta canino,
Neve meris dicis omnia ſuta dolis:
Extimus hiſtoriæ cortex, volo, fictus habetur;
Vera ſed huic intùs ligna ſubiſſe ſcies.
Iſtaque corporeis licèt auribus invia noſtris,
Mentis at internis ſenſibus hauſta putes.
Eia, age, mendacem me, carptor inepte, Poëtam
Occine: narranti res dabit ipſa fidem.

R. P.

‘ *Zoilus*, deſiſt (with curriſh Teeth) to tear
‘ This Work of mine. Nor it as (merely) jear,
‘ Made up of Frauds. The outmoſt Bark, indeed,
‘ Is Fiction. But Truth dwells in the Inſide.
‘ And what th' Ear ſtruck not outwardly, that
‘ (know)
‘ Our Minds moſt inward Senſe both heard
‘ and ſaw.
‘ Ceaſe Critic then, nor ſing my Book hath ly'd,
‘ That Story will find Faith, which Truth
‘ doth write.

G. T.

An Extract out of the eighth Century of *Michael Noſtradamus*'s Prophecies, *Stroph.* 71. printed in the Year 1603, in the Beginning of King *James*'s Reign, Father of King *Charles* late deceaſed, touching the Government now at preſent in *England:*

A Warrior, not a King, ſhall England *awe,*
One Low-born ſhall by Force thy Empire ſway:
Looſe, faithleſs, lawleſs, ſhall the Earth begore,
Whoſe Time's ſo near at Hand; I ſigh therefore.

Glory be to God.

A Re-

A Relation * of a Voyage to *Guiana*: Deſcribing the Climate, Situation, Fertility, Proviſions, and Commodities of that Country, containing ſeven Provinces, and other Signories, within that Territory: Together with the Manners, Cuſtoms, Behaviours, and Diſpoſitions of the People. Performed by *Robert Harcourt*, of *Stanton-Harcourt*, Eſq; The Patent, for the Plantation of which Country, his Majeſty hath granted to the ſaid *Robert Harcourt*, under the Great Seal.

The Land, which we walked through to ſearch it, is a very good Land: If the Lord love us, he will bring us into this Land, and will give it us, Numb. xiv. 7, 8.

At *London* printed by *John Beale*, for *W. Welby*, and are to be ſold at his Ship in *Paul*'s Church-yard, at the Sign of the *Swan*, 1613. *Quarto*, containing eighty-eight Pages.

To the High and Mighty Prince, Charles, *Prince of* Great-Britain.

HAVING had Trial, moſt worthy Prince, of your moſt renowned Brother, Prince *Henry*, his many Favours towards me, and princely Furtherance of my humble Suit, unto his Majeſty, your Royal Father, and our dread Sovereign, for obtaining for me his gracious Letters Patents, for the Planting and Inhabiting of all that Tract of Land, and Part of *Guiana*, between the River of *Amazones* and *Deſſequebe*, ſituate in *America*, under the Æquinoctial Line; whereof I have taken Poſſeſſion to his Majeſty's Uſe, and diſcovered the Maritime Parts: I was greatly thereby encouraged to proceed in the Enterpriſe, and had, under his Majeſty's Favour, devoted myſelf unto his Service. But now ſeeing, by God's Permiſſion, your excellent Brother's Princely Honour, by Right of Succeſſion, is fallen upon your Highneſs, and verily hoping, that you will not only equal, but alſo exceed him in virtuous Exerciſes, and Advancing all honourable Actions, and worthy Enterpriſes: I have, in like Manner, religiouſly vowed the beſt Fruits and Effects of my Endeavours unto your Highneſs's Service. And foraſmuch as that Part of the World, which we now call *America*, was, heretofore, in the Year of our Lord 1170, diſcovered, conquered, and poſſeſſed by *Madoc*, one of the Sons of *Owen Gwyneth*, Prince of *North-Wales*: I therefore, in all humble Reverence, preſent the Proſecution of this high Action unto your

* *Vide* the 230th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

gracious Patronage, principally belonging of Right unto you, being the honourable, true, and worthy Succeſſor to the Principality of *Wales*. If my Travel and Service therein ſhall perform aught worthy of your Princely Regard, I ſhall much glory thereat, and account it my happieſt Fortune, and greateſt Honour: And ſhall heartily pray unto the King of Kings, to continue in your Highneſs a pious and invincible Heart; and to give you a conquering and victorious Hand; and the Dominion of many rich and mighty Kingdoms in this World, and, in the World to come, a Crown of Glory in his eternal Kingdom.

Your Highneſs's

moſt humble devoted Servant,

Robert Harcourt.

To the Readers, Adventurers, Favourers, and Wellwillers of the Plantation in *Guiana*.

IT is the Part of valiant and noble Spirits, to apply their Endeavours to honourable and worthy Atchievements; but chiefly to frame their Actions therein by the Rule of Virtue, and accompliſh the End for which they were created, which is, in their Vocations, to ſerve and glorify God, and to do Good unto others: For the better Performance of their Duties in that Behalf, let them examine their Inclinations and Diſpoſitions in the Courſe of their Life, and what they find themſelves moſt inclined unto, to that let them ſeriouſly bend their Forces, either to cheriſh, or ſuppreſs it; to follow, or forſake it, according as it tendeth to Virtue or Vice, to Honour or Diſgrace.

As touching the Courſes of Life, inclining to the better Part, ſome Men are naturally given to be Scholars, either in Divinity, Philoſophy, or other Learning; ſome are more inclined to be Statiſts; ſome to be Soldiers, and Travellers; ſome deſire to be Citizens, and Merchants; and ſome like beſt to lead a Country Life, and follow Husbandry; and others are wholly inclined to the mechanical Trades, and Handicrafts: In all which Profeſſions, as Men are naturally addicted, more or leſs, they attain to Perfection, and may thereby accompliſh the End for which they were created. But to undertake any Profeſſion, contrary to a Man's natural Inclination, is a Loſs of Time, a Work that yieldeth no Profit, but breedeth many Inconveniences, and deſtroyeth Nature: For the mere Scholar will never be a good Statiſt, Soldier, Merchant, nor mechanical Tradeſman (yet Learning is a ſingular Help in all theſe Profeſſions) neither will the profeſſed Soldier ever attain to exquiſite Perfection in Learning, or in the other Profeſſions; ſo likewiſe of the reſt. The natural Inclination of Man may be ſomewhat reſtrained, corrected, and reformed, but is rarely and hardly altered:

Naturam expellas furca licèt, uſque recurret.

In theſe and other Profeſſions whatſoever, Men may ſo proceed in their particular Societies, that each ſeveral Company, in their proper Vocation, may be a Help, Comfort, and Support unto the reſt; and they are firmly bound, both by the Law of God and Nature, to exerciſe and follow their Profeſſions for the Benefit of others; not covetouſly ſeeking their own Gain only thereby; but charitably reſpecting firſt the Glory of God, and then the Honour

nour of their Prince, and Profit of their Country, which is the End for which they were created.

To the End, therefore, that our Countrymen of all Profeſſions in this Kingdom may be worthily induced to perform their Duties in that Kind, not only at Home in their own Country, but alſo Abroad in foreign Parts, whereſoever any of our Nation ſhall be employed, either by Diſcovery or Conqueſt, for the Reducing of unknown and barbarous People, void of all Knowledge of God, and Civil Government, to Chriſtianity, and the Subjection and Obedience of our Sovereign; and that ſuch others as want Employment, or competent Means to follow their Profeſſions, and are ſlipped aſide from virtuous Exerciſes, and honourable Enterpriſes, to idle Wantonneſs, effeminate Diſorders, and other extravagant Courſes of Life, may be recalled, reformed, and encouraged, by better Endeavours, to perform their Duties to God, their Prince, and their Country: I thought it convenient to propound unto them a worthy and memorable Enterpriſe (for the Proſecution and Accompliſhing whereof, it hath graciouſly pleaſed his Majeſty to grant me Privilege by Patent) namely, The Diſcovery and Plantation of a Part of the great, rich, and mighty Empire of Guiana; *wherein they ſhall find Variety of Employments to ſpend their Times worthily in their ſeveral Vocations; plentiful Means to ſupply all Wants and Neceſſities; and many worthy Adventures, to obtain immortal Renown and perpetual Fame.*

And foraſmuch as all Men's Actions are ſubject to Miſcenſure, and ſome, perhaps, may think the Labour loſt, which is beſtowed in this Enterpriſe, forejudging the Country, being rude, barbarous, and Heathen, to be unprofitable: I will therefore here particularly ſhew wherein our Countrymen, of the ſeveral Profeſſions before-mentioned, may profitably labour in this Work, and perform, thereby, to God a Service moſt acceptable, and regiſter their Fame to all Poſterity.

Firſt, *The Scholar in Divine Learning may worthily labour the Converſion of infinite Numbers of unbelieving People, who may be reduced to a quiet, ſober, and civil Life: The Scholar in Philoſophy, and other Learning, may do much Good by Training up of the Youth in the Knowledge of the liberal Arts, and by the Practice of his Skill in Phyſick and Surgery: The Statiſt may highly advance his Prince's Service, and his Country's Good, by giving Aid to this Action, and his diſcreet and provident Furtherance in Managing the Buſineſs thereof: The Soldier and Traveller, by bearing Arms in the Execution of this noble Enterpriſe, and by memorable Diſcoveries of ſtrange and unknown Countries and Nations, may open the Way to increaſe and enlarge the Dominion of our Sovereign: The Merchant, by aſſiſting the Plantation there, and by erecting convenient Factories for that Purpoſe, may highly increaſe the Trade of Merchandiſe, by returning thence the Riches and Commodities there found and gathered. The Countryman, that profeſſeth Husbandry and Tillage of the Earth, may alſo be ſufficiently employed for the Increaſe of Corn and Cattle, and in Planting, Gathering, and Getting as many rare and neceſſary Fruits and Proviſions, as ſhall be needful for the Life of Man. And* Laſtly, *The mechanical Tradeſman, and ſuch as exerciſe the Handicrafts, in which Company I include all Sorts of Labourers, may, by this Action of* Guiana, *highly advance their Trades and Occupations, to their own unſpeakable Profit, and Benefit of others, by their divers and ſundry Works for ſeveral Uſes, and for Perſons of all Qualities whatſoever; and may teach the People of that Country, being once converted to Chriſtianity, and brought to the Knowledge of Civil Government, ſuch ſeveral Trades, as our Experience ſhall find neceſſary for them, and convenient for us.*

Having here particularly ſhewed, wherein our Countrymen, of divers Profeſſions, may worthily follow their Vocations, and employ their Endeavours in this Action; I leave the Matter whereon they are to work, to be more fully expreſſed in the following Diſcourſe.

And, becauſe they may the better be encouraged in this Enterpriſe, by Examples of the like Nature, let us look into the Diſcoveries and Conqueſts, performed by the Spaniards, *in the* Eaſt *and* Weſt-Indies, *but chiefly in the* Weſt; *where, with a ſmall Number, and, as it were, with a Handful of Men,* Hernando Cortez, *a* Spaniard, *in the Year of our Lord* 1519, *diſcovered and conquered that great, mighty, and rich Kingdom of* New Spain, *and the City of* Mexico.

And, in the Year of our Lord 1531, *Don* Franciſco Pizarro *attempted the Conqueſt of the great Kingdom of* Peru: *He vanquiſhed* Atabalipa, *the King of that Country; conquered and ſubdued many ſpacious and rich Provinces; and, in the End, after infinite Perils and Dangers by Practice of the* Indians, *and much Variety of Fortune, by Civil Wars with his own Nation, he atchieved his Enterpriſe. The Particulars of theſe Diſcoveries and Conqueſts are more at large recounted by* Peter Martyr, *in his* Decads; *by* Benzo, *and divers other Authors, to which, for Brevity's Sake, I refer you. The Honour, theſe* Spaniards *gained by theſe Diſcoveries and Conqueſts, was doubtleſs great; but the Benefit that enſued to the Crown of* Spain, *and all the* Spaniſh *Nation thereby, was infinite beyond Expectation, as amply may appear in the Authors late mentioned, and in the Natural and Moral Hiſtory of the* Eaſt *and* Weſt-Indies, *written by* Joſepus Acoſta.

Let us alſo note the wonderful Works of God in thoſe Countries, and his great Mercy thereby ſhewed to the Indians, *who, by their continual Converſation with Chriſtians, are reduced, from their abominable Life and cruel Manners, to the Knowledge of God, and from their former Infidelity, to the Fruition of the Holy Ghoſt in Baptiſm; for, in all thoſe great Provinces conquered in* New Spain, *the People are generally converted to Chriſtianity; for, about the Year of our Lord* 1524, *there went divers learned Men into thoſe Parts, who, by learning the* Indians *Languages, and their painful Diligence in teaching and inſtructing Youth, did ſo effectually proceed in that laborious Work, that, within the Limits of many hundred Leagues, there are few or none unchriſtened. The Beginning of that Work was very difficult, by Reaſon of the Unaptneſs of the* Indians, *ſo long imbrued in cruel Sacrifices of human Blood, and abominable Idolatry, and, by the continual Malice of the Devil, rebelling againſt God, and ſtriving to maintain his own Kingdom; but, in the End, their conſtant and painful Endeavours ſo far prevailed, that the Chriſtian Religion increaſed amongſt them, to the Eſtabliſhing of many Biſhopricks in* New Spain, *beſides divers Schools of Learning. So likewiſe in* Peru, *and divers other Countries, conquered by the* Spaniards, *the Converſion of the People hath proceeded to no leſs admirable Effects.*

As touching the State of Commonwealth, they have all Sorts of Governors, and Magiſtrates, in great Honour and Reputation; Houſes of Nobility and Gentry flouriſh and increaſe amongſt them; Soldiers and Travellers are highly regarded, and worthily rewarded; Merchants and Tradeſmen proſper, and gather Wealth in extraordinary Meaſure; what ſhall I ſay more? There be few or no Profeſſions or Trades amongſt us, in theſe Parts of Chriſtendom, *but the ſame are uſed, followed, and practiſed in great Perfection, both in* New Spain, Peru, *and other Parts of the* Indies, *where the* Spaniards *have prevailed by their Conqueſts.*

By theſe memorable Examples may our Nation, being, in Valour, inferior to none other under Heaven, be moved and ſtirred up to the Undertaking of this noble Action of Guiana; *which, in Reſpect of the Climate, Fertility of the Soil, and tractable Diſpoſition of the People (whereof, in the following Diſcourſe, I have ſpoken more at large, doth aſſure us, that, with God's Favour and Aſſiſtance, as great Effects may be wrought in the Converſion of theſe Nations, and as great Benefit and Commodity may ariſe to the Realm and*

Crown

Crown of England, *both in general and particular, as ever was performed or obtained by the* Spaniſh *Nation, ſince the firſt Beginning of their Travels and Diſcoveries.*

For if they in New Spain, *and* Peru, *have Cocheneal, Anir, and Cotton-Wool; we in* Guiana *have alſo Cotton-Wool, Tobacco, Sugar-Canes, divers good Commodities for Dyers, and likewiſe, in all Likelihood, Cocheneal; and ſundry Sorts of excellent Wood for Joiners Work, and other Uſes. If they have Variety of Apothecaries Drugs, and Balſam for Phyſick and Surgery; ſo alſo have we, and thoſe that are of admirable Vertue. If they have Gold, Silver, and other Metals, Pearls, and precious Stones; ſo doubtleſs we, in Time, may have the like, having had good Teſtimony thereof already, as plainly ſhall appear hereafter, when Time better ſerveth.*

Moreover, a ſingular Advantage we have before them, to further and advance our Enterpriſe, by the peculiar Love and Affection of the People in thoſe Parts towards our Nation before all others: For, whereas the Spaniards *were conſtrained by great Labour, bloody Battles, and much Cruelty (for which they loſt their Hearts) to ſubdue the* Indians, *we, contrariwiſe, are well entertained, and friendly received by them, being willing to hold Commerce with us; whereby we have a more ſecure and ready Mean to eſtabliſh a peaceable and aſſured Commonwealth amongſt them, for the Employment of all the ſeveral Profeſſions of Men mentioned before.*

Finally, *For your better Inducement to the worthy Undertaking of this high Action, let us call to Remembrance one excellent and material Obſervation; that is, the Diſcovery of this Country of* Guiana *was heretofore attempted by Sir* Walter Raleigh, *who made an honourable Entry thereinto by the River* Oroonoko. *What he then and there diſcovered, and how great and aſſured his Hopes were of gaining to our Country ineſtimable Riches, and ſubduing to the Crown of* England *a potent Empire, was effectually and faithfully publiſhed to the World by his own Pen; which excellent Diſcourſe I wiſh you to peruſe, proceeding from ſo wiſe and judicious an Author; who, if ſome known Fortunes had not croſſed his firſt Intendments for the Proſecuting of that Enterpriſe, had, in all Likelihood, long before this Time increaſed the Honour of our Nation, by the Reputation of the moſt famous and rich Diſcovery and Conqueſt, that the World could afford.*

Let us herewithal obſerve, That, before his Time, it was often attempted by the Spaniards, *but to ſmall Effect; for, either by Misfortune of Shipwreck, Diſſenſion amongſt the moſt eminent Perſons in their Troops, Mutiny of the Soldiers, Miſtaking of the Commanders, or violent Fury of the* Indians *(who bear an inveterate and mortal Hatred againſt them) they have ever failed of their Purpoſe; whereof the ſaid Diſcourſe of Sir* Walter Raleigh *maketh particular Mention more at large.*

The continual Loſs and great Misfortunes, that have followed the Spaniards *from Time to Time, in all their Attempts of this Diſcovery and Conqueſt, for the Space almoſt of an hundred Years, and the fortunate Succeſs, that moſt happily favoured the other in his firſt Attempt thereof, may be a great Preſumption, and may give us an aſſured Hope, that the powerful Hand of God doth work for us in this Behalf, and hath reſerved the Execution of this Action for the Honour of our Nation.*

Which forcible Conſiderations gave me great Encouragement to repair the Decay of ſo worthy an Enterpriſe, not with Intent to rob him of his Honour, who firſt of all our Nation, nobly, with great Judgment and Valour gave the Onſet, but rather to do him more Honour, by Working upon his Foundation, and Proſecuting this Project according to his firſt Deſigns, which, doubtleſs, aimed at the Glory of God, his Sovereign's Service, and his Country's Good.

Hereupon, I made Trial of my Fortune in the Attempt, and have found the Succeſs ſo proſperous and hopeful (although it hath been chargeable unto me) and my Acceptance ſo free and friendly amongſt the Indians, *that it hath given, not only to myſelf, but alſo to the reſt of my Aſſociates (who, with the Love and Good-liking of the People, have lived and remained in* Guiana *for the Space of three Years) good Aſſurance of repaying the Charge paſt with treble Recompence, and a reſolved Courage to proceed in the Enterpriſe, to the Proſecution whereof we have devoted both our Subſtance and ourſelves.*

And, becauſe the Life of this Action conſiſteth in the timely Progreſs thereof, and requireth the Aſſiſtance of many Adventurers, I thought it very needful to lay before you theſe former Examples and material Conſiderations; and therewithal do recommend unto your View this following Diſcourſe, wherein I have compiled the hopeful Fruits of my painful Travels, thereby to move you to wipe away from your Eyes the cloudy, incredulous Blindneſs, that poſſeſſed our Forefathers in the Days of Henry the Seventh, *when they rejected the Offer, made by* Bartholomew Columbus, *in the Behalf of his Brother* Chriſtopher Columbus, *and thereby loſt the Fruition of thoſe ineſtimable Riches in the* Weſt-Indies, *which now we ſee poſſeſſed by the* Spaniſh *Nation; and alſo do invite and ſummon my Countrymen in general to rouſe up their Valour, to quicken and ſpur on their Endeavonrs to be Coadjutors with us in this Action both of Honour and Profit.*

And, becauſe it may be objected, to the Diſcouragement of ſuch as may have otherwiſe a Deſire to inhabit Guiana, *That the* Spaniards, *inhabiting about* Cumana, Margarita, *and* Trinidado, *may diſturb our Plantation, and endanger the Lives of thoſe that ſhall make the firſt Settlement there; I thought good to reſolve all ſuch, as have Affection to make themſelves Conquerors of that goodly Country, That from the King of* Spain's Indies *nothing can offend them; for* Guiana *being ſeated in the Head of the* Briſes, *and to the Windward of all the* Spaniſh Indies, *the Current alſo of the Sea ſetting to the Weſt, maketh it impoſſible for any Shipping to turn it up from the forenamed Places towards us. The* Spaniard, *therefore, can no Way offend us, but by a Preparation out of* Spain *itſelf; and, whenſoever he ſhall find himſelf at ſo great Leiſure, as to ſend a Fleet out of* Spain *to ſeek us out upon the ſhallow Coaſt of* Guiana, *either we ſhall fruſtrate that Attempt, by raiſing a Fort defenſible for two or three Months (for they muſt famiſh, if they ſtay longer) or elſe by ſetting ourſelves above two or three of the Overfalls of the Rivers, where one-hundred Men will defend themſelves againſt five-thouſand. But I am perſuaded, that the* Spaniards *will take great Deliberation, and be well adviſed of all enſuing Accidents, before they give any Attempt upon us; for we do not find, that they have yet attempted any Thing upon* Virginia, *which lieth in their Way Homeward from the* Weſt-Indies, *albeit there have paſſed many Years ſince the firſt Plantation there. And ſurely, if* Virginia *had not a ſharp Winter, which* Guiana *hath not (which Country of* Guiana *is bleſſed with a perpetual Summer, and a perpetual Spring) and that it had that Store of Victuals, which* Guiana *hath, it would in a ſhort Time grow to be a moſt profitable Place. But thus much I can avow truly, That from* Guiana, *without any great Labour, there may be returned, within the Year, good Store of Cotton Wool, very rich Dyes, divers Sorts of Gums, many Sorts of Feathers, all Kinds of rich Woods, Balſams, Jaſper, and Porphyry-ſtone, Wax, Honey, and Tobacco; and ſo every Year may we pay the Tranſportation, until we increaſe in People to make Sugars, and diſcover Mines.*

If the Pains paſt, beſtowed in my firſt Attempt, may taſte of your grateful Acceptance, and that I may obtain your willing Furtherance in the future, I ſhall then think my Pains well employed, and delight myſelf in labouring for your Profit; and we all ſhall gain Ho-

nour

nour and Reputation by undergoing the Burden of ſo worthy a Work, whereby our Nation ſhall be greatly inriched, the Dominion of our Sovereign much enlarged, and God's Service in thoſe Countries highly advanced.

R. H.

IN the Year of our Lord 1608, and the Twenty-third of *March*, when I had furniſhed myſelf with one Ship of fourſcore Tons, called the *Roſe*; a Pinnace of ſix and thirty Tons, called the *Patience*; and a Shallop of nine Tons, called the *Lilly*, which I built at *Dartmouth*; and had finiſhed my other Buſineſs there, and prepared all Things in Readineſs to begin my Voyage, the Wind reaſonably ſerving, I then embarked my Company, as followeth:

In the *Roſe*, I was accompanied with Captain *Edward Fiſher*, Captain *Edward Harvey*, Maſter *Edward Gifford*, and my Couſin *Thomas Harcourt*: And, beſides them, I had, of Gentlemen and others, one and thirty Landmen, two *Indians*, and three and twenty Mariners and Sailors.

In the *Patience*, my Brother Captain *Michael Harcourt* had with him, of Gentlemen and others, twenty Landmen, and eleven Mariners and Sailors.

In the *Lilly*, *Jaſper Lilly*, the Maſter, had one Landman, and two Sailors: So that my juſt Number, too great for ſo few Ships of no greater Burden, was in all fourſcore and ſeventeen, whereof threeſcore were Landmen.

Being thus embarked, we ſet Sail from the Range at *Dartmouth* the ſaid Twenty-third of *March*; but the Wind, altering upon a ſudden, put us back again that Evening; and about Two o'Clock the next Morning, it coming better for us, we weighed Anchor, and put to Sea: The Evening following we loſt Sight of the *Lizard*, and ſteered away for the *Canaries*.

Upon *Saturday*, the Firſt of *April*, 1609, towards the Evening, the Wind increaſed, and grew ſo violent, that my Shallop, which we towed in a Cablet by reaſon of the foul Weather, was that Night ſeparated from us; for, by the Rage and Fury of the Wind and Sea, the Cablet broke in ſunder, and the little Barque was in great Danger to be caſt away; but it pleaſed God to preſerve her, for the next Morning we deſcried her to Leeward of us, contrary to our Expectation, having given her for loſt.

Then holding on our Courſe, the ſeventh Day we fell with *Alegranza* and *Lancerote*, two Iſlands of the *Canaries*: We ſtood in with *Alegranza*, and came to Anchor on the South-weſt Side thereof; that Evening and the next Day I landed my Company, to exerciſe their Limbs on Shore: In this Iſland we found no Inhabitants, nor freſh Water, neither fruitful Tree, Plant, Herb, Graſs, nor any Thing growing that was good, only an Abundance of unwholſome Sea-fowl, which, after one Meal, were unſavoury and diſtaſteful; and a few wild Caprito's, or wild Goats, which the craggy Rocks defended from our Hands, and hungry Mouths.

The Eighth of *April* we departed from *Alegranza*, and directed our Courſe for *Teneriffe*, another of the Iſlands. The eleventh Day I ſent the Pinnace and the Shallop to water at the *Calmes*, and there to attend my Comeing; but with my Ship I held my Courſe for *Orotava*, a Town on the other Side of the Iſland, in Hope to get ſome Wine amongſt the Merchants there; but not being able, by reaſon of a contrary Wind, to double *Punta de Nega*, we altered our Courſe from Wine to Water; and the twelfth Day we paſſed by *Santa Cruz*, and watered that Evening at the *Calmes*.

This Water-place is very convenient for all ſuch as paſs by thoſe Iſlands, and is thus to be found: There is a wooden Croſs near unto it, the high Pike of *Teneriffe* beareth due North from it. There is alſo a Ledge of Rocks to the Eaſtward of the Landing-place, which is a ſhort ſandy Bay: When you are landed, you ſhall find the Place about forty or fifty Yards from the Sea-ſide.

The next Day we met again with the Pinnace and the Shallop, who, miſſing of the right Place, had not yet watered, wherefore we ſtood back again to guide them to it; but the Wind, preventing us, forced them to ſeek for Water elſewhere; which, with ſome Difficulty, they obtained upon the fifteenth Day in the Morning.

Then we ſtood on our Courſe for the River of *Wiapoco* in *Guiana*, having a proſperous Wind, fair

fair Weather, and a ſmooth Sea. The ninth Day of *May*, we fell into the Current of the great and famous River of *Amazones*, which putteth out into the Sea ſuch a violent and mighty Stream of freſh Water, that, being thirty Leagues from Land, we drunk thereof, and found it as freſh and good as in a Spring or Pool.

This River, for the great and wonderful Breadth, containing at the Mouth near ſixty Leagues, is rightly termed by *Joſephus Acoſta* the Empreſs and Queen of all Floods: And by *Hieronymus Girava Tarraconenſis* it is ſaid to be the greateſt not only of all *India*, but alſo of the whole World; and for the Greatneſs is called of many *the ſweet Sea:* It riſeth and floweth from the Mountains of *Peru*, and draweth out its Streams in many Windings and Turnings under the Equinoctial, for the Space of one thouſand and five-hundred Leagues and more: Although from its Fountains and Springs unto the Sea it is but ſix-hundred. When we entered into the aforeſaid Current, we ſounded, and had forty-four Fathom Water, ſand, Sounding. The tenth Day, the Colour of the Water changed, and became muddy, whitiſh, and thick; then we ſounded again at Twelve of the Clock at Noon, and had thirteen Fathom; and ſeventeen at Four in the Afternoon. The eleventh Day at Eight of the Clock in the Morning, we made Land, the uttermoſt Point thereof bearing Weſt from us, and came to Anchor in five Fathom Water.

At Night the *Patience*, putting in too near the Shore, came to Anchor in two half Fathom Water upon the Flood, which fell from her upon the Ebb, and left her upon the Ooze, and the next Flood, coming in, did ſo ſhake and beat her againſt the Ground, that, before ſhe could get off, her Rudder was beaten away, and her Ribs ſo rent and craſed, that, if Almighty God had not preſerved her, ſhe ſhe had been wrecked: But, God be thanked, with much ado ſhe came off into deeper Water, and mended her Rudder, as well as the Time and Place would afford Means. Then we followed on our Courſe, coaſting along to the North-north-weſt, the Land ſo trending. It is very ſhoal all along this Coaſt, the Ground ſoft Ooze, but no Danger to be feared, keeping our Ship in five Fathom Water.

When we came to the Latitude of two Degrees and a half, we anchored in a goodly Bay, by certain Iſlands, called *Carripapoory*; I did at that Time forbear to make a particular Diſcovery of this Coaſt, intending, if God ſpare me Life, to make a perfect Diſcovery of the famous River of *Amazones*, and of its ſeveral Branches, and Countries bordering upon it, and of all this Tract of Land from the *Amazones*, unto the River of *Wiapoco*, which containeth many godly Provinces, and Signiories, which are, in this Diſcourſe, but briefly mentioned: For at this Time I purpoſed only to proſecute my firſt Project, which haſtened me unto another Place.

From hence I ſtood along the Coaſt, and, the Seventeenth of *May*, I came to Anchor in the Bay of *Wiapoco* where the *Indians* came off unto us in two or three Canoes, as well to learn of what Nation we were, as alſo to trade with us, who, underſtanding that we were *Engliſhmen* boldly came on Board us; one of them could ſpeak our Language well, and was known to ſome of my Company to be an *Indian*, that ſome Time had been in *England*, and ſerved Sir *John Gilbert* many Years: They brought with them ſuch Dainties as their Country yieldeth; as Hens, Fiſh, Pinas, Plantanes, Potatoes, Bread of *Caſſia*, and ſuch like Cates, which were heartily welcome to my hungry Company: In Recompence whereof, I gave them Knives, Beads, Jews Trumps, and ſuch Toys, which well contented them. But when I had a while entertained them, and made known unto them the Return of the *Indian Martin* their Countryman, whom I brought with me out of *England*, they ſeemed exceeding joyful, ſuppoſing that he had been dead, it being above four Years ſince he departed from them.

The *Indian* before mentioned to have ſerved Sir *John Gilbert*, whoſe Name was *John*, whilſt he lived, for he is now dead, and died a Chriſtian, was a great Help unto us, becauſe he ſpoke our Language much better than either of thoſe that I brought with me, and was ever firm and faithful to us, until his Death. By him I underſtood that their Town was ſituate upon the Eaſt Side of the Hill in the Mouth of *Wiapoco*, and was called *Caripo*; that the *Indian Martin* was Lord thereof, and that in his Abſence his Brother was chief. Moreover, he certified me that the principal *Indian* of that River was called *Caraſana*, who, by good Fortune, was then at *Caripo*, and ſo, having ſpent ſome Time in other Conference and friendly Entertainment, they took their Leave, and departed for that Time. I ſent one of my Company

Company with them to give Notice to *Caraſana*, and the reſt of the *Indians* of *Caripo*, that I had brought Home their Countryman *Martin*, whom they all thought to be dead, and another of their Nation alſo, who had Kindred and Friends amongſt them: To deſire him to come aboard my Ship, and to bring with him the principal *Indians* of *Caripo*, that I might declare unto them the Cauſe of my Coming into their Country, and conſer with them of other Matters intended for their Good. The next Day I came into the River of *Wiapoco*, and anchored over-againſt the *Sandy Bay*.

The Day following the *Indians* came aboard as I had deſired, and brought us good Store of their Country Proviſion: *Caraſana* and one or two more of them were attired in old Clothes, which they had gotten of certain *Engliſhmen*, who (by the Direction of Sir *Walter Raleigh*) had traded there the Year before; the reſt were all naked both Men and Women; and this I obſerved amongſt them, that although the better Sort of Men, eſpecially the *Yaios*, do cover their Privities, by wearing over them a little Piece of Cotton Cloth prettily woven after their Manner; yet did I never ſee any of their Women covered in any Part, either above or beneath the Waiſt, albeit they daily converſed amongſt us, but were all, as the plain Proverb is, even ſtark Belly naked.

At their Coming aboard my Ship, firſt *Caraſana* as the Principal among them, and after him the reſt, ſaluted and welcomed us after their rude Manner. I uſed them with all Courteſy, and entertained them as well as the ſtreight Room would give me Leave, giving them good Store of *Aqua Vitæ*, which they love exceedingly: I preſented to their View their two Countrymen, *Martin* the Lord of their Town, and *Anibony Canabre*, who was a Chriſtian, and had lived in *England* fourteen Years, both which I had brought Home unto them: When they beheld them, and after Salutations, and ſome Conference, knew to be the ſame Perſons, whom they ſuppoſed had been long ſince dead, they expreſſed much Joy and Contentment: And underſtanding, from their own Mouths, how well I had uſed them, they ſeemed to be better pleaſed with our Coming: And, when their rude Salutations to their new come Countrymen were ended, I took them a-part, and thus declared the Cauſe of my Coming.

Firſt I brought to their Remembrance the Exploits performed by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in their Country, in the Reign of our late Sovereign Queen *Eliſabeth*, when, to free them from Servitude, he moſt worthily vanquiſhed the *Spaniards* at *Trinidado*: Burned their Town: Took their Governor *Don Anthonio de Berreo* Priſoner; delivered five of the *Indian* Kings impriſoned, and bound by the Neck with Collars of Iron; and with great Labour and Peril diſcovered the River of *Oroonoko*, and the Countries adjoining, as far as the Province of *Aromaya*, the Country of *Topiawary*, and the River of *Caroly* beyond it. And that their Countrymen called the *Oroonokoponi*, who are the Borderers of *Oroonoko*, did then moſt willingly ſubmit and render themſelves under the Subjection of the late Queen; all which they well remembered, and ſaid, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* promiſed to have returned again unto them long ſince.

Then I excuſed his not Returning according to his Promiſe, by Reaſon of other Employments of great Importance impoſed upon him by the late Queen: Shewing them, moreover, that, when he could not, for that Cauſe, return himſelf, he ſent Captain *Keymis* to viſit them, and to bring him true Intelligence of their Eſtate, ſuppoſing that he had left no *Spaniards* behind him at *Trinidado* of Power to moleſt them, to the End that Relief and Aid might be prepared for them, according to their Neceſſities, and Oppreſſion of their Enemies. Then I told them of the Death of the late Queen, whereby that Buſineſs of theirs was again hindered.

Moreover, I declared unto them, that our gracious Sovereign Lord King *James*, who now reigneth over us (being the only right and lawful Heir, and Succeſſor to the Crown and Dignity of the Realm of *England*, after the Death of the late Queen) was throughout the whole Land proclaimed King of *England*; and, ſo coming to reign over us, hath been ever ſince buſied in ordering the State and Affairs of the Kingdom, which being, by his great Wiſdom, ſettled in Tranquillity and Peace, he, like a good, gracious, and worthy King, doth now permit his Subjects to travel abroad into foreign Countries and Nations, to aid and aſſiſt all ſuch as are unjuſtly moleſted by their Enemies. Whereupon I, and the reſt of theſe worthy Gentlemen my Aſſociates and Friends, having Intelligence by ſome that had been Followers of Captain *Charles Lee* (who was a Man well known amongſt them, and heretofore had taken Poſſeſſion of their Country to his

Majeſty's Uſe, and was planted divers Years in *Wiapoco*, where he lieth buried) of the great Variance and Diſcord depending between them the allied Nations, the *Yaios*, *Arwaccas*, *Sappaios*, and *Paragontos*, and their Enemies the *Caribbees* (all inhabiting between the Rivers of *Amazones* and *Deſſequebe*) have made a long and dangerous Voyage in thoſe Parts, to appeaſe their Diſſenſions, and defend them againſt the *Caribbees*, or other Enemies that ſhall moleſt or oppreſs them: And, now being there arrived, do intend to make Search in thoſe Countries for convenient Places, where ſuch of our Nation, as ſhall hereafter come to defend them, may be fitly ſeated to dwell amongſt them; that, if any of thoſe Nations ſhall attempt at any Time to diſturb the quiet Living of their Neighbours, they may have Store of *Engliſh* Friends at Hand and amongſt them, that will not ſpare their Pains to appeaſe their Diſcords, nor their Lives to defend them from Harm.

When I had thus declared unto them the Cauſe of my Coming, they made this Anſwer: That with our Coming they were well pleaſed, but our Number of Men they thought too great; that they wanted Means to provide us Bread ſufficient for them all, having but a ſmall Town, few Gardens, and ſlender Proviſions for their own Companies, becauſe, ſince Captain *Lee*'s Death and his Men's Departure from them, they never made Proviſion for any Strangers.

I replied, that albeit their Town was ſmall, and their Gardens few (for the Grounds wherein they plant their *Caſſaui*, whereof they make their Bread, they call their Gardens) yet their Country was full of Inhabitants, and had Store of Gardens to ſupply our Wants of Bread, and was plentifully ſtored with other Proviſions ſufficient for a greater Number; which I deſired might be weekly brought unto us, as Need required, for that I meant not to take it without Recompence, but would give them for it ſuch Commodities as ſhould well pleaſe them, which they wanted: As Axes, Hatchets, Knives, Beads, Looking-glaſſes, *Jews* Trumps, and ſuch like Things wherein they moſt delight.

Then they deſired to conſult among themſelves, which I permitted, and expected their Anſwer above two Hours; which Time they ſpent in debating the Matter after their Manner, and drinking *Aqua Vitæ*, and in the End deſired my Preſence, and made me this Anſwer:

That they were contented and well pleaſed we ſhould live amongſt them; that they would furniſh us with Houſes to lodge in, and provide all Neceſſaries for us in the beſt Manner they could. But whereas I ſaid our King would permit his People to live and abide amongſt them, and defend them againſt their Enemies; they anſwered, it was a Thing they greatly deſired, and had expected long, and now they made much Doubt thereof, and ſaid they were but Words, having heretofore been promiſed the like, but nothing performed. To reſolve that Doubt, and make good my Speeches, I told them that what I had ſpoken ſhould certainly be performed, and to that End I would leave my Brother in their Country, and ſome of my Company with him, to dwell amongſt them, until a greater Supply might be ſent from *England* for their better Defence. Then they ſeemed to give Credit to my Words: And ſo after much Talk, and many Compliments to pleaſe the naked People, I gave to *Caraſana* a Sword, and to the reſt ſome other Things, which pleaſed them well: And then, after their Manner taking their Leave, they departed. The next Day the *Indian Martin* went aſhore, and ſeemed joyful that he had again recovered his own Home.

The Day following, I took Land, with my Companies in Arms and Colours diſplayed, and went up unto the Town, where I found all the Women and Children ſtanding at their Doors, to behold us. The principal *Indians* came out unto me, and invited me into the Captain's Houſe, which until the Return of *Martin* belonged unto his Brother, as chief Lord in his Abſence: I went up with them, and was friendly feaſted with many Kinds of their Country Cates; when I had well eaten, and refreſhed myſelf, *Martin* took me by the Hand and ſaid, That he had not any Thing wherewith to requite my Kindneſs towards him, in ſuch Manner, as he deſired; neither had he ſuch delicate Fare, and good Lodging for us, as in *England* heretofore we had been uſed unto; but humbly intreated me to accept of his Houſe in good Part for myſelf, and the Gentlemen of my Company, and the reſt ſhould be lodged in other *Indian* Houſes adjoining; and that ſuch Proviſions, as the Country yielded, ſhould be provided for us. His Speech was approved by the reſt of the *Indians* preſent, who took me by the Hand,

one after another, and after their Manner bad me welcome. I gave them many Thanks, and ſome Rewards for their kind Entertainment; and then diſpoſed my Company in convenient Lodgings: But yet I kept a continual Guard, as in Time of War.

When I had thus ſettled my Company, at this Village, I went out to view the Situation of the Place, and the Advantages for Defence thereof. It is a great rocky Mountain, not acceſſible by Reaſon of faſt Woods, and ſteep Rocks, but only in certain Places, which are narrow Foot-paths, very ſteep and eaſy to be defended; whereby we were lodged as in a Fort, and moſt conveniently, in Reſpect the Harbour was ſo near, for our Ships did ride at Anchor underneath us, over-againſt the Foot of the Hill.

Being thus arrived on the Coaſt, I found the Time of the Year ſo unſeaſonable for our Purpoſe, that (by Reaſon of continual Rains) we were conſtrained to lie ſtill, and do Nothing for the Space of three Weeks, or a Month; in which idle Time, I conferred with the *Indians*, ſometimes with one, ſometimes with another; and by Help of my *Indian Anthony Canabre*, and the *Indian John*, abovementioned, whom I uſed for my Interpreters, I gathered from them, as well as I could, the State of their Country; the Manner of their Government and Living; how they ſtood with their Neighbours in Terms of Peace and War; and of what Power and Strength they were. I inquired alſo of the Seaſons of the Year in thoſe Parts; of their Diviſion, and Account of Times, and Numbers; of the Proviſions of their Country for Victuals, and other Neceſſaries; and made a diligent Inquiry of all the Commodities their Country yieldeth, and what Things were of moſt Eſtimation amongſt them; all which I have briefly declared unto your Highneſs, in this following Diſcourſe.

This goodly Country, and ſpacious Empire, is, on the North Part, bounded with the Sea, and the great River of *Oroonoko*, wherein Sir *Walter Raleigh* performed his worthy and memorable Diſcovery; on the Eaſt and South Parts, with the famous River of *Amazones*; and on the Weſt Part, with the Mountains of *Peru*.

The Weſtermoſt Branch of the River of *Amazones*, that falleth into the Sea, is called *Arrapoco*, upon which River, are ſeated many goodly Signiories, well deſerving a particular Diſcovery, which ſhall, by God's Permiſſion, be performed hereafter. To the North of *Arrapoco*, is the River of *Arrawary*, which is a goodly River, diſcovering a gallant Country. From *Arrawary*, unto the River of *Caſſipurogh* extendeth the Province of *Arricary*, containing the Signiories of *Arrawary*, *Maicary*, and *Cooſhebery*: Of which *Anakivry* is Principal, who, by Nation, is a *Yaio*, and fled from the Borders of *Oroonoko*, for Fear of the *Spaniards*, to whom he is a mortal Enemy. He hath ſeated himſelf in the Province of *Arricary*, and now dwelleth at *Morooga*, in the Signiory of *Maicary*: To the North-Northweſt of which, there falleth into the Sea a River, called *Conawini*, whereupon the Signiory of *Cooſhebery* bordereth; whereof an *Indian*, named *Leonard Ragapo*, is Chief, under the Subjection of *Anakivry*. This *Indian* is chriſtened, and hath been heretofore in *England*, with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to whom he beareth great Affection; he can a little underſtand and ſpeak our Language, and loveth our Nation, with all his Heart. During my Abode at *Wiapoco*, having Intelligence of him, and of his Country, and that certain Stones were found therein, ſuppoſed to be Diamonds: I ſent my Couſin Captain *Fiſher*, to diſcover the ſame, and to fetch ſome of thoſe Stones, to be reſolved of the Truth.

As to his Coming thither, *Leonard* entertained him with all Kindneſs, not after the ordinary rude Manner of the *Indians*, but in more civil Faſhion; and, with much Reſpect and Love, he furniſhed him with Guides, to conduct him through the Country to the Place where the Stones were found, being fifty Miles Southward up into the Land; beyond which Place there is an high Mountain appearing in Sight, called *Cowob*, and on the Top thereof (as the *Indians* report) a great Lake or Pool, full of excellent Fiſh of divers Kinds. The Country was as pleaſant and delightful as ever any Man beheld; but the Stones not Diamonds, yet they were Topaz's, which being well cut, and ſet in Gold by a cunning Workman, do make as fair a Shew, and give as good a Luſtre as any Diamond whatſoever, which yield good Hopes of better to be found hereafter; for where the Topaz is found on the Mountains of *Tenaſeren*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, the greateſt Store of Diamonds are alſo found.

When my Kinſman returned, Captain *Leonard* came with him to *Wiapoco*, (being above

an hundred Miles from his own Country) only to viſit me and my Company, for the great Love he did bear to Sir *Walter Raleigh* and our Nation. I much marvelled to ſee him, for aſſuredly he is the braveſt *Indian* of all thoſe Parts.

After he had been with me a Day or two, he earneſtly requeſted me to ſend ſome of my Company into his Country, which he greatly commended for the wholſome Air, and Plenty of Victuals, alledging, that the Place where then we lived, by his own Experience, was very unhealthful; that our Men would there be ſubject to Sickneſs, and die; and, for an Inſtance, he named Captain *Lee*, and his Company, who formerly were planted there, and almoſt all died by Sickneſs in the ſame Place: But he aſſured me, that his own Country, *Cooſhebery*, was of a good Air, pleaſant, and healthful; that there they might have Room ſufficient to build *Engliſh* Houſes in (for thoſe were the Words he uſed) that thither they ſhould be welcome, and ſhould want nothing. Much he perſuaded to draw me to his Deſire, which, by his Importunity, I granted, and, accordingly performed it, finding his Country anſwerable to his Report, being, for the moſt Part, Champian Ground, naturally intermixed with plain Fields, fruitful Meadows, and goodly Woods, in ſuch admirable Order, as if they had been planted artificially, by handy Labour: The Fields appearing above the Meadows, in pleaſant and delightful Manner, preſenting here and there unto the Eye, from ſtately Mounts, moſt beautiful and lively Proſpects; the Meadows bordering on every Side, between the Fields and Woods; the Woods growing in the loweſt Vallies betwixt the Meadows, and commonly watered with ſweet and pleaſant freſh Streams running through them; which ſtrange and rare Mixture of Mounts, Vallies, Meadows, Fields, and Meadows, affords as excellent and healthful Habitations as can be wiſhed or deſired, but is not greatly peopled.

From the River *Caſſipurogh*, North-weſtward to the River of *Arratow*, and up further into the Land towards the Weſt and South-weſt, as far as the River of *Arwy*, which falleth into *Wiapoco*, above the Overfalls, extend the Provinces of *Arracoory*, and *Morrownia*, which alſo to the Landward, by the Relation of my Brother-Captain, *Michael Harcourt*, and Captain *Harvey*, who have travelled and diſcovered thoſe Parts, are pleaſant and delightful plain Countries, like unto *Cooſhebery*. The *Arracoory* Country is well peopled, and their chief Captain is called *Ipero*. Betwixt the *Wiapocoories* and *Arracoories* there is no hearty Love and Friendſhip, yet in outward Shew they hold good Quarter. In *Morrownia* there is alſo Store of People, which are friendly *Indians*. In that Province there is a very high Hill, called *Callipuny*, faſhioned like a Sugar-loaf, or a Pyramid, which overvieweth and diſcovereth all the Territories adjoining above an hundred Miles.

Beyond the Country of *Morrownia*, to the Southward, bordering the River of *Arwy*, is the Province of *Norrak*; the People thereof are *Caribbees*, and Enemies both to the *Morrowines*, the Inhabitants of *Morrownia*, and to the *Wiapocoories*, who are alſo under the Subjection of *Anakivry*, the Principal, and greateſt Lord, or *Caſſique*, of all the *Yaios* in thoſe Provinces, bordering upon the Sea betwixt the *Amazones* South-Eaſtward, and *Deſſequeba* North-Weſtward.

From the River of *Amazones* to the Bay of *Wiapoco*, there fall into the Sea theſe Rivers following: *Arrapoco*, a Branch of *Amazones*, *Arrawary*, *Micary*, *Conawini*, and *Caſſipurogh*: In the Bay of *Wiapoco*, to the Eaſt of the ſaid River falleth into the Sea the River of *Arracow*, and into *Arracow* falleth the River of *Watts*. To the North of *Wiapoco* there is a ſmall Creek called *Wianary*, which letteth in the Sea a Day's Journey, Weſtward, up into the Land: Some take this Creek to be a River, but they do err in that Opinion, it having neither Spring nor Fountain from whence it falleth. To the North and North-weſt of the ſaid Creek there is a Ridge of high Mountains running towards the River of *Apurwaca*, the Soil whereof is excellent and fertile for Tobacco, and beareth the beſt of all thoſe Parts; ſo are the Sugar-canes, growing there, the beſt and faireſt that are found upon the Coaſt; and all the Tract of Land, betwixt the Rivers of *Wiapoco* and *Apurwaca*, is accounted the Province of *Wiapocoory*, containing the Signories of *Wiapoco* and *Wianary*. Beneath the Overfalls in *Wiapoco*, which are forty Miles diſtant from the Sea, there is much People, both of *Yaios* and *Arwaccas*: Of the *Yaios* in this River, *Caraſana* is Chief. Of the *Arwaccas*

waccas Arriquona is Principal. In *Wianary* there are few *Indians*, and *Caſuring* is their Chieftain.

To the North-weſt of the Bay of *Wiapoco*, there fall into the Sea the Rivers of *Apurwaca*, *Cowo*, *Wio*, and *Caiane*. *Apurwaca* is a goodly River, and well inhabited; *Cowo* is void of Inhabitants; *Wio* is a fair River, and leadeth many Days Journey into the high Land, and diſcovereth a fertile and hopeful Country. At *Caiane* there is an excellent Harbour for Shipping of any Burden, which heretofore by Captain *Laurence Keymis* was called *Port Howard:* On the Starboard-ſide, as you enter this Harbour, there is an Iſland of low Land, called *Muccumbro*, ſituate betwixt the Rivers of *Caiane* and *Meccoria*, containing in Circuit about ſixteen Leagues. In this Iſland there are two Hills, the one called *Muccumbro*, whereof the Iſland taketh the Name; the other *Cillicedemo:* From theſe Hills the greateſt Part of the Iſland may be overviewed, which containeth many goodly Paſtures and Meadows, intermixed with ſome Woods, and is full of Deer, both red and fallow.

On the Larboard-ſide, as you enter *Caiane*, there is another Iſland of high Land, called *Mattoory*, in Quantity much like unto the firſt; this Iſland, for the commodious Situation, is of great Effect for the Defence of the Harbour, affording naturally two ſuch notable convenient Places for the Planting of Ordnance for that Purpoſe, as no Induſtry of Art could deviſe better, or more available.

The Inhabitants of this Province of *Caiane* are *Caribbees*; their principal Commander is called *Arrawicary*, who dwelleth at *Cillicedemo*, before-mentioned: We have found him truſty and faithful to our Nation, but to our Friend *Leonard* of *Cooſhebery* he is a mortal Enemy. At this Man's Houſe I left four or five of my Company, thereby to hold Amity and Friendſhip with the *Caribbees*, to learn their Language, and to keep Peace between them and the *Yaios*, *Arwaccas*, and other Nations, their Allies.

To the South-weſtward of theſe Provinces above-mentioned, towards the high Land, there are many others which hereafter ſhall be more exactly deſcribed by a ſecond Diſcovery.

Theſe Provinces and Signories to the Landward are not plentifully inhabited; the greateſt Numbers of People are ſeated near unto the Rivers, and travel, from Place to Place, in Canoes. There is no ſettled Government amongſt them, only they acknowledge a Superiority, which they will obey as far as they pleaſe. In every Province or Signiory there is a chief *Caſſique*, or Captain, commanding all: So likewiſe in every Town and Village they commonly chaſtiſe Murder and Adultery by Death, which only are the Offences puniſhed amongſt them, and certain Perſons are appointed by them to execute thoſe Puniſhments. The *Indians* take Wives, over whom they are extremely jealous, and expect great Continency in them; for, if they take them in Adultery, they preſently cauſe their Brains to be beaten out. The better Sort of Perſons have every one of them two or three Wives, or more, the reſt but one, accounting him that hath moſt Wives the greateſt Man. Their Wives, eſpecially the elder Sort, are as Servants unto them, for they make their Bread and Drink, dreſs their Meat, ſerve them at Meals, and do all the other Buſineſs about the Houſe.

Theſe Provinces are peopled with divers Nations of ſeveral Languages, namely, *Yaios*, *Arwaccas*, *Sappaios*, *Paragotos*, and *Caribbees*. The *Caribbees* are the ancient Inhabitants, and the other Nations are ſuch as have been chaced away from *Trinidado*, and the Borders of *Oroonoko*. And, foraſmuch as they have united themſelves in thoſe Parts, the *Caribbees* have held them in continual Wars; but the *Yaios*, and the other Nations their Allies, are grown ſo ſtrong, that they have conſtrained the *Caribbees* of the Sea-coaſt to contract a Peace with them, yet bear no hearty Love the one Nation to the other: But, with the *Caribbees* inhabiting the Inland Parts upon the Mountains, they have as yet no Peace at all; for they do oftentimes come down upon them in great Numbers, ſpoil and burn their Houſes, kill their Men, and carry away their Women, which is the greateſt Cauſe of War and Hatred amongſt them; whereof our Men have ſeen Experience in *Cooſhebery*, where happened an Accident worth the Obſerving, which I will here declare unto your Highneſs: The *Indian*, *Leonard Ragapo*, beforementioned, is a *Yaio*, who, finding the Country of *Cooſhebery* ſlenderly inhabited, hath ſeized upon it for his own Signiory; and, at his earneſt Requeſt, I ſent four Gentlemen of my Company to remain there with him. The natural Inhabitants that dwell upon the uttermoſt Bounds

thereof,

thereof, towards the South and Weſt, are *Caribbees*, and Enemies to him, and to his Nation; for while our Men, unknown to the *Caribbees*, ſtaid at *Cooſhebery*, they aſſembled themſelves together to the Number of two-hundred, or more, and came down into his Signiory, burned and ſpoiled Houſes, roaſted one Woman, took many Priſoners, and intended to aſſault him alſo; which to prevent, he armed about fifty of his *Indians*, with their uſual Weapons, which are Bows and Arrows, long Staves ſharpened at the Point, and with Fire hardened; wooden Swords and Targets very artificially made of Wood, and painted with Beaſts and Birds; he requeſted alſo our Men to aid and aſſiſt him with their Muſquets, which I commanded them to do upon all ſuch Occaſions offered: And, ſo being all in Readineſs, *Leonard*, as their Captain, led them on to intercept his Enemies; and, as I have heard by Mr. *Henry Baldwin*, who then was preſent, and, to obſerve the Manner of their Wars, gave him Leave to command all, he bravely performed that Exploit, in good Order after their Manner, and with great Judgment and Reſolution. For, in the Front, he firſt placed our four *Engliſhmen*, by two in a Rank; next to them, two *Indians* armed with wooden Swords and Targets; then two Archers; and after them two Men with ſharpened Staves, inſtead of Pikes; and in like Manner ordered and ranked all his Company. Being thus prepared, he marched againſt the *Caribbees*, who, near at Hand, were coming in the ſame Order towards him; but when they approached, and, unexpected, perceived our *Engliſhmen* amongſt the *Yaios*, they were much amazed, and made a ſudden Stand; which *Leonard* perceiving, gueſſed rightly at the Cauſe, and inſtantly make good Uſe of that Advantage. He commanded his own Company to keep their Station; himſelf with a Sword in his Hand, which I had given him, and a Target of his own Faſhion, went boldly towards them to parley with their Captains. And, having called them out, he reproved them for Coming, as Enemies, into his Signiory, for Burning and Spoiling his Houſes, and his People; he demanded Satisfaction for the Hurt done, and Reſtitution of the Priſoners taken, and warned them forthwith to depart out of his Signiory, and deſiſt from War; which if they refuſed to fulfil, he was there ready with his Friends the *Engliſhmen* to fight with them, and revenge his Wrongs: And ſaid further, That, if in the Conflict any of the *Engliſhmen* were ſlain, or hurt, he would then fetch all the reſt from *Wiapoco*, and return to burn their Houſes, and cut them all in Pieces. Thus he boldly ſpoke, with ſuch a Courage, ſhewing alſo our Men unto them, who had their Match in Cock ready to diſcharge, that he ſtruck ſuch a Fear into them all, by Reaſon of our Men's Preſence, that they preſently agreed to Peace, performed what Conditions he required, and then departed Home with all their Company. Here may your Highneſs note the Factions among the *Indian* Nations, the Diſcipline and Order they hold in War, the Fear the *Caribbees* conceived at the Sight of our *Engliſhmen*, and the Policy of the *Indian*, *Leonard*, to take Advantage of their Fear, and make our Men his Guard, and chief Protection againſt them. Theſe Things in Time will much avail us, being well obſerved, and rightly applied according to Occaſion. But to our former Diſcourſe.

The Power and Strength of theſe Countries, being ſo thinly peopled, is not very great to withſtand the Might of Foreign Enemies; the uſual Weapons of the *Indians* are before deſcribed, ſaving that their Arrows are oftentimes poiſoned. But, ſince our Trade and Commerce with them, they have gotten a few good Swords, Muſquets, Calivers, and ſome ſmall Quantity of Shot and Powder, and have learned to handle their Pieces very orderly, and ſome of them are good Shot.

The Seaſons of the Year upon this Coaſt, and in this Climate, are divers; for in the Eaſt Parts of *Guiana*, towards the *Amazones*, the dry Weather, which we call their Summer, beginneth in *Auguſt*; and the violent Rains and tempeſtuous Winds, which we count their Winter, begin in *February*: But in the Weſtern Parts, towards *Oroonoko*, the dry Seaſon beginneth in *October*, and the Rains and Winds in *April*. There is little Difference of Heat and Cold in this Diverſity of Seaſons, being ſo near the Equinoctial, where the Day and Night are always equal, the Sun ever riſing and ſetting at Six of the Clock, or near thereabout; which Climate by the ancient Philoſophers (in reſpect of the Nearneſs of the Sun, which cauſeth exceſſive Drought and Heat) was accounted the unhabitable and burning

burning Zone: But our daily Experience doth aſſure us of their certain Miſtaking in that Point; for in thoſe Parts we find, that, when the Sun declineth furtheſt from them towards the Tropick of *Capricorn*, the Air is then cleareſt, and the Seaſon of the Year moſt dry; as in the Eaſtern Parts of *Guiana*, in *Auguſt*, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*; and, when the Sun returneth towards the Tropick of *Cancer*, then do the Rains begin, increaſe, and decreaſe, from *February* to *July*: But ſometimes they begin to fall, and the Rivers to riſe, ſwell, and overflow ſooner or later by a Month; and the Year is ſometimes more or leſs windy and wet, according to the Diſpoſition of the Heavens, and of the Planets; and as the Sun approacheth, or declineth little, or much, even ſo the Earth wanteth or aboundeth with Water and Moiſture.

The Reaſons of theſe ſtrange Diverſities from other Regions without the Tropicks, are very excellently declared by *Joſeph Acoſta* in the ſecond Book of his Natural and Moral Hiſtory of the *Indies*, to which Author I refer you for your better Satisfaction therein: But withal I muſt advertiſe you, that, when you read his firſt and ſecond Books, you have Regard to the Place where they were written, which was in *Peru*, reputed by us to be beyond the Equinoctial towards the South, or Pole Antarctick, leſt you err by miſtaking his Meaning; for in thoſe two Books, when he mentioneth any Place beyond the Equinoctial, he meaneth towards the North, or Pole Arctick. And alſo you muſt note, that this general Rule, for the Heavens Temperature, is only limited to the Region of the burning Zone, within the Tropicks.

They have no Diviſion, or Account of Times or Numbers; they only reckon by the Moons, as one, two, three, four, or five Moons; or by Days, in like Manner. Their Numbers they reckon thus, one, two, three, and ſo to ten; then they ſay ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, *&c.* And, to ſhew their Meaning more certainly, they will hold up one, two, three, or more of their Fingers, expreſſing the Numbers, ſtill making Signs as they ſpeak, the better to declare their Meaning: When they reckon twenty, they hold down both their Hands to their Feet, ſhewing all their Fingers and Toes, and, as the Number is greater, ſo will they double the Sign. When they appoint or promiſe any Thing to be done by a Time limited, they will deliver a little Bundle of Sticks, equal to the Number of Days, or Moons, that they appoint, and will themſelves keep another Bundle of the like Number; and, to obſerve their appointed Time, they will every Day, or Moon, take away a Stick, and, when they have taken away all, then they know that the Time of their Appointment is come, and will accordingly perform their Promiſe.

As touching Religion, they have none amongſt them, that I could perceive, more than a certain Obſervance of the Sun and Moon, ſuppoſing them to be alive, but uſe no religious Worſhip towards them, nor offer Sacrifice to any Thing; unleſs they uſe a Superſtition in their Drinking-Feaſts, by ſacrificing Jars of Drink: For, at the Death of any of their *Caſſiques*, Captains, or great Friends whom they eſteem, they will make a ſolemn Feaſt, their chiefeſt Proviſion being of their beſt and ſtrongeſt Drink, which they call *Parranow*, which Feaſt ſhall continue three or four Days, or as long as their Liquor laſteth, ſpending their Time in Dancing, Singing, and Drinking exceſſively; in which Vice they exceed all other Nations whatſoever, accounting him, that will be drunk firſt, the braveſt Fellow. During this Solemnity of their Drinking, ſome Woman, being neareſt of Kin unto the Party dead, doth ſtand by and cry extremely: Thus their Manner is until their Drink be ſpent, and then the Feaſt is ended. Whether they uſe any Superſtition in this Cuſtom, I know not; Time will reveal, and alſo reform it. It is moſt certain, that their *Peeaios*, as they call them, Prieſts, or Soothſayers, at ſome ſpecial Times, have Conference with the Devil, the common Deceiver of Mankind, whom they call *Wattipa*, and are by him deluded; yet, notwithſtanding their often Conference with him, they fear, and hate him much, and ſay that he is naught; and not without great Reaſon, for he will oftentimes, to their great Terror, beat them black and blue. They believe that the good *Indians*, when they die, go up, and will point towards the Heavens, which they call *Caupo*; and that the bad *Indians* go down, pointing to the Earth, which they call *Soy*. When any *Caſſique*, Captain, or Chief Man, dieth amongſt them, if he have a Slave or Priſoner taken from their Enemies, they will kill him; and,

and, if he have none ſuch, then will they kill one of his other Servants, that he may have one to attend him in the other World.

The Quality of the Land, in thoſe Countries, is of divers Kinds: By the Sea-ſide the Land is low, where the Heat would be moſt vehement, if it were not qualified and tempered by a freſh Eaſterly Wind or Breeze, moſt forcibly blowing in the Heat of the Day: In many Places this low Land is very unhealthful, and little inhabited, by reaſon of the Overflowing of the Waters: But, for the moſt Part, it hath goodly navigable Rivers, a fertile Soil, much People, and is a healthful Habitation. Upon the Mountains there is a high Land, where the Air is coldeſt: In ſome Places it is fruitful, in others not: But, generally, is full of Minerals, and Mines of Metals, and yieldeth as many as any Part either of the *Eaſt* or *Weſt-Indies*, both of the beſt, and of the baſeſt; whereof we ſhall, by God's Permiſſion, give good Teſtimony, to the Benefit of our Country, and Honour of our Nation, in Time convenient: And, in moſt Places upon the Mountains, there is found and healthful Dwelling. There is alſo a middle Sort of Land, which is of a mean Height, and is moſt temperate, healthful, fertile, and moſt inhabited of all others: It aboundeth in Meadows, Paſtures, and pleaſant Streams of freſh Water, in goodly Woods, and moſt delightful Plains, for Profit, Pleaſure, Sport, and Recreation; and alſo is not void of Minerals.

The Proviſions of this Country for Victuals are many: Firſt of the Root of a Tree called *Caſſaui*, they make their Bread, in Manner following: They grate the Root upon a Stone, and preſs out the Juice thereof, which, being raw, is Poiſon, but boiled with *Guinea* Pepper, whereof they have Abundance, it maketh an excellent and wholſome Sauce: Then they dry the grated Root, and bake it upon a Stone, as we bake our Oaten Cakes in *England*. This Bread is very excellent, much like, but far better, than our great Oaten Cakes, a Finger thick, which are uſed in the *Moorlands*, and the *Peake* in *Staffordſhire* and *Derbyſhire*.

There is a Kind of great Wheat, called *Maiz*, of ſome it is called *Guinea* Wheat; which Grain is a ſingular Proviſion in thoſe Countries, and yieldeth admirable Increaſe, even a thouſand or fifteen-hundred for one, and many Times much more: It maketh excellent Meal, or Flour for Bread; and very good Malt for Beer or Ale; and ſerveth well for ſundry other neceſſary Uſes for the Relief of Man. Of the aforeſaid *Caſſaui* Bread, and this Wheat, the *Indians* make Drink, which they call *Paſſiaw*: It will not keep long, but muſt be ſpent within four or five Days: They make another Kind of Drink of *Caſſaui*, called *Parranow*, very good and ſtrong, much like unto our beſt *March* Beer in *England*, and that Kind of Drink will keep ten Days: Many Sorts they have, which I have taſted, ſome ſtrong, ſome ſmall, ſome thick, ſome thin, but all good, being well made, as commonly they were amongſt the *Yaios* and *Arwaccas*, which are the cleanlieſt People of all thoſe Nations.

There is great Store of Honey in the Country, and although it be wild, being taken out of Trees, and Holes in the Earth, yet is it as good as any in the World; of which may be made an excellent Drink much uſed in *Wales*, called *Meath*. The Honey and the Wax are alſo good Commodities for Merchandiſe.

There are no Vines in that Country, but, the Soil being rich and fertile, and the Climate hot, if they were planted there, they would proſper exceedingly, and yield good Sacks and Canary-wines, which, in thoſe Parts, we find to be very wholeſome.

Many other neceſſary Proviſions, ſufficient for the Suſtenance of Man, do there abound in Plenty; namely, Deer of all Sorts, wild Swine in great Numbers, whereof there are two Kinds; the one ſmall, by the *Indians* called *Pockiero*, which hath the Navel in the Back; the other is called *Paingo*, and is as fair and large, as any we have in *England*. There is Store of Hares and Conies, but of a Kind far differing from ours. There are Tigers, Leopards, Ounces, Armadils; Maipuries, which are in Taſte like Beef, and will take Salt; Baremoes, or Ant-bears, which taſte like Mutton, and other ſmall Beaſts of the ſame Taſte, coloured like a Fawn; Elks, Monkies, and Marmoſites of divers Sorts, both great and ſmall; of theſe Beaſts there are innumerable, and, by Experience, we have found them all good Meat. Many other Kinds of Beaſts there are, of ſundry and ſtrange Shapes, which hereafter

ſhall

ſhall be figured in their true Proportion, according to the Life, with their Names annexed.

Of Fowls there are divers Kinds; namely, Wild-ducks Widgeons, Teals, Wild-geeſe, Herons of divers Colours, Cranes, Storks, Pheaſants, Partridges, Doves, Stock-doves, Black-birds, Curlews, God-wits, Wood-cocks, Snits, Parrots of ſundry Sorts, and many other Kinds of great and ſmall Birds of rare Colours, beſides great ravenous Fowls, and Hawks of every Kind.

Of Fiſh the Variety is great: Firſt, of Sea-fiſh; there is Sea-bream, Mullet, Soal, Scate, Thornback, the Sword-fiſh, Sturgeon, Seal; a Fiſh like unto a Salmon, but, as the Salmon is red, this is yellow; Shrimps, Lobſters, and Oiſters, which hang upon the Branches of Trees. There is a rare Fiſh, called *Caſſoorwa*, which hath in each Eye two Sights, and, as it ſwimmeth, it beareth the lower Sight within the Water, and the other above. The Ribs and Back of this Fiſh reſemble thoſe Parts of a Man, having the Ribs round, and the Back flat, with a Dent therein, as a Man hath; it is ſomewhat bigger than a Smelt, but far exceeding it for dainty Meat; and many other Sorts there are moſt excellent. Of freſh-water Fiſh, many Kinds unknown in theſe Parts, but all exceeding good and dainty; and I dare be bold to ſay, that this Country may compare with any other of the World, for the great Variety of excellent Fiſh, both of the Sea and freſh Waters. There is alſo a Sea-fiſh, which uſually cometh into the freſh Waters, eſpecially in the Winter and wet Seaſon; it is of great Eſteem amongſt us, and we account it half Fleſh, for the Blood of it is warm; it cometh up into the ſhallow Waters in the drowned Lands, and feedeth upon Graſs and Weeds: The *Indians* name it *Coiumero*, and the *Spaniards Manati*, but we call it the *Sea-cow*: In Taſte it is like Beef, will take Salt, and ſerve to victual Ships, as in our Knowledge hath been proved by our Countrymen. Of this Fiſh may be made an excellent Oil for many Purpoſes; the Fat of it is good to fry either Fiſh or Fleſh; the Hide, as I have heard, will make good Buff; and, being dried in the Sun, and kept from Wet, will ſerve for Targets and Armours againſt the *Indian* Arrows: In the wet Seaſon the Store of them is infinite; ſome of theſe Hides were heretofore brought into *England* by Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

The ſeveral Kinds of Fruits are many; the Pina, Platana, Potatoe, Medlar, Plums of divers Sorts, and Nuts of ſtrange Kinds. The Excellency of the Pina I cannot expreſs, for I dare boldly affirm, that the World affordeth not a more delicate Fruit: In Taſte it is like Strawberries, Claret-wine, and Sugar. The Platana is alſo a very good Fruit, and taſteth like an old Pippin. The Potatoe is well known. The Medlar exceedeth in Greatneſs. The Plums I cannot commend; for to eat much of them doth cauſe Fluxes, which in thoſe Countries are dangerous. The Nuts are good, being moderately eaten. Having thus, moſt excellent Prince, declared the ſeveral Sorts of Proviſions for Victuals and neceſſary Foods, it remaineth, that I now make Mention of the Variety of Commodities found in the Country for the Trade of Merchandiſe; which in a few Years, by our Pains and Induſtry, may be brought to Perfection, and ſo ſettled in thoſe Parts, that not only the Undertakers may receive Reward for their Endeavours, but our Country alſo may grow rich, by trading for the Fruits of our Labours.

The firſt and principal Commodity of Eſtimation are the Sugar-canes, whereof, in thoſe Parts, there is great Plenty; the Soil is as fertile for them, as in any other Part of the World: They do there grow to great Bigneſs in a ſhort Time; by orderly and fit Planting of them, and by Erecting convenient Works for the Boiling and Making of Sugars (which at the firſt will require ſome Charge and Expence) may be yearly returned great Benefit and Wealth: The long Experience of the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*, in *Braſil* and the Iſland of the *Canaries*, and of the *Moors* in *Barbary*, may give us certain Aſſurance and full Satisfaction thereof.

The Cotton-wool is a general Commodity, beneficial to our Merchants, and profitable to our Country, by Making of Fuſtians, and Serving for Bumbaſt and other Uſes; for Making of *Hamaccas*, which are the *Indian* Beds, moſt neceſſary in thoſe Parts; and alſo of a fine Cotton Cloth for Clothing of the People. There is a natural Hemp or Flax of great Uſe, almoſt as fine as Silk, as it may be uſed; we have now found out the beſt Uſe of it,

it, and for Making of Linnen Cloth it is moſt excellent.

There are many rare and ſingular Commodities for Dyers; of which Sort there is a red Berry, called *Annoto*, which, being rightly prepared by the *Indians*, dyeth a perfect and ſure Orange Tawny in Silk; it hath been ſold in *Holland* for twelve Shillings Sterling the Pound, and is yet of a good Price. There is another Berry, that dyeth Blue. There is alſo a Gum of a Tree, whereof I have ſeen Experience, that, in Cloth, dyeth a ſure and perfect Yellow in Grain. There are Leaves of certain Trees, which, being rightly prepared, do dye a deep Red. There is alſo a Wood, which dyeth a Purple, and is of a good Price; and another, that dyeth Yellow. There is yet another Wood, which dyeth a Purple when the Liquor is hot, and a Crimſon when the Liquor is cold. Many other notable Things there are, no Doubt, not yet known unto us, which, by our diligent Labour and Obſervation, in Time will be diſcovered and found.

The ſweet Gums, of ineſtimable Value and ſtrange Operation in Phyſick and Surgery, are innumerable; there is yellow Amber, Gummа, Lemnia, Colliman, or Carriman, Barratta, and many more, which I omit. The Colliman hath been proved by Mr. *Walter Cary* of *Wickham*, in *Buckinghamſhire*, a Gentleman of great Judgment and Practice in Phyſick, to be of ſpecial Regard, for many Purpoſes: This Gum is black and brittle, much like, in Shew, to common Pitch; if you put a little of it upon burning Coals, it filleth all the Room, with a moſt ſweet and pleaſant Savour. He further reporteth of it, that certainly, if you hold your Head over the Fume thereof, three, or four Times a Day, it cureth the Giddineſs of the Head; and is alſo a moſt excellent Comfort and Remedy, for a cold, moiſt, and rheumatick Brain: It is alſo good againſt the Reſolution, or, as the common Sort call it, the dead Palſy, whereof the Giddineſs of the Head is often a Meſſenger, and the Foreteller of that moſt pernicious Grief. It is alſo of great Uſe for the Pain, that many Women have in the lower Part of their Backs, which is very common to ſuch, as have had Children: For Remedy whereof, it is to be melted in a Pewter Veſſel, with a gentle Fire; then, with a Knife, it muſt be ſpread lightly upon a Piece of Leather, and laid warm to the Place grieved, until it come of itſelf. This Plaiſter is alſo very good for Achs, and doth greatly comfort and ſtrengthen the Sinews. Thus much hath Mr. *Cary* written and reported of it, and hath proved by his own Experience. This Gum is alſo approved to be an excellent Remedy, againſt the Gout, and of ſingular Vertue, in the Cure of Wounds.

The Barratta is a moſt Sovereign Balſam, far excelling all others yet known; which, by the ſame Gentleman's Experience, is of admirable Operation in the Cure of green Wounds; and, being burned upon Coals, is of a ſweet and odoriferous Savour.

There are many other ſweet Gums of great Uſe, for Perfumes; whereof one doth make a very rare Perfume, much like unto the Scent of ſweet Marjoram, very pleaſant and delectable.

For Phyſick, there are alſo many excellent Drugs; namely, Spikenard, Caſſia, Fiſtula, Sene; and the Earth yieldeth Bole Armoniack and Terra-Lemnia, all which are known unto us. There be other Drugs and Simples, alſo, of ſtrange and rare Vertue, in theſe Parts unknown; of which Sort there is a little green Apple, by the *Indians* called in their Language *the ſleeping Apple*, which, in Operation, is ſo violent, that one little Bit thereof doth cauſe a Man to ſleep to Death; the leaſt Drop of the Juice of it will purge, in a vehement and exceſſive Manner, as dangerouſly was proved by my Couſin *Uaton Fiſher*, who firſt found it; for, biting a little of it, for a Taſte, and finding it to burn his Mouth, in ſome Extremity, he did ſuddenly ſpit it out again; but ſome ſmall Quantity of the Juice, againſt his Will, went down into his Stomach, which, for two or three Days Space, did provoke in him an extraordinary Sleepineſs, and purged him with ſixty Stools. This Apple, for the purging Vertue, in ſo ſmall a Quantity, is like to be of good Price, and great Eſtimation, in the Practice of Phyſick; for the learned Phyſicians do well know how to correct the Sleeping Quality thereof, wherein the Danger reſteth. There is a Berry in thoſe Parts very excellent, againſt the Bloody Flux; by the *Indians*, it is called *Kellette*. The Juice of the Leaf, called *Uppee*, cureth the Wounds of the poiſoned Arrows. The Juice of the Leaf, called *Ieari*, is good againſt the Head-ach. Many other Drugs and Simples are there found, of ſingu-

lar Properties, both in Phyſick and Surgery, which if they ſhould be ſeverally deſcribed, according to their Value and Worthineſs, would contain a large Volume.

Moreover, the Tree, wherewith they take their Fiſh, is not a little to be eſteemed; but chiefly the great Goodneſs of God, therein, is highly to be praiſed and admired, who amongſt ſo many admirable Things by him created, and planted in thoſe Parts, hath vouchſafed to beſtow upon thoſe barbarous People ſo great a Benefit, and natural Help, for the preſent Getting of their Food and Suſtenance. Theſe Trees are commonly growing near unto the Places of their Habitation for their preſent Uſe; for when, at any Time, they go to fiſh, they take three or four little Sticks of this Tree, and bruiſe them upon a Stone, and then go into certain ſmall Creeks, by the Sea-ſhore, which, at High-water, are uſually full of very good Fiſh of divers Kinds, which come in with the Tide; and there they wade up and down the Water, and, between their Hands, rub thoſe ſmall bruiſed Sticks therein, which are of ſuch Vertue, that they will cauſe the Fiſh to turn up their Bellies, and lie ſtill above the Water, for a certain Time: In which Space, they preſently take as many as they pleaſe, and lade them into their Canoes, and ſo with little Labour return Home, ſufficiently provided.

There is alſo a red-ſpeckled Wood, in that Country, called *Pira timinere*, which is worth thirty or forty Pounds a Ton: It is excellent for Joiners Work; as Chairs, Stools, Bedſteads, Preſſes, Cupboards, and for Wainſcot. There are divers Kinds of Stone of great Uſe, and good Price; as Jaſper, Porphyry, and the Spleen-ſtone.

There is yet another profitable Commodity, to be reaped in *Guiana*; and that is by Tobacco, which albeit ſome diſlike, yet the Generality of Men, in this Kingdom, do with great Affection entertain it. It is not only in Requeſt, in this our Country of *England*, but alſo in *Ireland*, the *Netherlands*, in all the Eaſterly Countries, and *Germany*; and moſt of all amongſt the *Turks*, and in *Barbary*. The Price, it holdeth, is great; the Benefit, our Merchants gain thereby, is infinite; and the King's Rent, for the Cuſtom thereof, is not a little. The Tobacco that was brought into this Kingdom, in the Year of our Lord, 1610, was, at the leaſt, worth ſixty-thouſand Pounds: And ſince that Time, the Store, that yearly hath come in, was little leſs. It is planted, gathered, ſeaſoned, and made up, fit for the Merchant in a ſhort Time, and with eaſy Labour. But, when we firſt arrived in thoſe Parts, we altogether wanted the true Skill and Knowledge, how to order it, which, now of late, we happily have learned of the *Spaniards* themſelves; whereby I dare preſume to ſay, and hope to prove, within few Months, as others, alſo of ſound Judgment, and great Experience, do hold Opinion, that only this Commodity Tobacco, ſo much ſought after; and deſired, will bring as great a Benefit and Profit to the Undertakers, as even the *Spaniards* gained by the beſt and richeſt Silver Mine, in all their *Indies*, conſidering the Charge of both.

The Things, which the *Indians* deſire from us, by Way of Trade, in Exchange for the above-named Commodities, whereby we hold Society and Commerce with them, are Axes, Hatchets, Bill-hooks, Knives, all Kinds of Edge Tools, Nails, great Fiſh-hooks, Harping-irons, *Jews* Trumps, Looking-Glaſſes, blue and white Beads, Chryſtal Beads, Hats, Pins, Needles, Salt, Shirts, Bands, Linnen and Woollen Cloaths, Swords, Muſquets, Callivers, Powder and Shot; but of theſe laſt mentioned we are very ſparing, and part not with many, unleſs upon great Occaſion, by Way of Gift to ſpecial Perſons.

For theſe Toys, and ſuch like trifling Things, the *Indians* will ſell unto you any of the above-mentioned Commodities that can be gotten or prepared by them, or any Thing they have, or that their Country yieldeth; and will perform any reaſonable Labour, for them. Thus have I delivered unto your Highneſs the Particulars of the ſeveral Commodities, which hitherto we have diſcovered, and found likely to be profitable in *Guiana*, whereof Examples are remaining to be ſeen in the Hands of Mr. *Henry Hovenaer*, a *Dutchman*, who, in the Year of our Lord 1610, performed a Voyage to *Guiana*, to the Places where our Company was ſeated, and now abideth in *Thames-ſtreet*, near unto *Cole* Harbour; and I make no Doubt, that, by Continuance of Time, our painful Travels, and diligent Obſervations, we ſhall diſcover and get Knowledge of an infinite Number of others as rich, neceſſary, and beneficial as theſe already ſpoken of, or any other whatſoever, if

it pleaſe Almighty God to favour and bleſs our Proceedings.

When the Rains ceaſed, which was in *July*, I began to travel Abroad, in Search of thoſe Golden Mountains, promiſed unto us, before the Beginning of our Voyage, by one that undertook to guide us to them; which filled my Company ſo full of vain Expectations, and golden Hopes, that their inſatiable and covetous Minds, being wholly ſet thereon, could not be ſatisfied with any Thing, but only Gold. Our Guide, that vainly made thoſe great Promiſes, being come unto the wiſhed Place, to make Performance, was then poſſeſſed with a [illegible]eleſs Spirit of Ignorance; for he knew little, and could perform Nothing. What other Intelligences of Mines, already found, I had from other Men in *England*, and from the Maſter of the Ship, who had been heretofore in thoſe Parts; I found them, by Experience falſe, and Nothing true concerning Mines, that was in *England* reported unto me.

Our greedy Deſire of Gold being thus made fruſtrate, divers unconſtant Perſons of my unruly Company began to murmur, to be diſcontented, to kindle Diſcords and Diſſenſions, and to ſtir up Mutiny, even almoſt to the Confuſion and Ruin of us all; and were upon the Point to ſhake off all Obedience to their Commanders; to abandon Patience, Peace, and Unity, and wilfully to break out into all Miſchief and wretched Diſorder, only becauſe they were deceived of their golden Hopes and Expectations; but, with good Words, and comfortable Perſuaſions, I pacified them for the Time, and made them acquainted with my better Hopes conceived of the Commodities above-mentioned. I perſuaded them in general from Idleneſs, to travel Abroad, to ſearch and ſeek out amongſt the *Indians* what other Novelties they could (though Gold were wanting) whereby we might hereafter benefit ourſelves; and ſtill I employed them, ſome one Way, and ſome another, to occupy their Minds by doing ſomething, the better to prevent Diſſenſion, which commonly is bred of Idleneſs, the ſlothful Mother of all filthy Vices.

As I daily converſed amongſt the *Indians*, it chanced one Day, that one of them preſented me with a half Moon of Metal, which held ſomewhat more than a third Part Gold, the reſt Copper; another alſo gave me a little Image of the ſame Metal; and of another I bought a Plate of the ſame, which he called a *ſpread Eagle*, for an Ax. All which Things, they aſſured me, were made in the high Country of *Guiana*, which, they ſaid, did abound with Images of Gold, by them called *Carrecoory*. Theſe Things I ſhewed to my Company, to ſettle their troubled Minds, which gave much Contentment to the greater Part of them, and ſatisfied us all, that there was Gold in *Guiana*. Shortly after that my *Indian*, *Anthony Canabre*, brought me a Piece of a Rock, of white Spar, whereof the high Country is full: And if the white Spars of this Kind, which are the pureſt White of all others (for every Sort of Mine hath a Spar, and, for the moſt Part, white) be in a main Rock, they are certainly Mines of Gold, or Silver, or of both. I made Trial of a Piece of Spar, which the ſame *Indian* diſcovered unto me, and I found that it held both Gold and Silver, which, although it was in ſmall Quantity, gave me Satisfaction, that there are richer Mines in the Country to be found; but the beſt lie deeper in the Earth, and we had not Time nor Power to make Search for them.

Being thus informed, and ſufficiently reſolved of the Commodities of the Country, and well ſatisfied of the Minerals, I bent all my Endeavours to find out the fitteſt Places, and moſt convenient for our firſt Plantations: At the laſt I found out many, and ſome of ſpecial Note, which are, for many Reſpects, of great Importance; and when Time ſerveth, our Forces and Number of Men being anſwerable, I will lay them open to the Knowledge of the World: And, for Wealth, I hope they ſhall fully anſwer all Men's Expectations.

I travelled up the River of *Wiapoco*, to view the Overfalls, but, the Waters being high and ſtrong, I could not paſs them. In *Auguſt*, when they are fallen, with ſome Labour they may be paſſed. This River hath very many Overfalls, one lying a good Diſtance beyond another, even to the Head thereof. Above ſome of the firſt Falls there dwelleth an *Indian*, called *Comarian*, who is an old Man, of a free Diſpoſition; by him I learned, that, a certain Diſtance above the firſt Fall, the River *Arwy* falleth into *Wiapoco*; moreover, that, certain Days Journey beyond him, towards the high Land, upon the Borders of *Wiapoco*, there is a Nation of *Caribbees*, having great Ears of an extraordinary Bigneſs, hard

to be believed, whom he called *Maraſhewaccas:* Amongſt theſe People, as *Comarian* reporteth, there is an Idol of Stone, which they worſhip as their God; they have placed it in a Houſe made of Purpoſe, for the greater Honour of it, which they keep very clean and handſome.

This Idol is faſhioned like a Man ſitting upon his Heels, holding open his Knees, and reſting his Elbows upon them; holding up his Hands, with the Palms forward, looking upwards, and gaping with his Mouth wide open. The Meaning of this Proportion he could not declare, although he hath been many Times amongſt them, and hath often ſeen it. What other Nations were beyond theſe, he did not know, having never travelled ſo far, but he ſaith they be *Caribbees*, and alſo Enemies unto them. It ſeemeth there are many Nations of theſe great-eared People; for, in the River of *Marrawini*, I heard alſo of the like, who dwell far up, towards the high Land, as hereafter you ſhall hear, and I ſuppoſe, by the Trending of the Rivers of *Wiapoco*, and *Marrawini*, are all one People.

Upon the fourteenth Day of *Auguſt* I went unto a Mountain called *Gomeriba*, being the uttermoſt Point of Land to the Northward, in the Bay of *Wiapoco*; I found the Soil of it moſt excellent for Tobacco, Maiz, Cotton-Trees, Annoto-Trees, Vines, and for any other Thing that ſhould be planted there. When I had taken good View of the Place, and found it commodious for many Purpoſes; then, in the Preſence of Captain *Fiſher*, divers Gentlemen, and others of my Company, and of the *Indians* alſo, I took Poſſeſſion of the Land, by Turf and Twig, in the Behalf of our Sovereign Lord King *James*: I took the ſaid Poſſeſſion of a Part, in the Name of the whole Continent of *Guiana*, lying betwixt the Rivers of *Amazones* and *Orenoko*, not being actually poſſeſſed and inhabited by any other Chriſtian Prince or State; wherewith the *Indians* ſeemed to be well content and pleaſed.

In like Manner my Brother, Captain *Michael Harcourt* and Captain *Harvey* (whom I left as his Aſſociate, and he eſteemed as an inward Friend) in a notable Journey, which, to their great Honour, they performed to diſcover the River of *Arrawary*, and the Country bordering upon it, near adjoining to the River of *Amazones*, did take the like Poſſeſſion of the Land there, to his Majeſty's Uſe.

The Dangers and great Difficulties, which they in that Attempt encountered, were memorable, and ſuch, as hardly any of our Nation, in ſuch ſmall Canoes, being only ſomewhat longer, but not not ſo broad as our *Thames* Wherries, and flat-bottomed, ever overcame the like. Firſt, the Number of their own Attendants, beſides themſelves, was only one Man and a Boy: Their Troop of *Indians* ſixty Perſons: Their Journey by Sea, unto the River of *Arrawary*, was near an hundred Leagues, wherein, by the Way, they met with many dreadful Plunges, by Reaſon of a high going Sea, which breaketh upon the Flats and Shoals, eſpecially at the next great Cape to the North of *Arraway*, which, in reſpect of the Danger they paſſed there, they named *Point Perilous*. Then their Diſcovery up the River was fifty Leagues more, where they found a Nation of *Indians*, which had never ſeen White Men or Chriſtians before, and could not be drawn to any familiar Commerce or Converſation, no not ſo much as with our *Indians*, becauſe they were Strangers to them, and of another Nation. The Diſcovery of this River is of great Importance, and ſpecial Note, affording an Entrance more commodious for the Searching and Diſcovery of the inland Parts of *Guiana*, than any other River yet known upon the Coaſt, for, trending Weſtward up into the Land, it diſcovereth all the Countries and Nations to the Southward of *Arricary*, *Cooſhebery*, *Morrownia*, and *Narrack*, which I have mentioned before.

Many Weeks they ſpent in this Adventure, ſtill taking up their Lodgings in the Woods at Night. Proviſion of Meat they wanted not, for Fiſh were ever plenty, and at Hand; and the Woods yielded either Deer, Tigers, or Fowl: Their greateſt Want was of Bread and Drink, which only Defect did hinder, at that Time, the Accompliſhment of that Diſcovery. For when the *Indians* perceived their Bread to be near ſpent, and their Drink to be corrupted, they could not be perſuaded to proceed, having no Means to ſupply their Wants amongſt the *Arrawaries*, the *Indians* of that River, who would not freely trade with them upon this firſt Acquaintance, but always ſtood upon their Guard, on the other Side of the River, where they inhabited; yet they, deſiring to obtain ſome of our *Engliſh* Commodities, and make Trial of our *Indians* Friendſhip, afforded ſome ſmall Trade for their preſent Relief, during

their

their Abode in that River: So that of Force they were conſtrained to break off their Diſcovery, and haſten Homeward.

But here their Dangers ended not, for, as they returned, arriving at certain Iſlands called *Carripoary*, and, paſſing between them and the main Land, much againſt the Wills of all the *Indians*, who, knowing the Danger of the Place, and more reſpecting their Safety than their own (being themſelves all expert Swimmers) would have diſſuaded them from that Hazard; but they, being ignorant of the Peril, would needs paſs on, and at the laſt met with ſuch a Boar, as the Seamen term it, and violent Encounter of two Tides coming in, which, like two furious inraged Rams or Bulls, ruſhed together, and often retired back, to return again with greater Violence, until the one, by Force, had overborne the other; that if, next under God, the diligent Care and Pains of the *Indians* had not preſerved them, they had been there deſtroyed, and ſwallowed up by that mercileſs Boar, or Breach of Waters, which, God be thanked, they eſcaped, and returned Home in Safety.

Here may your Highneſs fitly note and obſerve two Things; the one, the aſſured Love and Fidelity of the *Indians* to our Nation, who, having in their Power, for ſix Weeks Space, four only of our Company, and two of thoſe the chiefeſt of the reſt; and, if they had been falſe and treacherouſly minded towards them, might eaſily have drowned, ſtarved, or ſlain them; yet did not only forbear to practiſe Harm againſt them, but did did alſo ſafely row their Boats, Night by Night prepare their Lodgings in the Woods, and daily uſe their Care and beſt Endeavours to diſcover and prevent all Dangers that might happen to them, and to guide them, ſerve them, and provide them Meat. Such Truſt and Faithfulneſs is rarely found amongſt ſuch barbarous Infidels, and yet we have had three Years Experience thereof. The other Thing to be obſerved here, is the Store and Plenty of Victuals in *Guiana*, where ſixty-four Perſons together in one Company, without any Proviſion of Victuals (Bread and Drink excepted) before-hand made, could travel abroad for ſix Weeks Space, moſt commonly lodging in the Woods, ſeldom in any Town or Village, and yet, in all Places whereſoever they came, could readily get Meat ſufficient for them all; which Bleſſing God hath given to *Guiana*, for the Comfort of all ſuch as ſhall be willing to be Planters there.

This, and much more, could my Brother have truly avouched, if he had lived; but, ſince his Return into *England*, it hath pleaſed God, who gave him Life, and preſerved him from many Dangers, to take him to his Mercy. But the other, Captain *Harvey*, ſurviveth, whoſe Life hath ever ſuited with a generous and worthy Spirit, profeſſing Arms, and following the Wars, who alſo is generally well known to be a Gentleman, both honeſt and of ſpotleſs Reputation; he will aver, and juſtify for Truth, what is here mentioned. But I will now return from whence I have digreſſed.

When I had, as before, taken Poſſeſſion at *Gomeribo*, in Preſence of the ſaid Parties, I delivered the Poſſeſſion of that Mountain to my *Indian*, *Anthony Canabre*, to have, hold, poſſeſs and enjoy the ſame, to him, and to his Heirs for ever, of our Sovereign Lord King *James*, his Heirs and Succeſſors, as his Subject, yielding and paying yearly the tenth Part of all Tobacco, Cotton, Wool, Annoto, and other Commodities whatſoever, which ſhould hereafter be either planted or growing within the ſaid Mountain, if it were demanded. The *Indian* moſt gladly received the Poſſeſſion upon theſe Conditions, and, for himſelf and his Poſterity, did promiſe to be true Subjects unto the King's Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors: And to pay the Duties impoſed upon them; and ſo, that Buſineſs being finiſhed, I returned again to *Wiapoco*.

Now, moſt worthy Prince, there came unto my Knowledge an Inconvenience happened by the careleſs Negligence of the Maſter of my Ship, who had the Charge of providing and laying in the Proviſions and Victuals for the Voyage, which was the Cauſe that I gained no preſent Profit by it, but left off all my Diſcoveries in the firſt Beginning. I had a Purpoſe at that Time to perform a Buſineſs, which might have proved profitable, and honourable unto us, if I had been able to have ſtaid the Time, but it was not my Chance to be ſo fortunate; for the Maſter, his Mates, and the Steward of my Ship came unto me, and told me plainly, that, if I made any longer Abode in that Country, I would never, in thoſe Ships, return into *England*, or, if I did adventure it, myſelf, and all my Company, would

would ſtarve at Sea for Want of Beer, Cyder, and Water, for all my Caſks were ſpoiled, becauſe they were not Iron-bound; the Wooden Hoops flew off, by Reaſon of the Heat of the Climate; and our Beer and Cyder, whereof we had good Store, did leak about the Ship, ſo that we could hardly ſave ſufficient to relieve us, if we made a longer Stay upon the Coaſt; which was the Maſter's Fault, having had a ſpecial Charge to be careful of that only Point. By this Default I was conſtrained to make a Virtue of a Neceſſity, and prepare myſelf for *England*, and leave my former Purpoſes to be accompliſhed hereafter, which ſhall be done, God aiding me, in Time convenient.

Then, diſpoſing of my Company, I appointed my Brother Captain *Michael Harcourt*, to remain in the Country, as chief Commander in my Abſence, and to continue the Poſſeſſion on the King's Behalf: I gave him Directions to travel abroad, as Occaſion ſerved, to diſcover the Country; to ſpend ſome Time at *Cooſhebery*, and ſome Time alſo in other Places; but to make his chiefeſt Reſidence at *Wiapoco*, the only Rendezvous for Ships that trade upon that Coaſt, and there to plant good Store of Maiz, for our Relief of Bread and Drink, which is the chiefeſt Thing to be reſpected in thoſe Parts; for other Victuals we need not take much Care, being always eaſily provided. He performed his Charge with great Reputation, diſcovered many goodly Provinces, and ſpacious Countries, and worthily continued the Poſſeſſion full three Years complete. I left with him, for his Aſſiſtance, Captain *Harvey*, above-mentioned, who hath nobly vowed his Time and Fortune to be employed in the Proſecution of this honourable Action. For his Lieutenant I appointed Mr. *Edward Gifford*, a valiant and worthy Gentleman; and I left alſo with him, of Gentlemen and others, about Twenty more, with all ſuch Neceſſaries as I could ſpare, and thought convenient for them: And ſo, commending them to God, the eighteenth Day of *Auguſt* I departed from *Wiapoco*, and the Day following arrived at *Caiane*.

At my Coming to *Caiane*, my Pinnace received a Leak, which would have proved dangerous, if we had been far at Sea; whereby forced to attend the Stopping thereof, and new Trimming of the Pinnace, and unwilling to be idle in the mean Space doing nothing, I left my Ships there to repair their Defects, and in my Ship-boat departed thence, the Twenty-third of *Auguſt*; taking with me Captain *Fiſher*, who hath ever been, ſince we firſt crept into the World, my chief Companion, both in Arms and Travels: I took alſo with me his Brother *Unton Fiſher*, Mr. *Cradle* the Maſter's Mate of my Ship, and about Six more. I followed the Coaſt to the Weſtward, ſteering due Weſt, and, paſſing by the River of *Meccooria*, I lodged that Night in the Mouth of the River *Courwo*; which hath a narrow deep Entrance, and within affordeth a good Harbour, which may, in Time to come, for ſome ſpecial Purpoſe, be of great Uſe.

The next Day and the Night following, I proceeded Weſtward with full Sail, and, paſſing the Rivers of *Manmanury*, *Sinammara*, *Ooraſſowini*, *Coonannonia*, *Vracco*, and *Amanna*, I arrived the Twenty-fifth Day at the River of *Marrawini*, which openeth a fair River, but is ſhoal upon the Bar, which lieth two or three Leagues off at Sea, having but two Fathom Water: Within the Bar, the Channel is three, four, five, and ſix Fathom deep. Five Leagues within the River we paſſed by certain Iſlands called *Curewapory*, not inhabited, for at the Riſing of the Waters they are always overflown, of which Sort the River hath very many. We lodged that Night a little beyond theſe firſt Iſlands, at a Village called *Moyemon*, on the Left Hand: The Captain thereof is called *Maperitaka*, of the Nation of the *Paragotos*, a Man very loving and faithful to our Nation, whereof we have had good Proof. The next Day we proceeded up the River three Leagues, and ſtaid at a Town called *Coewynay*, on the Right Hand, at the Houſe of *Minapa*, the chief *Carib* of that Signiory, to provide two Canoes to proſecute our Journey for the Diſcovery of this River.

The twenty-eighth Day we went forward, paſſing many Villages and Towns, which I forbear to name; and, having gone about twenty Leagues from the Sea, we found the River in a Manner barred up with Rocks, over which the Water falleth with great Violence; yet notwithſtanding we adventured to proceed, and, the further we went, the more dangerous we found the Overfalls, and more in Number: But when we had paſſed the firſt Mountain, towards the high Country of *Guiana*,

ana, called *Sapparow*, and diſcovered far off before us other high Mountains, called *Mataware Moupanana*, and had proceeded ſix Days Journey up the River, which was more than forty Leagues, we met with ſuch a ſhoal rocky Stream, and great Overfalls, that there, to our Grief, our Journey ended.

Being thus, for that Time, debarred from our intended Diſcovery, we prepared ourſelves with Patience to return towards our Ships; and the third Day of *September* we turned down the River, ſhooting the Overfalls with more Celerity than when we came up, diſpatching three Days Journey in one, and the fifth Day returned ſafe to *Moyemon*; but, before I departed thence, Captain *Fiſher* told me of certain Plants which he had then found, much like unto Roſe-trees, growing about half a Yard in Height, whereof, for the Strangeneſs of them, I cannot forbear to add a Word or two.

Theſe Plants, or little Trees, had aſſuredly the Senſe of Feeling, as plainly appeared by touching them; for, if you did but touch a Leaf of the Tree with your Finger, that Leaf would preſently ſhrink, and cloſe up itſelf, and hang down as if it were dead; and, if you did cut off a Leaf with a Pair of Sciſſers, then all the other Leaves growing upon the ſame Tree would inſtantly ſhrink and cloſe up themſelves, and hang down as if they were dead and withered, and, within half a quarter of an Hour, would by Degrees open themſelves again, and flouriſh as before; and, as often as you did either touch or cut off any of them, they would do the like; which did evidently ſhew a Reſtriction of the Spirits, invincibly arguing a Senſe. Howſoever this may ſeem ſtrange and incredible to your Highneſs, and to them that have not ſeen it, yet foraſmuch as *Scaliger* and *Bartas* make Mention of the like, I dare be bold to affirm it upon my Credit, having ſeen and ſhewed it to forty others: I gathered two of the Plants, and did ſet them in Pots in their own Earth, and carried them a-board my Ship, where I kept them fairly growing almoſt a Fortnight, until they were deſtroyed by certain Monkies that broke looſe, and pulled them in Pieces; which might have been prevented, but that I was conſtrained to ſet them in the open Air, the better to preſerve them.

The ſeventh Day I went to *Wiawia*, a great Town of *Paragatos*, and *Yaios*, four Leagues to the Weſt of *Marrawini*, whereof *Maperitaka*, abovementioned, and *Arapawaka* are chief Captains. At this Town I left my Couſin *Unton Fiſher*, and *Humphrey Croxton* an Apothecary, to bear him Company, and one Servant to attend him called *Chriſtopher Fiſher*, having firſt taken Order with *Maperitaka* for their Diet, and other Neceſſaries, both for Travel and otherwiſe; who ever ſince, according to his Promiſe, hath performed the Part of an honeſt Man, and faithful Friend.

I gave Directions to my Couſin *Fiſher* to proſecute the Diſcovery of *Marrawini*, and the inland Parts bordering upon it, when the Time of the Year, and the Waters, better ſerved; and, if it were poſſible, to go up into the high Country of *Guiana*, and to find out the City of *Manoa*, mentioned by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his Diſcovery. He followed my Directions to the uttermoſt of his Ability, being of a good Wit, and very induſtrious, and enabled to undergo thoſe Employments, by obtaining the Love, and gaining the Languages of the People, without which Helps there is little or no Good to be done in thoſe Parts.

When the Waters of *Marrawini* were riſen, and the River paſſable (much differing from the River of *Wiapoco*, which is not to be travelled, but in the loweſt Waters) he began his Journey for the Diſcovery thereof, in Company of the Apothecary, his Servant *Fiſher*, the *Indian Maperitaka*, and eighteen others, and proceeded eleven Days Journey up the River, to a Town of *Caribbees*, called *Taupuramune*, diſtant from the Sea above an hundred Leagues; but was four Days Journey ſhort of *Moreſhego*, which is alſo a Town of *Caribbees*, ſituate upon the River Side, in the Province of *Moreſhegoro*; the chief Captain thereof is called *Areminta*, who is a proud and bold *Indian*, much feared of all thoſe that dwell within his Territories, having a rough Skin like unto Buff Leather, of which Kind there are many in thoſe Parts, and I ſuppoſe proceedeth of ſome Infirmity of the Body.

He underſtood, by Relation of the *Indians* of *Taupuramune*, and alſo of *Areminta*, that, ſix Days Journey beyond *Moreſhego*, there are divers mighty Nations of *Indians*, having Holes through their Ears, Cheeks, Noſtrils, and Nether-lips, which were called *Crawcanna*, *Pawmeeanna*, *Quikeanna*, *Peewattere*, *Arameeſo*, *Acawreanno*, *Acooreo*, *Tareepeeanna*, *Corecorickado*, *Peeauncado*, *Cocoanno*, *Itſura*, and *Waremiſſo*,

Waremiſſo, and were of Strength and Stature far exceeding other *Indians*, having Bows and Arrows four Times as big: What the *Indians* alſo report of the Greatneſs of their Ears, I forbear to mention, until, by Experience, we ſhall diſcover the Truth thereof. Moreover, he learned that there fall into *Marrawini* divers great Rivers, called *Arrennee*, *Topannawin*, *Errewin*, *Cowomma*, *Poorakette*, *Arrowa*, *Arretowenne*, *Waoune*, *Anupe*, *Aunime*, and *Carapio*, whereof ſome he hath ſeen himſelf: That it was twenty Days Journey from *Taupuramune*, to the Head of *Marrawini*, which is inhabited by *Arwaccas*, *Sappaios*, *Paragotos*, and ſome *Yaios*; and that a Day's Journey from thence, to the Landward, the Country is plain, and Champaign Ground, with long Graſs. He paſſed in this Journey above eighty Overfalls of Water, and many of them very dangerous; of ſome of them I had Experience the Year before. He proceeded no further at that preſent, being unprovided for ſo long a Journey, ſuppoſing that it had been nearer, than he found it, to the Head of the River, by a Fortnight's Travel; and ſo returned back in ſix Days Space, intending better Preparation for a ſecond Journey; but his Purpoſe was prevented by an untimely Death, for, ſhortly after, he was drowned by Misfortune; whereby we ſee, that Man determineth, but God diſpoſeth.

The tenth Day of *September*, being *Sunday*, I left the Main of *Guiana*, and, in my Ship-boat, ſtood off into the Sea to ſeek my Ships, which were forced to ride four Leagues from Shore, by Reaſon of the Shoals; but, as we paſſed over them, we were in Danger to be caſt away by the Breach of a Sea, which verily had ſunk our Boat, if, with great Celerity, we had not lightened her, by heaving overboard many Baſkets of Bread, of Caſſaui, Maiz, Pinas, Platanas, Potatoes, and ſuch like Proviſion, wherewith our Boat was loaden; by which Means it pleaſed God to deliver us from preſent Deſtruction, and to bring us ſafe unto our Ships.

When I came a-board, we weighed Anchor, and ſteered away from the Iſland of *Trinidado*; and, upon the eighteenth Day in the Morning we arrived at *Punta de Galea*, where we found three *Engliſh* Ships at Anchor, which was no ſmall Comfort unto us, conſidering our great Defects and Wants. One of theſe Ships was called the *Diana*, belonging to Mr. *Lul*, a *Dutch* Merchant, dwelling in *London*; the other two, the *Penelope*, and the *Endeavour*, belonging to Mr. *Hall*, a Merchant alſo of *London*. We ſtaid at this Place ſix Days to mend our bad Caſks, and to take freſh Water, during which Time I was kindly treated and feaſted by the Merchants, and had Supply of all ſuch Things as I ſtood in Need of, which Courteſy I requited in the beſt Manner I could for the preſent.

Upon *Sunday* the Twenty-fourth of *September* we weighed Anchor; ſo likewiſe did the *Diana*, the other two Ships being gone two or three Days before us; but the Wind ſhifting to the North-Eaſt, forced us back again almoſt to the ſame Place from whence we departed. The Twenty-fifth we weighed again, and plied along the Shore towards Cape *Brea*, about three Leagues. This Cape is ſo called of the Pitch which is there gotten in the Earth, whereof there is ſuch Abundance, that all Places on this Side of the World may be ſtored therewith.

It is a moſt excellent Pitch for Trimming of Ships that paſs into theſe Regions and hot Countries, for it melteth not with the Sun as other Pitch doth.

The twenty-ſixth Day we ſtood along again, the Wind being ſtill contrary and variable, intermixed with many Calms, and ſo continued until the Second of *October*, when we arrived at *Porte de Hiſpania*.

Within two Days after our Arrival there, Don *Sanches de Mendoſo*, the Teniente for that Year, with certain other *Spaniards*, came a-board us: We gave them the beſt Entertainment that our Means, the Time, and Place would afford, and had much friendly Conference together. They told me, that they lately had a Conflict with the *Caribbees*, wherein they had loſt ſeven or eight of their Men, and had many others hurt and wounded, whereof ſome came to my Surgeon to have their Wounds dreſſed during our Abode there; and they plainly confeſſed, that they are very much moleſted by the *Caribbees*, and knew not how by any Means to ſuppreſs them.

We ſtaid at *Porte de Hiſpania* until the ſeventh Day, in Hopes to get ſome good Tobacco amongſt the *Spaniards*, who daily fed us with Delays and fair Words; but, in Truth, they had none good at that preſent for us, which we perceiving, departed thence upon the ſeventh Day, about One o'Clock in the Morning, leaving the other Ships to attend their

Trade, and ſtood away for the Paſſages called *Les ſciot boccas de Drago*, and diſembogued about Eight o'Clock the ſame Morning. Then we ſteered away for an Iſland called *Meves*, and, leaving the Iſlands of *Granado*, *St. Vincent*, *Guadalupa*, and *Montſerrat* on our Starboard-Side, we arrived there the twelfth Day, where we ſtopped to take in Ballaſt and more Water, for our Ships were very light.

In this Iſland there is an hot Bath, which, as well for the Reports that I have heard, as alſo for that I have ſeen and found by Experience, I do hold for one of the beſt and moſt ſovereign in the World. I have heard, that divers of our Nation have there been cured of the Leproſy, and that one of the ſame Perſons now, or lately, dwelled at *Woolwich* near the River of *Thames*, by whom the Truth may be known, if any Man deſire to be further ſatisfied therein. As for my own Experience, although it was not much, yet the Effects that I found it work, both in myſelf, and others of my Company, in two Days Space, do cauſe me to conceive the beſt of it: For, at my Coming thither, I was grievouſly vexed with an extreme Cough, which I much feared would turn me to great Harm; but, by Bathing in the Bath, and Drinking of the Water, I was ſpeedily cured; and, ever ſince that Time, I have found the State of my Body, I give God Thanks for it, far exceeding what it was before, in Strength and Health. Moreover, one of my Company, named *John Huntbatch*, Servant to my Brother, as he was making a Fire, burned his Hand with Gunpowder, and was in Doubt thereby to loſe the Uſe of one or two of his Fingers, which were ſhrunk up with the Fire; but he went preſently to the Bath, and waſhed and bathed his Hand, a good Space, therein, which ſoopled his Fingers in ſuch a Manner, that, with great Eaſe, he could ſtir and ſtretch them out, and the Fire was ſo waſhed out of his Hand, that within the Space of twenty-four Hours, by twice or thrice Waſhing and Bathing it, the Soreneſs thereof was cured, only the Eye-ſore, for the Time, remained. Furthermore, two or three others of my Company, having Swellings in their Legs, were, by the Bath, cured in a Day. This can I affirm and boldly juſtify, having been an Eye-Witneſs thereof.

Hence we departed the ſixteenth Day of *October* in the Afternoon, and, leaving the Iſlands of *St. Chriſtopher*, *St. Martin*, and *Anguilla* on the Starboard-Side, we diſembogued through the broken Iſlands on the North-ſide of *Anguilla*, upon St. *Luke*'s Day, where I think never *Engliſhman* diſembogued before us; for we found all our Sea Charts falſe concerning that Place, thoſe broken Iſlands being placed therein, to the Southward of *Anguilla*, between it and *St. Martin*'s, and we found them ſituate to the Northward thereof.

When we had cleared ourſelves of the broken Iſlands, we ſtood away North-Eaſt, ſhaping our Courſe the neareſt Way we could for *Flores* and *Corves*, and ſo continued with fair Weather, the Wind ſtill mending upon us until the thirtieth Day of *October*: About Twelve of the Clock that Day there began a Storm, with contrary Winds ſtill variable, which continued until Four the next Day in the Afternoon. In this Storm we loſt the Company of the Pinnace in the Night, but had Sight of her again upon the Fourth of *November* late in the Evening, and the next Day ſhe came up unto us, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon. Then the Wind came fair at Weſt, and we ſteered away Eaſt by North, and Eaſt North-Eaſt The Seventh of *November* I relieved the Pinnace with more Bread, and left her to follow after us, not being able to keep Way with us before the Wind, which then blew ſtrongly at Weſt, for I was very unwilling to loſe the Benefit of a ſpeedy Paſſage, which the Continuance of that fair Wind was like to afford us. And ſo following our Courſe, on the eleventh Day in the Morning, we had Sight of *Fayal*, one of the Iſlands of the *Terceras*, which we left on our Starboard Side, and ſteered away for *England*, the Wind continuing fair until the twenty-fourth Day; but then it changed, firſt to the Eaſt by North, and then to the Eaſt South-Eaſt, and became ſo violent and furious, that for three Days Space we were not able to bear out Sail, but did drive before the Wind at the leaſt three Leagues, a Watch out of our Courſe, and the firſt Land we made was Cape *Clear*, in the South-Weſt Part of *Ireland*, where, againſt our Wills, we arrived at *Crook Haven* the Twenty-ninth of *November*.

Our Arrival there at that preſent was happy for us, conſidering our extreme Wants, and great Neceſſities; for, of all our Store, we had remaining but one Hogſhead of Water, half a Hogſhead of Beverage (all our Beer being ſpent and waſted by Leakage) ſix Pieces of Beef, and three of Pork, which was all our Proviſion: We had neither Fiſh, Butter, Oil, Cheeſe, nor

Peaſe

Peaſe left to relieve us, whereby we had fallen into a lamentable Diſtreſs, if Almighty God had not in Time brought us unto this Harbour where we ſupplied our Wants, by the Help of Captain *Reynolds*, Commander of his Majeſty's Pinnace called the *Moon*, whom we fortunately met there altogether unexpected. But the Wind continuing contrary at the Eaſt, and like to hold ſtill in that Corner, preſaged new Wants to enſue, if a ſpeedy Remedy was not provided. To prevent the worſt, I reſolved to go by Land to *Youghall*, near unto which Place remained ſome Friends and Acquaintance of mine, by whom I might provide myſelf of Means to defray my Charge, until my Return into *England*: And therefore gave Commandment to the Maſter of my Ship to wage a Pilot, and upon the firſt Shift of Wind, if it favoured him in any Time, to bring the Ship about to *Youghall*, where I meant to abide his Coming, reſolving thence to go for *Briſtol*. And I appointed, if the Wind did hold againſt him, to ſend him Money to ſupply their Victuals, until it pleaſed God to alter it: But he regarding his own private Ends, more than my Command and Direction, upon the firſt Shift of Wind went away with my Ship, without my Knowledge, to *Dartmouth* in the Weſt Country, and left me behind in *Ireland*: Whereof as ſoon as I had Intelligence, I preſently took the Opportunity of a ſpeedy Paſſage in a Barque then ready bound for *Briſtol*, and ſo the next Morning, being the fifteenth of *December*, I departed from *Youghall*, and arrived at *Briſtol* the ſeventeenth Day.

My Pinnace, which we left at Sea to follow after us, was likewiſe by the aforeſaid Storm driven into the Weſt of *Ireland*, to a Place called *Dingen le Couſhe*: And there remained along Time Wind bound: But at the laſt, by God's Permiſſion, arrived at *Briſtol* the ſecond Day of *February*.

During the Time of my Voyage, we left but one Landman, who died in *Guiana*: And one Sailor, and an *Indian* Boy, who died at Sea in our Return; and, during the Space of theſe three Years laſt paſt ſince the Voyage, of all the Men which I left in the Country, being in Number about thirty, there died but ſix, whereof one was drowned: Another was an old Man of threeſcore Years of Age: And another took his Death by his own Diſorder; the reſt died of Sickneſs, as pleaſed God the Giver of Life; for which ſmall Loſs his holy Name be bleſſed now and ever.

Having thus, moſt noble Prince, declared the whole Courſe of my Voyage to *Guiana*, performed in the Year of our Lord 1609, I hold it needful for the better Satisfaction of the Favourers, and Well-willers of this Action, by adding of a ſpecial Note or two, and by a brief Remembrance of ſome Points mentioned in the former Diſcourſe, to expreſs the Worthineſs of the Enterpriſe, being of Importance, and not to be regarded lightly.

In every foreign Action, undertaken by the Subjects of a Chriſtian Prince, they ought to have a ſpecial Regard to three principal Ends and Deſigns: *Firſt*, That it may be for the Glory of God: *Secondly*, For the Honour of their Sovereign: *Thirdly*, For the Benefit and Profit of their Country: Which three principal Ends and Intendments if they faithfully proſecute, and labour to advance with conſtant Reſolution, they ſhall infallibly bring their Undertakings to a bleſſed, proſperous, and honourable End. And now, if it ſhall appear, that this Enterpriſe for Diſcovery and Plantation in *Guiana* is chiefly grounded upon theſe three Deſigns, I hope there is not any Man (be he never ſo malicious and full of Envy) that can with juſt Expectations ſcandaliſe it, or worthily contemn it.

Firſt, then, For the Glory of God: It hath been, and ever will be held clear and unqueſtionable, that God cannot be more honoured, nor his holy Name by any Means more glorified, than by the proſperous Growth and happy Increaſe of the Church, through the Converſion of thoſe, that are Heathen and barbarous Nations, to the Knowledge of him our true God, his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the Holy Ghoſt, the Bleſſed Individual Trinity, and to the Profeſſion and Practice of Chriſtianity; which heavenly and ever-memorable Work may, through God's good Bleſſing and Aſſiſtance (without which, indeed, all our Travel therein, and all the Labour of the World is but loſt) be eaſily effected and accompliſhed in *Guiana*, the People thereof being of a loving and tractable Nature towards the *Engliſh*, whom they love and prefer before all other Strangers whatſoever; and by whom, next under God, I verily hope, and am conſtantly perſuaded, it will be their bleſſed Hap to be freed from the Servitude of the Devil,

that now ſo tyranniſeth over them, and to be led out of that infernal Darkneſs, wherein they live, and be drawn to Chriſtianity; for they will come unto us already at the Time of Prayer, ſhew Reverence, and be very attentive all the While, although they underſtand nothing: They will be content that we baptiſe their Children, and will afterwards call them by the Chriſtian Names we give them; ſuffer us to bring them up, and in a Sort acknowledge their Ignorance, and ſhew a Kind of Willingneſs to be inſtructed and reformed.

As touching the *Second*: By what Means may our gracious Sovereign the King's Majeſty do God better Service, and honour him more, or under him be more honoured, than by obtaining and gaining the Sovereignty of ſo many great, ſpacious, and goodly Countries and Territories, not yet actually poſſeſſed and inhabited by any Chriſtian Prince or State whatſoever? Which in that Region, by the timely and worthy Undertakings of his Subjects (without Bloodſhed, and with the Love and Affection of the People) may be poſſeſſed, planted, and annexed to his Crown, as the Nations and Countries beyond, by the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, were annexed to the Crown of *Spain*: Whereby, what Honour and Benefit the *Spaniards* have gained, and to what a Degree of Greatneſs they are thereby grown, theſe Parts of the World can witneſs; and we, for our Parts, have had Trial, and might have had woeful Experience of, if our God, that always took our Parts, had not croſſed their bloody Deſigns (*Anno* 1588) and put them to Flight and Confuſion.

And, for the *Third*, Who can deny, but that our Country by this worthy Action may be inriched, through divers and ſundry Commodities of great Worth, in thoſe Parts daily found, and eaſily obtained? Which before are mentioned more at large, and therefore needleſs here to be again repeated.

And, for their further Satisfaction and greater Encouragement in this Enterpriſe, let them conſider the Nature and Diſpoſition of the Climate in this Region of *Guiana*, which, for healthful and wholeſome Air (ſome few Places only excepted) I hold, generally, to be inferior to none other under Heaven: For, notwithſtanding it be ſituate under the Equinoctial (by the ancient Philoſophers called the *Burning Zone*) yet ſuch are the wonderful Works of God for the Benefit of Man, that, contrary to their Opinion, we find by late Experience, that thoſe Regions, which were in Times paſt by them accounted uninhabitable, through Extremity of Drought and Heat, are now found out to be inhabited, temperate and healthful Countries, as plainly appeareth in divers Parts of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and eſpecially in this Country of *Guiana* (whereof I have taken Poſſeſſion to his Majeſty's Uſe) being plentifully inhabited by People of divers Nations: The Climate there is pleaſant and agreeable to our Conſtitutions, and the Soil fruitful, as before hath been declared, affording as many admirable Helps towards the Leading of an happy Life, as any known Part of the World; for whatſoever is neceſſary for the Relief of Man, either for Food, Phyſick, or Surgery, or for Clothing and Architecture, is here (by the Providence and Goodneſs of God the Creator) in plentiful Store even naturally provided.

Moreover, the good Inclination of the People towards our Nation, being willing to trade with us, and become Subjects to his Majeſty our Sovereign; their loving and gentle Entertaining of us, deſiring to have us live and abide amongſt them; and their tractable Converſation with us, not refuſing to be inſtructed in Chriſtianity, and coveting to imitate and learn any Trade or Work, that they ſee uſed or practiſed by our Men, are no ſmall Motives to perſuade the Proſecution of this Action and Plantation in *Guiana*.

Furthermore, all young Gentlemen, Soldiers, and others, that live at Home in Idleneſs, and want Employment, may here find Means to abandon and expel their ſlothful Humours, and caſt off their fruitleſs and pernicious Deſigns; and may worthily exerciſe their generous Spirits in honourable Travels, and famous Diſcoveries of many goodly and rich Territories, ſtrange and unknown Nations, and a Multitude of other Rarities hitherto unſeen and unheard of in thoſe Parts of the World; which may be thought incredible, but that our own Experience, and the general and conſtant Report and Affirmation of the *Indians*, do aſſure us thereof.

And to conclude: We may, by the gracious Aſſiſtance of our good God, gain unto our Sovereign the Dominion of a rich and mighty Empire; which, if it may be once poſſeſſed by his Majeſty, and inhabited by his *Engliſh* Subjects, will abſolutely be invincible,

to

to the unſpeakable Honour and Renown of our Nation in all After-ages.

All theſe Things reſpectively conſidered, What may be more required to move and induce all noble and worthy Diſpoſitions, loving Honour and honourable Attempts; all Merchants deſiring Wealth and Riches, and generally all the Inhabitants of this Kingdom, freely to give Aſſiſtance towards the Advancement of this noble Action and Plantation, ſo much tending to the Glory of God, the Honour of our Sovereign, and the Benefit of our Country?

The Names of the Rivers falling into the Sea from Amazones, *to* Deſſequebe, *and of the ſeveral Nations inhabiting thoſe Rivers.*

RIVERS.	NATIONS.
1 *Amazones.*	
2 *Arrapoco*, a Branch of *Amazones.*	*Caribs.*
3 *Arrawary.*	
4 *Maicary.*	*Yaios* and *Caribs.*
5 *Connavini.*	
6 *Caſſipurogh.*	*Arracoories.*
7 *Arracow.*	
8 *Wiapoco.*	
9 *Wianary*, a Creek or Inlett of the Sea.	*Yaios* and *Arwaccas.*
10 *Cowo*, not inhabited.	
11 *Apurwacca.*	
12 *Wio.*	
13 *Caiane.*	
14 *Meccooria.*	*Caribs.*
15 *Courwo.*	
16 *Manmanury.*	
17 *Sinammara.*	
18 *Ooraſſowini*, not inhabited.	
19 *Coonannoma.*	*Arwaccas.*
20 *Vracco.*	
21 *Marrawini.*	*Paragotos*, *Yaios*, *Caribs*, and *Arwaccas.*
22 *Amanna.*	
23 *Camoure*, or *Comawin*, a Branch of *Selinama.*	
24 *Selinama*, or *Surennamo.*	*Caribs.*
25 *Surammo.*	
26 *Coopannomy.*	
27 *Eneecare.*	
28 *Coretine.*	*Arwaccas* and *Caribs.*
29 *Berebiſſe.*	
30 *Manhica.*	
31 *Wapary.*	*Arwaccas.*
32 *Micowine.*	
33 *Demeerare.*	
34 *Matoorounee*	
35 *Quiowiine*, Branches of *Deſſequebe.*	*Caribs.*
36 *Deſſequebe.*	*Arwaccas* and *Caribs.*

The Plantation in Guiana *is moſt eaſy to be performed, as is at large expreſſed in the former Treatiſe: And many in Brief appear by theſe Notes following, which are here added for the better Comfort and Encouragement of the Adventures and Planters of the meaner Sort.*

FIrſt, the Climate in *Guiana*, although it be hot, yet is it habitable, and affordeth healthful Habitations: For in three Years Space, that my Brother Captain *Michael Harcourt* and his Company remained in the Country, of thirty Perſons there died but ſix.

The natural Inhabitants of that Country are a loving, tractable, and gentle People, affecting and preferring the *Engliſhmen* before all other Nations whatſoever, and deſiring Commerce and Converſation with them: With thoſe barbarous People we may live in Safety, without

without Suſpicion of Treachery, or Dread of Danger; if wilfully we offer them Abuſe, and Harm iſſue, the Fault is ours; for a Worm, being trodden on, will turn again. If they at any Time do give Offence to us, they will ſuffer and abide ſuch moderate Chaſtiſements, as we in our Diſcretions ſhall think fit to lay upon them.

The Soil of the Land there, as is ſaid before, is exceeding rich, never yet broken up, nor overworn with Tillage, but ſtill remaineth in the greateſt Perfection of Fertility.

The Proviſions of that Country, for Victuals, are mentioned before: But it is fit they be again remembered for the Comfort of the ordinary People, that in Perſon ſhall adventure in this Action. There is great Store of Deer of all Sorts; wild Swine, Hares, and Conies; beſides divers other Beaſts unknown in theſe Parts, Pheaſants, Partridges, wild Fowl of all Sorts, and every Houſe hath Cocks, Hens, and Chickens, as in *England*; and the Variety of Fiſh is wonderful, without Compare: But the chiefeſt Comfort for our Countrymen is this, that the Beaſt called *Maypury*, and the Fiſh called the *Sea-Cow* (being ſeverally as big as a Heifer of two Years old, and of which Kind there are very many) are in Eating ſo like unto our *Engliſh* Beef, that hardly in Taſte we can diſtinguiſh them, and may as well as Beef be ſalted, and kept for our Proviſion.

There is alſo a Beaſt in Colour like a Fawn, but fuller of white Spots; in Stature ſomewhat leſs than a ſmall Sheep, and in Taſte like Mutton, but is rather better Meat: The *Baremo* is alſo of the ſame Taſte.

Theſe for the Time will give us good Content, until we can be ſtored with the Breed of our *Engliſh* Sheep and Cattle.

The Store of Maiz, or *Guinea* Wheat, in *Guiana*, is very plentiful, which Grain doth make an excellent good Bread, and very wholſome. So likewiſe doth the *Caſſaui*, whereof there is alſo great Abundance; and much more may be, as we pleaſe to plant.

Of the *Caſſaui* Bread, the *Indians* do make good Drink, which, in Colour, Taſte, and Strength, doth equal our *March* Beer in *England*.

Of the *Guinea* Wheat, we may make good Malt, which alſo maketh as excellent ſtrong Ale as can be poſſible.

The Soil, being rich, fruitful, and never niped with Froſts, doth give us Hope that in few Years Space, by planting Vines, we ſhall make good Store of Sack, and *Canary* Wine, which in thoſe Parts are needful, and very wholſome, and will greatly comfort and lighten the Hearts of our Countrymen, and make them jovial and courageous to undertake and execute the greateſt Labours and moſt difficult Adventures of Diſcovery.

The Commodities, already found in *Guiana*, are at large declared in the former Diſcourſe; yet, for the better Memory of thoſe that are diſpoſed to adventure in this Action, I have again in Brief remembered them. Firſt, within a Year without much Labour, there may be tranſported thence good Store of Cotton Wool; divers Kinds of rich Dyes; ſundry Sorts of Gums, Drugs, and Feathers; many Kinds of rich Woods; Jaſper and Porphyry-ſtone; Balſam, Wax, Honey, and Tobacco. And hereafter, within few Years, we ſhall return thence great Plenty of Sugars: And I hope diſcover as rich Mines, as ever the *Spaniard* found, either in new *Spain*, *Peru*, or any other Part of the *Indies*.

Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed his excellent Majeſty, for the Planting and Inhabiting of all that Part of *Guiana*, or Continent of *America*, lying between the River of *Amazones*, and the River of *Deſſequebe*, to grant his gracious Letters Patents to *Robert Harcourt* of *Stanton Harcourt* in the County of *Oxford*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Challener*, Knt. and *John Rowenzon*, Eſq; and to the Heirs of the ſaid *Robert Harcourt*, of all the ſaid Countries, Lands, and Territories between the ſaid two Rivers of *Amazones* and *Deſſequebe*, and of all Iſlands, Lands, and Territories within twenty Leagues adjacent thereunto, *&c.* Together with all Prerogatives, Juriſdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchiſes, and Preheminences, both for Government, Trade, Traffick, and otherwiſe, in as large and ample Manner, as either his Majeſty, or any of his noble Progenitors, or Predeceſſors, have heretofore granted to any Adventurers, or Undertakers of any Diſcoveries, Plantations, or Traffick, of, in, or into any foreign Parts whatſoever: To have, hold, poſſeſs, and enjoy all and ſingular the Premiſſes, to the ſole and proper Uſe of the ſaid *Robert Harcourt*, and his Heirs for ever. And for that divers honourable Perſonages, Gentlemen, and others, who are willing and deſirous, for the Glory of God, and Honour of our Nation, to give Aid and Aſſiſtance,

Aſſiſtance, either in Perſon, or Purſe, to the Undertaking of this worthy Action, and Plantation, may truly underſtand and know, how, and in what Manner, they ſhall receive Benefit and Profit by their Adventures, and Travels therein; it is thought fit and neceſſary, for their better Content and Satisfacton, to publiſh theſe Articles enſuing:

The Planters, in General, are all Adventurers either in Perſon, or Purſe.

The meaneſt Adventurer in Perſon ſhall have five hundred Acres as a ſingle Share.

Every one, that adventureth twelve Pounds ten Shillings, ſhall have five hundred Acres as a ſingle Share; and ſo ratably according to the Adventure, be it more or leſs.

The Plantation and Adventure are intended to be partly general, and partly particular.

In the general Plantation and Adventure, all Perſons of all Conditions and Eſtates, even to the pooreſt Servants and Labourers, Men, Women, and Children, may adventure as much or as little as they pleaſe, from ten Shillings upwards, and ſhall have in Fee Simple the aſſured ratable Increaſe and Gain according to the Quantity of his Adventure; ſo as, for every ten Shillings adventured, he ſhall have twenty Acres in Inheritance, and ſo much yearly Profit as thoſe twenty Acres may yield.

A Regiſter ſhall be truly kept of the Names of every Adventurer in Perſon, and of every Adventurer in Money, and of the Sum by him adventured, to the End that they may proportionably receive the full Benefit of their Adventures.

During the firſt three Years, the whole Benefit ſhall go towards the Advancement of the Plantation.

At the End of thoſe three Years, a fourth Part of the clear Profits remaining ſhall be divided betwixt all the Adventurers in Purſe or Perſon, ratably according to their Shares and Adventures.

Yearly for ſeven Years after the firſt three Years ended, three Parts of the whole clear yearly Profit upon every Return ſhall be in like Manner divided; and the other fourth Part ſhall go towards the Advancement of the Plantation.

In thoſe ten Years the Land may be ſurveyed, and fit Diſtributions and Allotments made thereof to the Adventurers and Planters.

After thoſe ten Years, it ſhall be free for every one to make the beſt of his Allotment at his own Diſcretion by himſelf, or elſe to trade and deal in Common, as he did before with others, which perhaps will be moſt convenient for all ſmall Adventurers: And a ſettled Order ſhall for that End be continued, for a continual, joint, and common Trade and Commerce for ever: for otherwiſe it might prove hard for Adventurers of ſmall Sums to reap any Benefit after the ten Years ended: But, by a common continued Commerce, they, or their Heirs, or Aſſigns, ſhall be ſure to have it.

A Treaſurer-general for the Plantations ſhall be reſident in *London*, and, when the Return of Profit dividable ſhall be, he ſhall forthwith deliver to a particular Treaſurer, reſident in every Shire, the proportionable Part or Profit due to the Adventurers of that Shire, which particular Treaſurer ſhall deliver to the High Conſtables of every Hundred the proportionable Part due to the Adventurers of that Hundred: And the High Conſtables ſhall deliver to the Conſtables and Miniſter of every Pariſh within their Hundreds, where any Adventurer ſhall be, the proportionable Part due to the Adventurers of that Pariſh: And the Conſtable and Miniſter ſhall deliver to every Perſon in that Pariſh his Due, according to the Proportion of his Adventure.

To this End a Regiſter ſhall be kept by the Conſtable and Miniſter of each Pariſh, of the Names of each Adventurer in that Pariſh, with their ſeveral Adventures, and the Time when they brought in the ſame; ſo as ſuch as be removed out of a Pariſh where they adventured, to ſome other Place, ſhall either themſelves, or their Heirs, or Aſſigns, receive his proportionable Profit in the Pariſh where he adventured, without further Trouble or Travel.

The like Regiſter ſhall remain with the High Conſtables, of the Adventurers in their Hundred.

And the like with the particular Treaſurer of that Shire, of the Adventurers of that Shire.

And the like of all the Adventurers whatſoever, with the Treaſurer-General for the Plantation.

But yet ſuch as adventure not before this next intended Voyage, which we account the firſt Voyage for the Plantation, or before the Second, but ſtay longer, expecting the Event, muſt

muſt not expect equal Shares with the firſt Adventurers: But, if his Adventure come in after the Second Voyage, and before the Third, he ſhall want a fifth Part of that which the firſt Adventurers ſhall have: And ſuch, as come in before the fourth Voyage, ſhall want two fifth Parts: And ſuch, as come in before the fifth Voyage, ſhall want three fifth Parts: And ſuch as come in before the ſixth Voyage (which perhaps may be the laſt Voyage in the firſt three Years, a Voyage being ſet forth every half Year) ſhall want four fifth Parts of what the firſt Adventurer ſhall have: And ſo a ſingle Share for ſo late an Adventurer, of twelve Pounds ten Shillings, will be but one-hundred Acres in Inheritance, and his Profit accordingly in Proportion, and ſo for a greater or leſſer Rate, ſo lately adventured.

Every Adventurer in Perſon, if he die, having neither Wife nor Child in *Guiana* living, his next Kinſman, that will go in Perſon at the next Voyage, or Sending after his Deceaſe, ſhall have his Share or Part: But, if none ſuch will go in Perſon, then the next Heir of the deceaſed Perſon in *England* ſhall have a fifth Part of that Share in Inheritance, being about one-hundred Acres; and the Reſidue, being four-hundred Acres, ſhall be diſpoſed of to ſome other that will go in Perſon; that ſo, by the Death of the Party deceaſed, the Number of the Planters in Perſon may not be diminiſhed, and that yet his next Heir here may have ſome competent Benefit by the Adventure of his Kinſman's Perſon.

If a Man and his Wife go, each of them ſhall have five-hundred Acres; yet ſo, that the Share of the Wife be at the Huſband's Diſpoſal, as is uſed by Huſbands in *England*, that marry Women Heirs, who cannot alien the ſame without the Wife's Conſent.

If a Man and his Wife go, the Survivor ſhall have the other's Share, if they have no Children born in *Guiana*; but, if they have Children born there, then only the Survivor ſhall have the Share of the Deceaſed, until the Child be twenty-one Years old, and then the Child ſhall have it; for that the Share of the Perſonal Adventure of the Survivor will be a competent Maintenance, ſo as the Child may well have the other Share.

If a Man and his Wife, and a Child of theirs go, each ſhall have five-hundred Acres.

The Shares of Commanders, Officers, and Men of Place and Quality, that adventure in Perſon, are not to be rated according to ſingle Shares of inferior and common Perſons, that adventure in Perſon; but according to their Place, Quality, and Merit, in ſuch Sort as ſhall be fit to give them Content, and Encouragement to adventure their Perſons in ſo honourable and worthy an Action.

Divine Preachers, that will imitate the glorious Examples of the Apoſtles (who ceaſed not to travel amongſt all Sorts of Heathen and ſavage People, for the Plantation of the Holy Goſpel) are worthily numbered amongſt the Perſons of Place and Quality, and ſhall have ſuch worthy Shares, for the Adventure of their Perſons, in his Service of the Bleſſed Trinity, as ſhall give them good Content. Thus much concerning the General Adventure and Plantation.

In the particular Plantation and Adventure, there ſhall be certain Signories, or other Portions of Land, allotted them and granted to ſuch, as like not to be Partakers of the general Plantation and Adventure; but have, otherwiſe, a Deſire to join together in ſeveral Companies, or Corporations, of ſelect Friends and Acquaintance; or elſe to plant a-part, and ſingle by themſelves, as Lords of Mannors, or as Farmers.

Theſe Signories, or Portions of Land, ſhall be conveyed and aſſured unto them in Fee Simple, with all ſuch Royalties, Liberties, Privileges, Franchiſes, and Commodities, as ſhall be fit and neceſſary for the Advancement of their Plantations, and can, by Vertue of the Patent, be granted unto them.

They ſhall plant and people the ſame at their own proper Coſts and Charges, and convert the Profits thereof to their own Uſe and Advantage, under the Conditions following:

They ſhall yearly pay unto ſuch Officers, as ſhall be appointed for that Purpoſe, the fifth Part of all Ore of Gold and Silver, as ſhall, at all Times hereafter, be found and gotten within the Bounds and Limits of the Signories and Lands granted unto them, which fifth Part of Ore is, by the Patent, reſerved to his Majeſty.

The fifth Part being deducted for his Majeſty, they ſhall alſo pay to the Patentees, or unto their Officers for that Purpoſe appointed, all ſuch Rents and Duties, as, betwixt the ſaid Patentees and them, ſhall be agreed upon; and ſuch as have been uſually paid by the Planters and Inhabiters of the like Plantations, whereof there

there are extant many Precedents; and alſo, from Time to Time, ſhall obſerve, pay, and perform all ſuch other Cuſtoms, Impoſitions, Reſervations, and Limitations, as are mentioned and expreſſed in the ſaid Patent.

And, for their Safety and Defence in all the ſaid particular Plantations, they ſhall be aided, protected, and defended, both by Sea and Land, againſt all Aſſaulters, Invaders, and Intruders, according to the Power and Strength of the Undertakets of the General Plantation, which I hope, with God's Aſſiſtance, ſhall be ſufficient to reſiſt and repel the Malice of our greateſt Enemies.

A Letter from a Country Clergyman to his Brother in the Neighbourhood, touching ſome Reproaches caſt upon the Biſhops *. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

Dear Brother,

THE unhappy Flames which of late have been blown up among us, by intereſting ourſelves in the Diſputes between the Biſhops and the Lower Houſe of Convocation, and the unkind Reflexions which are but too often caſt upon the greater Part of thoſe Venerable Prelates by many even of our Order, I conceive to be ſo great an Offence to Almighty God, ſo dangerous to the Welfare of our Church, and to be ſuch a Reproach to our holy Religion, that I cannot think it a great Degree of Forwardneſs in myſelf, or in any other, to endeavour whatever may lie in our Power to compoſe thoſe ſad Differences and Animoſities, the Conſequences whereof look ſo very fatal towards us. This is the Occaſion of troubling you with this Letter; in which I ſhall take the Liberty to excuſe myſelf from making Animadverſions upon any Miſcarriages of our Superiors, which ſome of them, by Inadvertency, and the common Frailty of human Nature, may have fallen into, that being a Part which I cannot think myſelf by Duty called to, nor to be becoming a Perſon who moves in ſo mean a Sphere as I; and beſides, I fancy I ſhall find Matter enough to fill up this Letter, in pointing at the Faults which we are guilty of on our Side, and ſhewing, that we have taken up very miſtaken Characters of very good and excellent Men, by taxing them for Actions with which they are no Ways chargeable, or for which they are no Ways blameable.

I. And indeed it is very diſmal to conſider what vile Reproaches are caſt upon the greateſt Part of thoſe Reverend Perſons by too many of our own Coat: To hear us ſo frequently taxing them as affecting a tyrannical, deſpotick Power over the Clergy, as being Betrayers of the common Liberties of the Church, mercenary Inſtruments and Paraſites of the Court, Fanaticks in their Hearts, and avowed Enemies of every Part of our Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, unleſs it be be the fair Revenues which they have the Happineſs to enjoy under it. For Clergymen to utter theſe Things in their Diſcourſe, both publick and private, and to publiſh the like, by Writings, to the whole World, can be no Ways ſuitable to the Rules of the holy Religion we profeſs, nor to the Character we ſuſtain in God's Church; and, I think I may add, does bid the utmoſt Defiance to to the Principles of the Church of *England*, which beſpeak the higheſt Eſteem and Veneration for the Order of Biſhops. This is a Practice which there is none of us, ſome Time paſt, but would have condemned with the greateſt Abhorrence and Deteſtation. Let us, for once, ſuppoſe ſome Body to have propheſied fourteen or fifteen Years ago, that many of us who then valued ourſelves ſo much upon our Duty and Obedience to our Biſhops, and paſſed ſuch ſevere Reflexions upon the undutiful Carriage of others, that we ſhould, within

* Suppoſed to be writ by Dr. *Wake*.

a few Years, treat them with ſo an unhandſome Deportment, and give them all thoſe good Compliments which have been ſo freely of lately beſtowed upon them, would not every one of us have been ready to return, with Indignation, that of *Hazael*, *Is thy Servant a Dog, that he ſhould do this Thing?* This, my good Brother, does deſerve a deep and ſerious Reflexion; for theſe Goſpel-Duties, you know, are of eternal Verity, and will be as true a thouſand Years hence, as they were twenty Years ago; nor can I imagine that any one of us does think that a Part of our Religion can grow in or out of Faſhion, as People's Clothes do. If there are no Duties owing to our Dioceſans, we ought to recant the Error we were in, by betraying the Dignity of our own Order, whilſt we were, in Time paſt, ſo liberally paying them; or, if there be any Regards owing, the Methods, which have been of late taken, have been but a pretty odd Way of diſcharging them. And, ſince we are entered upon this Point, I will beg the Freedom to recommend to your Conſideration ſomething farther upon it: And let us conſider,

II. That the very Raillery we, ſome of us, are wont to exert upon this Occaſion, if it was not levelled at our Superiors, and the Ground of it was never ſo well bottomed, is a Part not altogether becoming our Function. We that are the Miniſters of *Jeſus Chriſt* are obliged more nicely to follow our great Maſter's Copy and Example, who, *when he was reviled, reviled not again*. A Chriſtian Paſtor can never look with ſo ill a Grace, as when he aſſumes the Character of a Droll, or a Satyr. Sarcaſm and Buffoonery are at beſt but a ſorry Part of Wit, and, I am confident, no Part at all of Religion. We frequently are commanded in Scripture to afford to thoſe who are committed to our Charge a ſhining Example of Peaceableneſs and Charity, but I cannot obſerve, that God has any where commiſſioned us a Power to inſtruct them in the Arts of Taunts and Invectives. This vile Trade, we know well enough, was taken up by the accurſed Enemies of Chriſtianity. The *Lucians* and *Julians*, and *Celſus*'s, had ſingular Talents this Way, and did a great deal of Miſchief to the Goſpel by them; but I am at a Loſs to find when it received any Benefit from ill-natured Wits. The Goſpel thrived well by the Meekneſs and Patience of its firſt Profeſſors, and by ſuch holy Steps made its Way over all the Pagan World, whilſt Heathenism, which was ſupported by the Drollery and Satyr of its Philoſophers, did daily loſe Ground, till it fell at laſt into nothing. This is Argument ſufficient to perſuade us, that we purſue but very ill adviſed Methods, whilſt we are carrying on a Cauſe that we are willing to have ſucceed, by Means which are ſuch a Reproach to our Profeſſion, which ſhew ſo ill an Example to our People, and which we have not the leaſt Hopes to expect, that God Almighty will crown with any Manner of Bleſſing. Now, if we would ſeriouſly apply this, we ſhould have an End of ſuch ſmart Books, and fine Jeſts upon our Biſhops, eſpecially if we conſidered, that theſe Jeſts are not only very unmannerly, as being advanced againſt our Betters, but do likewiſe ſhare a great Degree of Irreligion and Profaneneſs; for thoſe holy Perſons, who, by their Office, do bear ſo nigh a Relation to our bleſſed Lord, cannot be ſo unhandſomely ſported with, without reflecting a Reproach alſo upon Chriſt and his Religion.

III. And as I look upon it a great Fault to make Uſe of ſuch unhandſome Drollery upon our Dioceſans, ſo I take it to be a very imprudent and unchriſtian Way for us to trumpet about their Faults, although they were guilty of them in thoſe Particulars, and in that Degree, as ſome of us pretend. It is a Kind of a natural Law, which the vileſt of Men are ſcarce hardy enough to tranſgreſs, not to vilify thoſe of our own Body, and which bear any nigh Relation to us. Thoſe unkind Offices are left for Strangers only to execute, every wiſe Perſon eſteeming it a Madneſs to diſcover thoſe Defects which muſt, in the Event, reflect upon himſelf. For the Contempt, which one Part of the Body ſuffers, is, by an eaſy Deduction, transferrable to the other. We of the Clergy are apt to be loaded enough, of all Conſcience, by other People without Doors; and the Biſhops of the Church do find ſufficient Oppoſition from Papiſts and Sectaries; therefore, I preſume, we Clergymen are not, at that Time, in the moſt warrantable Employment, when we ourſelves are proclaiming to the World what ill Actions we impute to our Biſhops. If, as a late ingenious Author ſays, 'That thoſe Men 'who read Leſſons to Princes, how to ſtrain 'Eccleſiaſtical Power to the utmoſt, without 'exceeding it, be Church *Empſons* and *Dud-*

'leys,

'*Ivys*,' I think I may as well conclude (if I delighted in hard Words) That thoſe who accuſe the Biſhops of their own Church for ſuch ill Men as ſome of our Order do, are Church *Hams* and *Judas's*, for Diſcovering their Father's Nakedneſs, and Betraying their ſpiritual Governors.

IV. In the next Place, it behoves a little to conſider, before we make too bold with our Biſhops Characters, how much we gratify our common Enemies of all Sorts, and expoſe our Mother-Church, by ſuch a Repreſentation of the Governors thereof, to the Scorn and Obloquy of thoſe who greedily watch for ſuch Opportunities to revile us. Don't you think, that this muſt needs give a powerful Encouragement to the ſeveral Sectaries among us to come into the Church, the Governors whereof they ſee ſet off in thoſe delicate Colours, which ſome of us of late have ſo liberally adorned them with? What a curious Hiſtory of *Engliſh* Biſhops muſt we expect from the next Popiſh Pamphlets that come over from *Doway* and *St. Omers?* And what Domeſtick Authorities will be vouched to make their Slanders good? It is eaſy enough to imagine, and common enough to obſerve, what fine Sport the Quarrels with our Biſhops make among our Atheiſts and Deiſts. Sometimes they take a Handle from theſe Differences to expoſe the Biſhops for 'Affecting an incompetent Power, 'and for Minding no Part of their Office ſo 'much, as to lord it over their Fellow-ſhep-'herds; deny this, and they call upon the Au-'thorities of many of the Clergy to aſſert it; 'and then it goes for undeniable. At other 'Times they are pleaſed to be quit with theſe 'Authorities themſelves, and call them all a 'Parcel of hypocritical Sparks, that make a 'World of Stir with Duty and Obedience, 'till it begins to pinch them, and then they 'fly in the Face of the King and Biſhops 'without Fear or Diſcretion'. One would think, that we are under a perfect Infatuation to make ourſelves, and the Religion and Church we are Miniſters of, a Jeſt and Mockery to theſe prophane Wretches. But the higheſt Degree of Madneſs is, for ſome of us, to court the Favour of theſe very Men to ſupport us againſt our Biſhops, and lay open their Character ſo unhandſomely before ſuch Men. Certainly the Affairs of the Church are ſafer in the Hands of the moſt tyrannical Biſhops, than of them who are Enemies to all Religion: Neither are the Preſbyters like to find any extraordinary Redreſs from them, who look upon the whole Function to be Impoſtors alike.

It is no Excuſe to ſay, that this Freedom taken with the Biſhops is but by Way of Repriſal, to be even with a Writer on the Biſhops Side, who took as great a Freedom with the inferior Clergy. I muſt confeſs that I, for my Part, and a great many other indifferent Perſons, never liked that Part of that Writer's Book; and I think his Cauſe had not been the worſe, if it had been ſpared. But let him anſwer for that —— Now as theſe Reproaches did not proceed from the Biſhops, ſo this is the unjuſteſt Way of Retaliation, to make them ſuffer for the Faults of others; or, if the Biſhops had any Share in promoting them, our Holy Religion has taught us a better Leſſon, than to *return Evil for Evil*. If one Part of the Clergy have been falſely traduced, we ſhould be cautious how we involve the remaining Part under the ſame Imputation. What ſad Events will follow upon the Keenneſs of theſe Diſputes God alone knows; but this I am ſure of, that, between this Writer and his Anſwerer, the Church of *England* has ſuffered more in her Reputation than will eaſily be retrieved: For the Biſhops are repreſented in ſuch a Dreſs by the one, and the Preſbyters by the other, that it wants only the Hand of a *Sanders* or a *Parſons* to put them both together; and then out comes ſuch a Picture of the *Engliſh* Reformation, as will make us all curſe theſe unhappy Diſputes which have brought ſuch Shame upon us.

V. If theſe Conſiderations be not of Weight enough to make us leave off this prevailing Cuſtom of Aſperſing our Biſhops, I ſhall add one more, and that is our Oath of Canonical Obedience. Now we all know what Canonical Obedience is, *viz.* All that Reſpect and Submiſſion, which the Canons require to be paid to our Dioceſans. An injurious Accuſer of a Biſhop is by the Canons to have a perpetual Brand of Infamy fixed upon him, and to be Excommunicated: An Obedience is to be paid them in *omnibus licitis & honeſtis*, *&c.* Now I cannot tell how to reconcile an ignominious Treatment and Beſpattering their Character with the Eccleſiaſtical Precepts which we ſwear to. Our Guilt muſt needs ſtare ſome of us in the Face, when we reflect upon this; as having taken no more Care to diſ-

charge theſe Obligations which we have ſo ſacredly engaged to perform. This were a grievous Crime, though there were ſufficient Ground for theſe Clamours againſt our Dioceſans; eſpecially to do it in the Way that is generally practiſed; but, when there is ſo little Foundation for theſe heavy Imputations, I conceive it to be ſuch an Aggravation of the Fault, as we can never be eaſy under, when we ſeriouſly lay it to Heart. And, therefore, in the remaining Part of this Letter, I ſhall ſet myſelf to vindicate our preſent Bench of Biſhops from theſe Aſperſions, which either by unthinking, or deſigning Men, have of late ſo plentifully been thrown upon them.

VI. One Fault, which is mightily laid to their Charge, is, Their being of Latitudinarian Principles as they are called, that is, no hearty Friends to our Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, but are rather inclined to the Diſſenters Tenets, and endeavour by all Means to bring the Church to the Conventicle Level; and that it is in order to this End they are ſo very fond of ſetting a Comprehenſion on Foot, thereby to deſtroy our preſent Church Eſtabliſhment and Diſcipline, and ſet up ſomething elſe which likes them better. But what a ridiculous Calumny is this? To think that the Biſhops, who enjoy ſo great a Share in the Church's Revenues, ſhould be engaged in a Deſign of pulling it down; this would be ſuch a Degree of Self-denial, that their Adverſaries in other Caſes would hardly allow them. But how do they know that theſe Biſhops have ſuch a Diſliking to the Eccleſiaſtical Settlement? If Men's Principles are to be diſcovered by their Words and Actions, the preſent Biſhops have both on their Side to vindicate them from this Aſperſion. Their frequent Subſcriptions to the Articles, their uſual Diſcourſe both in publick and private, together with their Sermons, are all of them in Contradiction to what is here objected. There are ſeveral of them, who have ſtrenuouſly wrote in Defence of our Conſtitution; witneſs the Caſes againſt the Diſſenters, which were moſtly wrote by the Pens of thoſe very Men who are thus calumniated. Though, by the Way, I do not find in my Accounts that any great Number of thoſe who bear ſo hard upon the Biſhops, and put ſo much upon this Head, did give any Hand to this noble Work; therefore methinks it is pretty ſtrange, that the preſent Biſhops ſhould commence Fanaticks for Writing ſo bravely againſt the Schiſm, and others ſhould be the only Church of *England* Men for being ſilent under it. As for the Matters of Alteration which were on Foot about a dozen Years ago, theſe preſent Biſhops are not more to be blamed for them, than thoſe other Biſhops who declared to the late King *James*, that they would be willing to come to ſuch a Temper, as that all Differences in Religion, as far as poſſible, might be compoſed among us. This was not thought ſuch an Offence, when the Reſolution was firſt made, and therefore why are they ſo much to be blamed for endeavouring afterwards to make their Words good? The unlucky Diſputes, which then happened, run up Men's Bloods ſo high, and frightened them with ſuch Miſapprehenſions of ſome ſtrange Deſigns upon the Church in that Affair, that thoſe Biſhops, who appeared in Behalf of that Project, could hardly recover the hearty Affections of their Clergy ever ſince. And, if we conſider the loud Clamours which have been raiſed againſt ſome of their Lordſhips about this Buſineſs, one could not think but that they were contriving at that Time the very Unhinging of our whole Conſtitution. And yet I am fully aſſured, that all, that was then deſigned, was no more than the Changing a few Apocryphal Leſſons for Canonical Scripture; appointing the new Tranſlation of the Pſalms for Singing and Reading in Lieu of the Old; making all the Collects agree more with the Epiſtles and Goſpels, as was begun, though abruptly left off by the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy*, in 1662, and changing an exceptionable Paſſage or two in the other Services. I could wiſh their Lordſhips would be ſo juſt to themſelves as to publiſh the Reſolutions of the Committee in *Jeruſalem* Chamber; and then I am perſuaded, that we ſhould all be of Opinion that their Lordſhips are ſo far from meriting the Reproach, which is for that Reaſon thrown upon them, that they would appear to deſerve the higheſt Commendation. And, ſince People have grown cool upon that Matter, I hardly find any ſenſible Man, who pretends to find more Fault now, than ill Timing of that Deſign. But, by the Way, is it not a little hard, that we ſhould bear a perpetual Enmity to our Biſhops for the ill Timing of an Action? Nay, this was no more than

what was before deſigned in the Comprehenſion Bill in the Lords Houſe, which was liked well enough by ſome of thoſe Perſons who appeared ſo keenly, againſt the Commiſſion, and the Treating of that Affair in Convocation, afterwards; though, upon what Reaſon, they changed their Opinion, I pretend not to ſecret Hiſtory enough to underſtand; unleſs they began to diſlike it, becauſe ſome other Perſons, beſides themſelves, came to take a Part in the doing it.

VII. Another Miſapprehenſion of their Lordſhips Actions, and which the Generality of People, at preſent, ſeem to be the moſt incurably poſſeſſed with, is, concerning their Voting in Parliament, always, as it is ſaid, on the Government's Side; whereby, it is pretended, they give Occaſion to ſuſpect, that they are not always led by impartial Conſiderations; but exert their Zeal in that Intereſt, which is beſt able to reward them, with higher Preferments. This, I know, is a terrible Cry, among the Atheiſts and Jacobites, and ſome other unthinking People, who have the Wit to be made Tools to their Deſigns; which are by Weakening the King's Intereſt, and Beſpattering all Men of high Station in the Church, to compaſs the glorious Ends, they are purſuing, of Irreligion and Slavery. But this Imputation, falſe and ſcandalous as it is, carries a Compliment with it, which the Objectors did not deſign, when they ſay, That the Biſhops vote always on the Court Side. And I will aſſure you, This very Virtue of Conſtancy deſerves, in this Age, no ſmall Commendation; for we have ſeen ſome others, who are not Biſhops, to have changed Sides, two or three Times, ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown; who never were againſt the King's Affairs, when any Thing was to be got by them; and always againſt them, when Nothing was to be loſt by the Oppoſition. But, Why is it ſuch a Crime to vote on the King's Side? His Affairs are not the more unjuſt, becauſe he has the Happineſs to be able to reward the Aſſiſters of them. Nay, I am confident, though it was out of the King's Power to ſhew any further Marks of Favour, upon any of the preſent Biſhops, who are hereby calumniated; the King would not have much fewer Votes, from that Venerable Bench, than he has. There is Nobody doubts, but that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is as hearty in the King's Intereſt, and gives his Vote as frequently, on his Side, as any of his Comprovincials; and yet, I dare ſay, he has no Hopes of a Tranſlation, on this Side Heaven. And why ſhould we not expect a like Sincerity from the reſt? Methinks, their bare Gratitude to the King, for being advanced by him, ſhould ſooner engage them to his Majeſty's Intereſt, than to ſide with ſome ambitious and diſobliged Men, who are known Enemies both to the King, and them too. But there is a higher Motive, which, I am perſuaded, the Biſhops are ſwayed by, in giving their Suffrages in Parliament; and that is,, To ſupport the preſent Government, on which all our Liberties and Religion depend. And, let me tell you, Sir, for all the Talk of thoughtleſs and intriguing Men, the Biſhops have had their Share, and have gone a good Way, in the Securing it. In the midſt of warm Diſputes, they have held ſuch a Temper and Moderation, and acted with ſuch a ſteady Reſolution, for the Support of the Government, that future Ages will be bound to bleſs their Memory for it. Therefore, upon the Whole, it can be no Fault in the Biſhops to give their Votes, with Regard to the King's Intereſt; unleſs it can be proved, That the King has any Intereſt ſeparate from the Church and Nation; which he is ſo far from appearing ever to have had, that he has all along, under God, been the greateſt Preſerver of both. But if it ſhould pleaſe God, that this, or any other King, ſhould ever purſue Methods contrary to the Good of theſe; I do verily believe, no Temporal Expectations will engage Men, of their Goodneſs and Sincerity, to act any Thing in Compliance with them, that may be inconſiſtent with their Honour and Conſcience.

VIII. Another Matter there is, which we of the Gown do chiefly quarrel with our Biſhops for; and that is, Their Hindering the Clergy to act in Convocation, for eight, or ten Years together; and when at laſt, after a great Deal of Baiting, they were wearied into a Conceſſion for their Sitting, they were pleaſed to trump up a Right of Adjournment of the Lower Houſe, to all Times, and upon all Occaſions; whereby, the whole End of their Meeting is utterly defeated. But I have ſome Reaſon to be of Opinion, that our Grounds do not a little fail us, when we ſuppoſe, that this long Intermiſſion of a Convocation did proceed from any Arbitrary Reſolution of the Biſhops; for it is not improbable to think, that this whole

whole Affair was adjuſted, by wiſe and mature Deliberation, without any Mixture of private Pique and Reſentment, and that all due Regard was had to the Caſe and Welfare, both of Church and State. The Nation had been afflicted by a long and expenſive War, which afforded neither Leiſure, nor ſufficient Maintenance for the Clergy, to ſtay long off from their Cures in a Synodical Attendance. Neither was it ſo proper to venture, then, upon any warm Eccleſiaſtical Diſputes, which do uſually attend ſuch Meetings; at a Time, when Conteſts in the State had raiſed Men's Bloods but too high already. Afterwards, ſince the End of the War, upon the ſeeming Deſire of the Generality of the Clergy, that a Convocation ſhould meet, they accordingly did, had ſeveral Seſſions, and were going upon very commendable Buſineſs in both Houſes. But alas! theſe noble Deſigns were blaſted by a Diſpute, which aroſe about the Right of Adjournments; which the Members of the Lower Houſe were prompted to claim, having found ſomething, in a dark Part of Hiſtory, and in Regiſters, then not ſo exactly ſcanned, which ſeemed to make in ſome Meaſure for them. How far theſe few Inſtances of Adjournment againſt thoſe Multitudes, which are produced on the Archbiſhop's Side, will maintain a Right: I leave thoſe, who underſtand theſe Matters better than myſelf, to judge. But, if the Lower Houſe have a Right of Adjourning themſelves, it is a Power, which their Predeceſſors have thought fit very ſeldom to claim; it is not pretended more than two or three Times, in almoſt as many Centuries; and why ſhould the Clergy, in our Times, ſet ſuch a Value upon a Right, which our Forefathers did hardly think worth the Claiming in theirs? It is ſufficient to remove a Bar, againſt their Right, to have claimed it and put themſelves, for once, in an actual Poſſeſſion of it, and ſo to leave the nice Diſpute of it, till better Times; or, if no more be ſaid of it in our Times, they are ſo far from betraying a Right, which our Forefathers have bequeathed us, as it is ſaid by ſome, that the laſt Convocation did as much in that Affair, as can be pretended, any of our Forefathers did. In ſhort, there is no Doubt, but that the Convocation may ſit and act, if they pleaſe, for all the Archbiſhop's Power of Adjourning, and the King's Right of Licenſe, upon humble Deſire thereof; for neither of them both have ever given any Occaſion to ſuſpect, That they will be at any Time wanting to hearken to any Propoſals, that may be for the Good of their Church and People. And, when the Neceſſity of a Convocation, in the preſent Conjuncture, as we all of us confeſs, does preſs us ſo hard, it is not worth While to diſpute from what Authority, the Power of their Acting or their Adjournments do proceed. The lamentable Growth of Irreligion, the Abuſes in Spiritual Courts, and the very low Ebb of all Eccleſiaſtical Authority, do call aloud for Synodical Meetings, to conſider, with the utmoſt Wiſdom and Application, for ſpeedy Remedies to ſuch growing Evils: Theſe Matters require an immediate Redreſs, whilſt thoſe other Queſtions will keep cold, to a more convenient Seaſon. Now ſince the Archbiſhop had been ſo long in Poſſeſſion of the Right of Adjournment, and his Comprovincials have ſome Reaſon to believe that the Lower Houſe, by aſſuming this Privilege, do prepare a Way to an Equality with their Order, and to be a Co-ordinate Power with them, they cannot be blamed for Aſſerting their own, and their Metropolitan's Dignity; and are leſs I think to be accuſed for Hindering the Advantages of a Synod, becauſe all the Advantages, which a Synod can pretend to confer, may, upon the ancient accuſtomed Way of Application to Superiors, be obtained, without the Inſiſting upon theſe Claims. When the Lower Houſe ſhall deſire to meet upon intermediate Days for Diſpatch of Buſineſs, and a Licenſe, by humble Petition aſked for, to frame Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and theſe Requeſts ſhall not be gratified; it is Time to begin a Clamour then, when more Reaſon is given to think it deſerved, than now there has been. Power I know, is a ſweet Thing; and thoſe, who hope to have a Share in it, are wont to contend eagerly for it; and therefore it is no Wonder, that, for this Reaſon, the Controverſy is carried on, with ſome Warmth, on both Sides; but when common Danger does on every Side threaten, Prophaneſs and Irreligion at Home, and Popery and Slavery from Abroad: I hope, we ſhall follow the Example of the gallant old *Romans*, who left off their Squabbles among themſelves, whenever they were attacked by their Enemies, and never reſumed their Conteſts, till they were ſure, that all was ſo ſafe from without, that a little Scolding at Home could not hurt them.

IX.

IX. The laſt Prejudice which is advanced againſt our preſent Biſhops, and handed about to the Detriment of their Character, is their Intereſting themſelves in Elections to Parliament, and appearing, as is ſuggeſted, for Fanaticks and Whigs, in Oppoſition to thoſe who are true Sons of the Church, and well grounded in their Principles too, in Relation to the Monarchial Government of the Nation.

But why, I pray, have not the Biſhops as good a Plea to exert their Intereſt in their Country to ſerve their Friends, as any of the Lay Lords to aſſiſt theirs? And, if there be any Thing in this Objection, it arraigns the whole Houſe of Lords, as well as the Bench of the Biſhops. The Biſhops have frequent Occaſion to make Uſe of the Authority and Friendſhip of many of their neighbouring Gentry, for the redreſſing Hardſhips, which are too frequently thrown upon ſome of their Clergy, and for their beſtowing Preferments upon others whoſe Merits deſerve further Encouragements: And can any Biſhop handſomely refuſe to obtain a few Votes from ſome of his Dependants for a Perſon, to whom he ſtands obliged for Services both to the Church and himſelf? Why ſhould the Biſhops, of all the Men in the Nation, be abridged the Privileges of Serving their Friends upon ſuch a publick Occaſion? Shall every petty Freeholder, and ſome who have no Property at all, be allowed to canvas about for any one they have a Fancy for, and muſt not the Biſhops, who have ſo large Eſtates, and ſo much greater Prudence to judge of the Fitneſs of a Choice, be tied up from Aſſiſting a Perſon of Merit in his Competition? But the Perſons they appear for are Whigs and Fanaticks. And this is all vile Calumny. I do not think there can be an Inſtance given, in the whole Nation, of a Biſhop's Appearing for any Gentleman, but who is an habitual Member of the Church of *England*. They have never oppoſed any Gentleman's Intereſt, but who has been of known, or, at leaſt, ſuſpected Diſaffection to the Government; and to endeavour to keep out ſuch, in this Juncture of Affairs, can need no Apology. Every hearty Lover of the King and our preſent Conſtitution is a Whig and Fanatick to the *Jacobites*, and this is all the Title they have to thoſe ill Names, which their Enemies ſo unkindly beſtow upon them. Now, though the Common People are frequently impoſed upon by ſuch ſlanderous Characters, the Biſhops have Sagacity enough to penetrate through the Artifices of Malice; and cannot think it juſt, that the Nation ſhould be deprived of the Aſſiſtance of a Member of Worth and Fidelity, for the Sake of a few beſpattering Reflexions without any Ground.

X. And now having, I think, ſufficiently vindicated our preſent Biſhops againſt theſe Imputations, by which ſome have endeavoured to ſully their Character, I beg Leave to ſay ſomething farther to engage our hearty Love and Eſteem for them; and to let you underſtand that we have Reaſon to bleſs God for raiſing up amongſt us ſuch excellent Fathers in the Church, that do ſo eminently adorn the high Station they are in, by all the good Qualifications which are deſirable for that Calling. For, as to their Life and Converſation, thoſe, that are moſt calumniated amongſt them, have Nothing that can be objected to them upon this Account; they having all along led Lives of the greateſt Circumſpection and Exactneſs, and ſhewn forth ſhining Examples of Sobriety, Meekneſs, and Charity. Neither is their Learning inferior to that of the Biſhops of the laſt Age, and the Books, which they have wrote, have ſuch a Vein of Reaſoning, and a Calmneſs running through them, as is ſuperior to that of their Predeceſſors. That Humility, which adorns the Life of every Chriſtian, renders theirs illuſtrious; for I will defy the Memory of the preſent Age, or the Annals of the former, to ſhew ſuch a Set of Men ſo famous for their perſonal Qualifications, and raiſed to ſuch an Eminency of Station, that have ſhewed ſuch an obliging Familiarity to thoſe below them, as theſe Biſhops have done. This, next to the Grace of God, is owing, I believe, to the long and painful Diſcharge of their Labours, in their Pariſhes, before their Promotion; being thereby freed from that high Kind of Deportment, which ſome of their Predeceſſors have been charged with; who, having lived moſtly in the Grandeur of a Cathedraical Dignity, were trained up to a Superiority over their Rural Brethren, which they did not, to be ſure, forget, as their Honour increaſed upon them. Nay, I will venture to ſay, That, when it ſhall pleaſe God to take to himſelf theſe good Men, whom ſome of us do ſo diſeſteem, it will not be eaſy to find a great many amongſt us, who will fill thoſe Places as well as they have done. Then what a Pity is it, that they who are poſſeſſed of ſo much perſonal Worth, and ſo much

obliging Condeſcenſion, ſhould find ſo unkind Returns from many of their own Clergy? This can proceed only from a fore-conceived Prejudice and Miſapprehenſion of their true Character, which ariſes not from any juſt Ground, but, from being engaged in a Party, and, for that Reaſon, unadviſedly believing all that is ſaid in their Diſparagement. If this unhandſome and ungodly Cuſtom do not ſtop in good Time, God knows whither it will at laſt carry us. The ancient Hereſies and Schiſms, which ſo ſadly peſtered the Primitive Church, had their Original from Preſbyters quarrelling with their Biſhops. This gave a Riſe to the Hereſies of *Arius* and *Novatianus*, and to the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*. But I hope, the good God will afford us more Grace and Wiſdom than to let Matters run ſo far. I do not think this Humour to be ſpread ſo very wide as to affect any great Part of our Clergy; the far greater Number I am perſuaded do ſtick faſt to their ancient Principles and Duty, and have never ceaſed to pay that Love and Reſpect to their Dioceſans, which our Forefathers were ſo hearty in; and that ill Example, which ſome diſobliged Perſons have ſet, will, I hope, be ſo far from being copied, that they themſelves will ſee their Error, and be ſorry for it.

But I would not have you miſtake me, as if I charged theſe Faults upon the Lower Houſe of Convocation, in their Diſputes with the Biſhops; for though, I confeſs, I cannot go into Opinion with them in all they have advanced; yet they, as acting in a Synodical Authority, have a Privilege to remonſtrate upon any Grievances they think to be hard upon them, without Breach of their Duty to Superiors: Or, if Rules of Decency be ſometimes tranſgreſſed, the Warmth of the Diſputes, they may be engaged in, goes a good Way in Alleviation. But my Buſineſs is to ſilence, if I could, the reflecting Talk of thoſe, who reproach the Biſhops without Doors; which, though they were of the Houſe, they have no Synodical Privilege to excuſe them for. For every Presbyter then is upon the Level with you and me, and owe as much Duty and Regard to their reſpective Biſhops. But I am afraid, there are the greateſt Number of Tongues running upon this Theme, that have had no Share in theſe Diſputes, but what they have been pleaſed to take to themſelves, without being called to it. And I think it is Time for all, who have Nothing to do in theſe Matters, to be quiet, when the chief Managers of the Lower Houſe Controverſy, and all the worthy Members of the Body now met, ſeem inclined to Peace, and the ancient good Correſpondence. Now theſe, I think, we may both of us, as Occaſion ſhall offer, put in Mind of their Duty, without aſſuming an Authority which does not belong to us. For brotherly Admonition is a common Duty of Chriſtianity; and therefore, to be ſure, does not lie out of our Way, that have the Honour to take a Share in the Miniſterial Function. For, if you take ſeaſonable Opportunities to ſpeak calmly upon theſe Heads, or others, which yourſelf may ſuggeſt, where you ſhall find Need, I doubt not, but in Time, and with God's Bleſſing, your Diſcourſe will have its deſired Effect in the Neighbourhood; and, if others would take upon them to do the like elſewhere in the Nation, I am perſuaded we ſhould all grow into a good Humour once again, and love our Biſhops as we have done formerly. Thus, recommending you to the Divine Protection, and praying for good Succeſs in the Attempt you ſhall make in the Kind I adviſe, or any other good Work of your Calling:

I am your faithful Friend,

and Brother in Chriſt, &c.

The Propoſals of the Committee for Regulating the Law, both in Senſe, Form, and Practice; communicated to publick View, by eſpecial Order and Command. *Quarto*, containing eight Pages.

WE

WE the Commiſſioners of the grand and weighty Buſineſs of Regulating the Law, which have taken no ſmall Pains in Sitting all this While, with the Aſſiſtance of a ſingle-ſoaled Miniſter, have at laſt grown big of theſe high and mighty Articles, and deſire to be delivered of them into the World, for the publick Applauſe and Conſent; for by them we hope to give a free Interpretation of modern Juſtice, and a ſtrict Account of the Reformation of all Fees, tedious Demurs, and Practice of Courts, that by it the Commonwealth may be eaſed of the Burden of unknown Charges, which waits upon Buckram-bags, and we richly rewarded for our Sweat and Travel in ſo acceptable and laudable a Work.

Propoſal 1. That, whereas all the good Laws, Statutes, and Acts of Grace in this Kingdom have been derived clearly from noble and heroick Princes, and their free Grant, and (until they ſhall be repealed by a *Knack* of Parliament) are the ſole Tye and Safety of human Society, Trade, and Traffick, it is thought fit, That the Charity and Love of former Kings to their Liege People be eſteemed nothing to the Mercy of the State we now live under, and the famous Liberties, Properties, and Bounty of their generous Spirits, we partake; and that it ſhall be thought Reaſon, and Law both, That an Ordinance of Parliament may take the Wall of *Magna Charta*, though it be in the Middle of *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, and in all Cauſes, and over all Perſons, to be ſupreme Moderator.

2. That the Sword was the firſt Inventor of Kings, and the preſent Upholder of States and Parliaments; and, therefore, notwithſtanding any Right or Equity to the Contrary, the Sword is the beſt Law-giver; and, as it has attempted already to cut off the Head of the Commonwealth, ſo it does require all the reſt of the Members to an Obſervance of its Command, be it never ſo unjuſt, inhuman, cruel, ſacrilegious, or profane.

3. That, in all Adminiſtrations of modern Juſtice, we may be no more bound to Conſcience, than Conſcience is to us; for, let a Man look over all the Anatomy of the Lawgivers, it is impoſſible to conjecture, in what Part of that Body Conſcience lies.

4. That the *King's-Bench Bar* be ſubſervient to the High Court of Juſtice, in Regard the one has no Power, but merely to diſtribute *Jus ſuum cuique*, the candid Cenſure of the Law between Man and Man; the other has a Sovereignty above Sovereigns.

5. That the Court of Iniquity, *alias* the *Chancery* (where a Man may be ſuſpended and demurred in his juſt Right, from Generation to Generation, by the Power of the Purſe) may be judged no more by the Keepers of the Liberties and Privileges of *England*, but rather to be taken in its true and genuine Senſe by the Preſervers of the Controverſies and Sins of the People; and, whereas a Man, after the Expence of a thouſand Pounds to bring his Suit to a Hearing, was uſed to be blown off with a Non-aſſumption of the Engagement, they ſhall henceforth be allowed twenty Shillings towards their Coſts and Charges, and the Half-dozen Clerks daggled Gowns ſcoured.

6. That that bloody and deadly Term *Murderaverunt* may be looked upon as a Word in Faſhion; and, becauſe it concerns many of great Quality, it is ordered, That it be always written in capital Letters.

7. That as many, as *Swornaverunt* themſelves into the high Stile of the Knights of the *Poſt*, are not a Jot concerned in the Act of Degrading late Honours conferred; but, this being an ancient Order of Knighthood, and very ready at all Times, through the Courſe of theſe ten Years paſt, to beſtead the Commonwealth upon Occaſion, be it therefore confirmed, by all the Sinews of the Law, That this Fraternity be upheld to Perpetuity of Ages.

8. That no *Adjournamentums* of Cauſes ſhall henceforth be allowed; for, ſuppoſe a Man, having but one poor *Cotagium* in the World, have a Suit depending *pro Cabagio*, *Anglicè*, for a Cabbage, in *Michaelmas*-Term, and, withal, a Judgment and Execution, the Plaintiff muſt be conſtrained, perhaps, to wait a Twelvemonth for Satisfaction, and to be paid in his own Coin.

9. That it ſhall be held fit in a Circuit or Aſſize, though it become not a Judge Itinerant, with his Bunch of Gravity on his Chin, to take Bribes, yet it may be convenient, that the Price of a Pair of Gloves, called *Fifty Pieces*, be depoſed in his Clerk's Pocket, to be preſented to his Lordſhip the next Morning,

when he goes to waſh his Hands, that, like *Pilate*, he might purify himſelf to the World in Formality and Circumſtance, as in the Caſe of *Martin Sandy* and *Steyner*.

10. That all Attornies of Courts Errant, Paſſant, or Regardant, may no more run up their Clients with Twelve-pence wet, and Six-pence dry, beſides Baitings, Breakfaſts, Collations, and *Banbury* Cheeſes; but that Juſtice may run clear, without Proclivity, or irregular Buggering of a Countryman's Purſe, it is ordered, *cum Warranto*, That the Pettifogger ſhall require no more than his ten Groats; and, if ſo be the free-hearted Client tickle him under the ſhort Ribs, with an Ordinary of boiled Beef at *Fetter-lane* End *gratis*, it ſhall be thought a conſiderable *Eaſeamentum* of Expence, and no more to be extorted for Expedition.

11. That all Daſhes whatſoever, uſed in Writing, ſhall be held for a capital Crime; for, under the Notion of a Counter-ſtroke, the Law and *Latin* Caſes were ſo martyred, that it puzzled the worſhipful the Judges (having forgotten their Grammar by long Experience) to underſtand them; and therefore it is deſired, That all Words be written at Length, and not in Figures, for the Conveniency of the Benchers.

12. That it may be thought Reaſon, that the Word *Villenagium* be utterly expunged out of the Terms of the Law, ſince we are all Freemen, and no more Slaves, than they which row in the *Turks* Gallies.

13. That, by the Motion of Mr. *Peters*, the Term *Simony* may be looked upon as convenient, if not lawful, ſince the firſt Day he begun to ſell the Patronage of *South-Wales*.

14. That the right Heir at Law is he alone that is in Poſſeſſion; and as, by the Outing of the beſt Tenure in *England*, we ſee it apparent, *inter arma ſilent leges*, ſo, whoſoever he be, that is born to an Eſtate, unleſs he can derive his Claim from the Engagement, he is no longer to be ſuffered by the Sheriff of the County to live in Peace, till ſuch Time as he has run the Gauntlope at *Haberdaſhers-Hall*, and then he ſhall be freely manumitted.

15. That an Under-ſheriff, a Jailer, a Catch-pole, and Clerk of Aſſize, being *Individuums in natura*, or *termini convertibiles*, ſhall no more be daſhed in their Reputation with the Circumflex of a *K*, but rather to be conſidered as publick Officers, which, in this catching Age, ought to have a little Touch of *Hocus Pocus* in all their Performances.

16. That the Exciſe, notwithſtanding there be no Law extant, or Conſcience, to warrant ſo ſore an Impoſition upon a free People, may be thought *jure divino*, becauſe it enlarges the Hawking-bags of the Saints.

17. That no Expedition be henceforth uſed in any Court, Practice, or Procedure, but rather all Delays and Labyrinths to dwindle out a Bumkin's Patrimony to the laſt Thread: That the puny Clerks may be prevented in the Vein of their Spending-money, and the Maſters of Offices may be inriched with double Fees, to the Capacity of buying Biſhops Lands and Fee-farm Rents; beſides, the Law being juſt ſhaking Hands with us, it is neceſſary we make the moſt of it, while it is here.

18. That whereas a Country Sollicitor, vamped up to the Singularity of a Vinegar Cloke, and a green Bag, is wont to dun the Offices with a pitiful Importunity, more eſpecially when his Novice is at hand to quicken him with a Piece of Four; it is deſired he may make the Benefit of a *fallacia ſigni*, when the Term is ended, to keep his Under-vamper in Town to bear his Charges, until the poor Fellow is compelled to pawn his Cloke in *Long-lane*, to carry him Home, and then take his Leave, with a Philoſophical Bill of Charges at his Back, like an Indenture in *Folio*, to bemoan his Lawſhip to his admiring Friends.

19. That the Term *Prerogative*, being a ſequeſtrable Phraſe, a malignant and dangerous Word, full of Plots and Treaſons, a Word prayed and preached againſt by many well-wiſhing and confiding Divines, and godly Souls of this Nation, may be laid aſide, and charmed into the happy Converſion of the People's Birth-right: And ſince the Repreſentatives of the Plebeians have the Managing of all Delinquent Incumbrances: Be it propoſed to be enacted and made Law, that all ſuch tyrannical Expreſſions, Denominations, or Inventions be pocketed up, to raiſe the Wages, Salaries, Stipendiaries, or Allowances of the aforeſaid Repreſentatives from this Time forth for evermore.

20. That whereas *Meum* and *Tuum* have been the old Pronouns of diſtinguiſhing Titles and Claims in this blind and ignorant Patch of the World, in regard they are *Latin*, and ſo of grievous Conſequence to a People new-lighted, in reſpect of their Alliance, Relation, Affinity,

Affinity, and Conſanguinity to the Pope, being their Countryman: Be it confirmed by a perpetual Decree, that thoſe Words are no better than *Jeſuits*, and have nothing to do with us in the Deciſion of Rights of the new Model.

21. That the Thing called a *King*, a Title of Uſurpation, to whom, by Compulſion and imminent Neceſſity, Men of greateſt Rank, Nobility, and Profeſſions took moſt formally the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; becauſe we, that are wiſer than our Fore-fathers, know there is an Inconvenience in having any one above us, to call us to an Account, or controul the Liberty of our Concupiſcence: It is beſeeched, that all *Britain*, of what Tongue, Language, or Speech ſoever, would be pleaſed to forget that Obligation, and to acknowledge no Supremacy but in themſelves.

22. That, in all Contracts, Covenants, or Agreements, it ſhall be conſiderable for every Man to have a mental Reſervation, or intricate Meaning, that upon Advantages we may turn Weather-cocks, and adore thoſe mighty and modern Deities, Profit and Self-ends.

23. That all Records, or Regiſters of Antiquity, may be burnt and imbezzled, for Fear, leſt, in reading and turning over thoſe ſlighted and Moth-eaten Papers, we may unwillingly be put in Mind of a neglected and forgotten Duty and Obedience to Magiſtracy, Miniſtry, nay, I had almoſt ſaid, Sovereignty.

24. That every Country-fellow may have the Privilege of Pleading his own Cauſe, merely to humour the high Shoes, notwithſtanding we, in our known Wiſdom and Integrity, ſhall give Sentence according to our Underfeeling and proper Diſcretion.

25. That all Committee-men ſhall be held forth Saints at their Death, and be inthroned in the Church-Windows, at the Charge of the Pariſh; becauſe they have been moſt eminent Inſtruments in the Ingroſſing and Monopoliſing of all Church-Lands, Glebe, and Tythes.

26. That there may be a Provincial Pair-royal of Judges ſelected for the Determining of Suits in the ſame Country where they firſt take Breath: Always provided, that if the Parties be rich, fat, and well-liking, and of good Credit in the Sheriffs Books, and withal able to endure the Heat of a *London* Trial: That, in ſuch Caſes, there muſt and ought to be a further Appeal to our Palace at *Weſtminſter*, where ſuch Differences are moſt peculiarly required to be decided with a wet Finger.

27. That as the Oath *ex Officio*, or an Injunction for a Man to diſcover himſelf againſt himſelf, has always been held a moſt injurious Circumventing and unjuſt Invention amongſt Grandees (except in Matters of Sequeſtration) it ſhall be lawful henceforward for no Man to unrip, untruſs, or divulge the leaſt Syllable of his own Privity or hidden Knowledge of deluding, deceiving, or couſening the Commonalty, againſt his own Conſcience.

28. That the damnable expenſive Fees of all Offices and Officers ſhall be brought to an *Abatamentum*, and be left to the Pleaſure of every Man's Heart to gratulate and requite his Truſtee; and ſo, the Lawyers being brought into Subjection to the Mercy of the Bores and Swads, they may not flaunt ſo ſtately in their *Pontificalibus*, being but publick Servants, and a Hickle of Animals, which breathe by the Iniquities of the Land.

29. That, whereas Incontinence has been evermore held by the Ancients a moſt decried and puniſhable Vice, and Trick of Youth in moſt Countries, it is conceived fit to be eſteemed Venial, and more pardonable in this cold Climate; and to permit all Men, of experienced Activity, the Freedom of a Wife and an Intimate, for the Fructifying of the Siſter-hood, and the Enlargement of the Number of the *Geneva* Fry.

30. That the old Proverb, *Change is no Robbery*, be put in Practice in theſe moderate Times. And whereas the grievous and mighty Tax, called *Ship-money*, impoſed by the Royaliſts, hath been eſteemed Tyranny, Injuſtice, and Covetouſneſs: The eaſy and frivolous Seſs of ſixty-thouſand Pounds a Month, loaded by the Reformed Sighers and Groaners, ſhall be conſtrued by all Sorts of Pay-maſters a Trifle, a Piece of Nothingneſs, neceſſary to the Supportation of the Armies, and other ſmall Diſburſements, which do not amount to half the Sum.

31. That whereas the Taking up of Arms in former Ages againſt a Prince, by his own Subjects, was by the Law found Treaſon; in reſpect that now we know he is but a Man, obnoxious to Death and Mortality at Pleaſure; it ſhall no longer be judged Treaſon, but Con-

venience; and that ſuch ought to be rewarded for it, under the Notion of good Service and Gallantry.

32. That whereas in Caſe of Manſlaughter, and other caſual Offences, Men were allowed the Benefit of their Clergy; it is granted neceſſary in this Metamorphoſis of Things, that no Man be put to his Book again, for there is hardly one in a Hundred can read his Neck-verſe, and ſo many of the good Intenders to the Weal-publick may incur the Hazard of the hempen Twiſt.

33. That all ſubſizing, querpo, gizzard Clerks, which farm a Parcel of Scribbling at three Pence a Day, ſhall not be ſuffered henceforward to lay out their Fathers Allowance, and their own lamentable Revenue, upon a Suit of Cloaths, and a Horſe Collar of Ribbands: For, as it is even in the greateſt Order of the buſtling Gallants a moſt unſeemly, ranting, looſe, profuſe, ugly Garb, to be dreſſed about the Hips like a Morris-dancer, and to have more Variety of ſtrange Colours than good Conditions, it is judged commendable both in State Policy and common Civility to enact, that all ſuch which are found whiffling in ſuch antick Dreſſes, be accounted no better than W—Maſters, Tooth-drawers; and Mountebanks, from this Time forth for evermore.

34. That all Lawyers Wives, which have come ſneaking into the Inns of Court, with their Bag and Baggage, whether it be to be Proficients in their Husbands Abſence in the Practice of Fee Tail, or whether it be to convert thoſe gallant Edifices from a Nurſery of Law, to a Shambles of Laundry-women, I know not; but it is requeſted to be voted, that all ſuch preſumptuous Whipſters, with their Litter and Lumber, reduce themſelves either into *Ram Alley*, *Purple-Lane*, or *Caſtle-Yard*, more fit Stages for ſuch comical Subjects, than Seminaries of Learning, and there to ſet up for themſelves, where only ſuch Kind of Cattle are to be expected.

35. That the Corruption of Courts has been a moſt horrid and crying Crime in this Nation, in that the Poor have been overborne by the Rich in a moſt high Way, and all by Interceſſion of the Lady *Pecunia*, a Gentlewoman much idoliſed of late; it is therefore ordained, that no more Money be produced to tempt the Frailty of a Clerk's Conſcience, but that every Thing be carried in a round Way between Man and Man, and, by that Time the Exciſe, Sequeſtration, monthly Taxes, *&c.* have continued their Reign over us one Year more, be it accounted Treaſon for any Man whatſoever to be able to offer an Attorney, Sollicitor, or Council, more than his juſt Fee, except it be a Raſher of Bacon, to reliſh his Morning's Draught.

36. That there may be a Diſtinction made between Clerks of the Children's Threes, and Stagers of the long Twelves, Men of the Tribe of *Anack* in their Profeſſion, and Tipplers of the Stock of *Benjamin*, whoſe Gooſe-quill Fancies were never elevated beyond the *Parnaſſus* of a green Nogging in their Maſters Abſence: It is therefore propoſed, that ſuch niffling Fellows be diſtinguiſhed by the childiſh Wear of yellow Ribbands, from the Marſhal Seniors with their fiery Faces.

37. *Item*, That all Indentures, Bills, Leaſes, Conveyances, and Bonds Obligatory, ſhall no more be dated from the Year of our Lord God, nor the Coronation of the King, but *Stilo Novo*, from the firſt Day of the eleventh Month, in ſuch a Model of the State Government, under the Conduct of ſuch a Party.

38. *Item*, That all Impropriations, Collegeholds, Lapſes, or Patronage of Church Means, be all referred to a Jury of Saints to diſpoſe of: Becauſe it is the Patrimony of the Elect in this World, and to ſuſtain the Indigency of the Spirit of Talking.

39. That all Right might be judged by the Touch-ſtone of Affection, and if ſo be the Plaintiff, or Defendant, cannot bring Proof, that he is one of ſuch a collected Church of the marching Miniſtry, it is fitting he ſhould be reprobated in Eſtate, as well as Point of Salvation.

40. That no married Perſons may juſtify themſelves by the old Common Prayer Book, but he, that means to be dabbling with his Miſtreſs now, muſt permit himſelf to be poſted three ſeveral *Sundays* upon the Church Door; and, when every Country Hogo has ſpent his greaſy Jear upon him, then he muſt be examined by two Juſtices of Peace upon Oath, whether he has his and her Friends Conſent, and then, if it pleaſe the Parties, they may go to Bed together without any farther Ceremony: *Qui aliter maritaverit perdit dotem.*

41. That the Multiplicity of Heriots be reduced to nothing, and the *Marketa Mulieris* be ſet up in their Place, or rather the Forfeiture of that Money by the Occupation of the

feminine

feminine Feature by the three Articles of the Lord of the Mannor.

42. That the Lottery and the public Faith may walk Hand in Hand together from Town to Town, to ſee if it be poſſible to inveigle any more ſilver Spoons or Bodkins into the Common or the Commons Treaſury.

43. That it may be lawful for any Man to exerciſe, own, preach about, or practiſe any Religion, Hereſy, or diabolical Tenets; that the Law may be brought into ſix Words, Do as thou wouldeſt be done to; that Divinity may be made mercenary, and the Fundamentals of Church and Commonwealth laid waſte and aboliſhed; that one Man may be as good a Gentleman as another, and for all theſe, *We beſeech you to hear us, great Lords.*

Sic tetigi portum quo mihi curſus erat.

The Pope's dreadful Curſe. Being the Form of Excommunication of the Church of *Rome*. Taken out of the Leger-Book of the Church of *Rocheſter* now in the Cuſtody of the Dean and Chapter there. Writ by *Ernulfus* the Biſhop. *London*, printed and are to be ſold by *L. C.* on *Ludgate-Hill*, 1681. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

BY the Authority of God Almighty the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and of the holy Canons, and of the undefiled Virgin *Mary*, the Mother and Patroneſs of our Saviour, and of all the Celeſtial Virtues, Angels, Arch-Angels, Thrones, Dominions, Powers, Cherubins and Seraphins, and of the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, and of all the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, and of the holy Innocents, who in the Sight of the Holy Lamb are found worthy to ſing the new Song, and of the holy Martyrs and holy Confeſſors, and of the holy Virgins, and of all the Saints, and together with all the Holy and Elect of God: We excommunicate and anathematiſe him or them, Malefactor or Malefactors,—— and from the Threſholds of the holy Church of God Almighty We ſequeſter them, that he or they may be tormented, diſpoſed, and delivered over with *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and with thoſe who ſay unto the Lord God, *Depart from us, we know not thy Ways.* And, as Fire is quenched with Water, ſo let the Light of him, or them, be put out for evermore, unleſs it ſhall repent him or them, and they make Satisfaction. *Amen.*

May the Father, who created Man, curſe him or them. May the Son, who ſuffered for us, curſe him or them. May the Holy Ghoſt, who was given to us in Baptiſm, curſe him or them. May the holy Croſs, which Chriſt for our Salvation triumphing over his Enemy aſcended, curſe him or them. May the holy and eternal Virgin *Mary*, Mother of God, curſe him or them. May St. *Michael*, the Advocate of holy Souls, curſe him or them. May all the Angels and Arch-Angels, Principalities and Powers, and all the heavenly Hoſt, curſe him or them. May the laudable Number of the Patriarchs and Prophets curſe him or them. May St. *John*, the chief Fore-runner and Baptiſt of Chriſt, curſe him or them. May St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and St. *Andrew*, and all other Chriſt's Apoſtles, together with the reſt of his Diſciples, and the four Evangeliſts, who by their Preaching converted the univerſal World, curſe him or them. May the holy and wonderful Company of Martyrs and Confeſſors, who by their holy Works are found pleaſing to God Almighty, curſe him or them. May the holy Choir of the holy Virgins, who for the Honour of Chriſt have deſpiſed the Things of the World, curſe him or them. May all the Saints, who from the Beginning of the World to everlaſting Ages are found to be the Beloved of God, curſe him or them. May the Heavens and Earth, and

and all the holy Things remaining therein, curſe him or them. May he or they be curſed, wherever he or they be, whether in their Houſe or in their Field, or in the High-way, or in the Path, or in the Wood, or in the Water, or in the Church. May he or they be curſed in Living, in Dying, in Eating, in Drinking, in being Hungry, in being Thirſty, in Faſting, in Sleeping, in Slumbering, in Waking, in Walking, in Standing, in Sitting, in Lying, in Working, in Reſting, in Piſſing, in Shitting, and in Blood-letting. May he or they be curſed in all the Faculties of their Body. May he or they be curſed inwardly and outwardly. May he or they be curſed in the Hair of his or their Head. May he or they be curſed in his or their Brain. May he or they be curſed in the Top of his or their Head, in their Temples, in their Forehead, in their Ears, in their Eye-brows, in their Cheeks, in their Jaw-bones, in their Noſtrils, in their Fore-teeth or Grinders, in their Lips, in their Throat, in their Shoulders, in their Wriſts, in their Arms, in their Hands, in their Fingers, in their Breaſt, in their Heart, and in all the interior Parts to the very Stomach: In their Reins, in the Groin, in the Thighs, in the Genitals, in the Hips, in the Knees, in the Legs, in the Feet, in the Joints, and in the Nails. May he or they be curſed in all their Joints, from the Top of the Head to the Sole of the Foot. May there not be any Soundneſs in him or them.

May the Son of the living God, with all the Glory of his Majeſty, curſe him or them; and may Heaven, with all the Powers which move therein, riſe againſt him or them to damn him or them, unleſs it ſhall repent him or them, or that he or they ſhall make Satisfaction. *Amen, Amen. So be it.*

The Publication of this is to ſhew what is to be expected from the Pope, if he come to be ſupreme Head of the Church in this Nation.

The true and wonderful Hiſtory * of *Perkin Warbeck*, proclaiming himſelf *Richard the Fourth.*

Nullus ſibi ſimilis in periculis homo, quoties ad audaciam ex metu venerit. Eurip. Iphig. in Tauris.

London: Printed by *E. G.* for *Nathaniel Butter*, and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Paul's Church-yard*, at the Sign of the *Pyed-Bull.* 1618. *Quarto*, containing one hundred and twelve Pages.

Hiſtoria eſt { *Teſtis temporum.* / *Lux veritatis.* / *Vita memoriæ.* / *Magiſtra vitæ.* / *Nuntia vetuſtatis.*

Hiſtoria nihil aliud eſt niſi annalium confectio, cujus rei memoriæque publicæ retinendæ cauſa, ab initio res omnes ſingulorum annorum mandabat literis Pontifex maximus, efferebatque in album, & proponebat tabulam domi, &c.
Cicero de Orat. Lib. ii.

* *Vide* the 232d Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

To

To the Right Honourable Thomas *Earl of* Arundel, *firſt Earl of* England, *one of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Council*, &c.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

SUch as my poor ſelf, that am only a Looker on of your Virtues as a Paſſenger in a Street beholding the Frontiſpiece of ſome delicate Edifice, but debarred the Entrance and Search into the inward Rooms, muſt be contented, or, if you pleaſe, indebted to the Opinion and Report of others; which I have found ſo ample and enlarged concerning your great Honour, and greater Worthineſs, that I will forbear any further Inſinuation, leſt I ſtep into a Kind of Flattery, a Vice incident to moſt Men, refuſed of none, yet in all Fortunes to be diſclaimed of a Gentleman: Only I muſt add this, that I am proud of mine own Aſſurance, that you are born to adorn our Country, and illuſtrate our Court, wherein your Induſtry, Loyalty, and immaculate Truth ſhall make your Virtues compleat and triumphant. Therefore, great Lord, have I choſen out this Hiſtory, merely for the Strangeneſs, and charactered you the Patron of my Endeavours for the Obſervations, that the remarkable Paſſages herein propoſed, of which even *Scotland* had a Part, may ſerve for all Perſons in ſuch Dignity and eminent Places, both for Precept and Caution.

For Precept, to flouriſh in their own Honours, and move in their own Orbs, ſticking cloſe to the Glory of their Country, and clinging to the Sides of Majeſty, that the King may ask, what ſhall be done to the Man, whom he would honour, and the Commonwealth follow them with panegyrical Applauſes, who preſerve her Peace from the Raviſhing and Deforming of Strangers, be the Hopes to the contrary never ſo probable or inducive.

For Caution, not once to put any Confidence in Deceivers, nor believe the Devil himſelf, though he promiſe to give the Kingdoms of the World, which are none of his: Yet, I confeſs him Prince of the ſame, that is, of the Abuſes and Impieties therein both raging, and reigning: And the rather, becauſe the End hath ever been Perdition of Body, Soul, Honour, Eſtates, and Poſterity: Nor can the Pleading of Simplicity in the Seduction, or Ignorance in the Credulity, ſerve the Turn: For though Princes many Times have been drawn to pardon the Offences of Subjects, and refractory Delinquents, wallowing or rather ſunk over Head and Ears in the miry Bogs of ſuch Convulſions: Yet are they not always to be preſumed upon, nor will the Commonwealth endure the Indignity, or give Way to any Perſon whatſoever in Vilipending the Government.

I humbly therefore requeſt your Honour to read over this true and ſtrange Story, and take in Worth my good Meaning, which preſenteth the ſame unto you I proteſt without any other Motive, than to ſee you flouriſh, as a Supportation of our Commonwealth, and Jewel of our Kingdom. As for the Faults and my Preſumption, I expect, that that Virtue and Goodneſs, which muſt make you famous in this World, and happy in the World to come, will extend but her own Properties to my Pardon and Admiſſion, knowing that, if I have done Ill, Wiſdom is not bought in the Market, and yet God bids us come without Money; if well, it is in your honourable Favour, and noble Acceptation.

Your Honours humble Obſervant,

THOMAS GAINSFORD.

Deſtruit

Deſtruit ingentes animos, & vita ſuperſtes
Imperio, niſi ſumma dies cum fine bonum
Affuit & celeri prævertit triſtia letho,
Dedecori eſt fortuna prior, quiſquamne ſecundis
Tradere ſe fatis audet, niſi morte parata? *Lucan. Lib.* viii.

A PREFACE.

Nec adulatori, néque detractori.

TO ſpeak of the Commendation of Hiſtory is not my Meaning; nor of the Neceſſity my Purpoſe: For beſides the Definition, and Explanation of Tully *himſelf, you have at leaſt forty ſeveral Books, which begin (as I do) with a Preface, as a Preparative to the Reader, to take their Books within their gentle Embraces, merely upon the Commendation of Hiſtory. I leave all unnamed, except Sir* Henry Savil *for* Tacitus, *Sir* Walter Raleigh *for his Hiſtory of the World, Dr.* Haward *for the three* Norman *Kings, and* Henry the Fourth. *In whoſe Writings, let us write what we can, as much is written, as either Delight, Profit, or private Reſpect can extend unto; ſo that I ſay I deſiſt from that general Inſinuation concerning the Credit, or particular Satisfaction of Hiſtory, and come to more familiar Opening the Carpet of the Buſineſs propoſed. Only this I will add, that I had rather read one true Story handſomely ſet upon the Frame of Precept and Caution, than a thouſand Fictions diverting my imaginary Conceits to think upon, and (as we ſay) ſpend themſelves on Impoſſibilities, and corrupt my Meditation with vain, fooliſh, beaſtly, and trivial Devices, which are the more ridiculous, becauſe there is Subſtance, and Matter enough in Verity, to ſet on Work any Humour and Invention whatſoever, and ſatisfy Apprehenſions even in their wanton and exotick Wanderings.*

For in this Houſe of Repaſt, which my Ivy-buſh invites you to, wouldeſt thou be made Partaker of the Attributes appropriated to the Divine Majeſty? Here are manifeſted his Providence, Wiſdom, Mightineſs, Power, Juſtice, Mercy, Prevention, Love, Goodneſs, Majeſty, &c. Wouldeſt thou be made acquainted with the Secrets of Religion? Here are demonſtrated the Vanities of Ceremonies, the Neceſſity of Adoration, the Encumbrances of Superſtition, the Simplicity of Times, the Darkneſs of Popery, the Fear of Excommunication, the Reverence of Prieſthood, and the Folly of Devices? Wouldeſt thou know the Policies of Government, and Dignity of a King? Here you ſhall ſee, what the Deſire of Sovereignty can do, the Jealouſy of a Prince's Eſtate, the Revenge of Wrongs, the Fear of Troubles, and Innovation, the Inconſtancy of the People; the Danger of Factions, and the ſeveral Paſſages of a proſperous, or declining Eſtate? Wouldſt thou be quickned with the Remembrance of Pleaſure? Here are Particulars of Delight, Courtings of Ladies, amorous Encounters, triumphant Shews, deceitful Vanities, and ſome idle Relations? Wouldeſt thou ſee Virtue mounted on a Pinnacle of her Palace? Here are Wiſdom, Gravity, Conſtancy, Magnanimity, Endurances of Misfortune, and Moderation of Power and Greatneſs. Wouldeſt thou behold Vice in her Deformity? Here are Envy, Hatred, Malice, Pride, Ambition, Deſire of Revenge, Rebellion, Contumacy, Stubbornneſs, and ſuch like. Wouldeſt thou be acquainted with Paſſions? Here are Joy, Fear, Sorrow, Gladneſs, Jealouſy, Miſtruſt, and all of that Sort. Wouldeſt thou ſee other Varieties? Here are Princes deceived,

Hopers

Hopers abuſed, Lyars execrated, Traitors puniſhed, and the Devil himſelf confounded. In a Word, wouldeſt thou hear of ſtrange Adventures, painful Endeavours, heroick Actions, dangerous Attempts, or military Proceedings? Here is Fortune, as we profanely run away with the Emblem, ſet upon a Wheel, and turned round about by the Hand of an inviſible and invincible Deity. Here is the Stage of Variety, and Table of Wonders: So that I am ſure, from the Conqueſt to this Hour, there is no Story ſo remarkable, and ſo full of Obſervation, either for the ridiculous Beginning, dangerous Continuance, or lamentable Effects.

For, although the firſt Contentions between the Houſes of York *and* Lancaſter *began, queſtionleſs, from the wrong Intruſion of* Henry the Fourth, *when the Right of the Crown was in* Mortimer, *and his Line, by the Daughter of* Clarence, *King* Edward the Third's *third Son, and elder Brother to* John *of* Gaunt; *yet there was ſome Probability and Inducement to the Revengers, either mighty Armies, ſtrong Factions, many Confederates, or the next of Blood powerful in his own Poſſeſſion and Friends, with ſuch like. But here, beſides the fanatical Invention, Men were tranſported againſt their own Conſcience and Knowledge, and aſſumed Arms to do they knew not what, only becauſe they would be counted factious, ſtirring, and reſembling the Fiſh* Sepia, *which, caſt into any Water, befroths the ſame; and, in the Concluſion, the End as the Beginning, and both, like a Paper Caſtle, quickly ſet on Fire; or, if you will, a Confection of Spicery, which, after it is carried round about the Houſe, is placed upon the Table with great Wonder, Amazement, and Delight, both at the Stuff and Contriving: But what is the Iſſue? The Lookers on at laſt fall to, and pull even the Guns and Houſes a Pieces, and eat them.*

In Ireland, *I remember, they lay an Imputation of Baſeneſs and Cowardice on any Man that hath not been in Action, as they term it, or hath not had his Pardon and Protection; ſo that Cuſtom makes them Traitors, and the Vainglory of Reputation, many Times, brings their Necks to the Halter; yet it is ſomewhat tolerable for the Generality of the Fault, and Enforcement of the Motive, being Bards, Rhimers, Harpers, Prieſts, whom the very Women hug in their Boſoms, for Seducing their Noblemen and Gentlemen, and Exciting them to Revenge. Upon this Ground they muſt proſecute,* Firſt, *Some Things worthy the Honour of their Anceſtors, and next remember the Deploration of Religion, Liberty, and the Uſurpation of their Country, all which the* Engliſh *have, from Time to Time, intruded upon, and are not to be endured in their Tyranny, as they make them believe. But, in this our Story, there is Nothing ſavouring true Heroiſm, nor worthy the Name of Commiſeration and Aſſiſtance: For the beſt Excuſe ariſeth from Shadows, Smoke, Vapours, fooliſh Enterpriſes, and unjuſtifiable Actions, wherein only the Power of God is manifeſted and made apparent, that, from ſo ſmall Beginnings, and ſlender a Fountain, ſuch turbulent Streams, and raging Rivers, ſhould ariſe, even to indanger one of the flouriſhingeſt Kingdoms in the World; yea, my Heart trembles to imagine, that ſo great a Prince, in the Unity of a Right by an unpreventable Marriage, ſhould be heaved at, in ſo formidable a Manner, by an Upſtart, and, as I may ſay, Puppet ſtuffed with Straw, to ſcare away Crows.*

I have read of one Spartago, *a Fencer, that, taking upon him the Perſon of* Scribonianus, *drew a great Party together; which as* Nero *laughed to Scorn, ſo, indeed, the Commonwealth quickly put to Flight. Likewiſe, the other Day in* Venice, Florence, *and many Principalities of* Italy, *a ſtrange Impoſtor, after thirty Years, or thereabouts, made them believe he was* Sebaſtian, *King of* Portugal, *ſlain in* Barbary *at the Battle of* Alcazar, *as was ſuppoſed, but, in Truth, recovered, and obſcured for a Time, &c. I might alſo add the Cunning of* Richard, *Duke of* York, *who, being in* Ireland, *animated the*

Kentiſh *Rebel*, Jack Cade, *to perſonate the Name of* Mortimer, *for a Trial how the People would affect that Title: But theſe Flouriſhes were only the raſh Burnings of a Bavin, as ſoon extinguiſhed as in a Flame, and quickly overthrown, upon the firſt Diſcovery: Only this Story, for the Variety, the Continuance, the Manner, and all other Circumſtances, hath made me, as I ſaid before, amazed, and may, in the Reading, produce the ſame Effects in others: Yet again, when I conſider the Eſtate of Man's Frailty, mutable, troubleſome, and full of Encumbrances, and overlook the Condition of Mortality, which, in Princes themſelves, is ſubject to Inconveniences, and, many Times, fearful Convulſions, I wonder the leſs, becauſe God will be known unto them, and they have, for the moſt Part, prevailed in their Rights, and juſtifiable Endeavours: For which I alſo pray, that they may ſtill hold up the Heads of triumphant and unchangeable Greatneſs, wherein, no doubt, the ſame Divine Arm of Potency, which hath protected others, will alſo ſupport them from all dangerous Enterprizes and fearful Treaſons, either of Foreign, or Domeſtick Adverſaries.*

But, amongſt other remarkable Accidents, this is not the leaſt, that ſo many Examples, ſo many Heads cut off, ſo many Armies overthrown, ſo many honourable Families conſumed, ſo much Blood ſpill, ſo great Revenges taken (as if all ſuch Enterpriſes were curſed in the Womb, and brought forth like an untimely Embryo) *could never affright others, nor be a ſufficient Warning to ſucceeding Times, but every Occaſion of Innovation, were it never ſo fooliſh or exorbitant, ſtill excited one or other to Parts-taking, and brought them to untimely Overthrows, either by their Armies, and Confederates diſcomfited, or, by their Inditements and Accuſations, enlarged in judicial Trial againſt them: But this is the Cunning of the Devil, who, to fill up the vaſt Dungeon of Hell, makes Men ſo prodigal of their Lives and Honours, or ſo covetous of Revenge and Vainglory, that, ſo they may have a Name with* Heroſtratus, *who burned the Temple of* Diana, *they care not for the Reproach, ſuppoſing, that as many will extol them for brave ſtirring Spirits, as condemn them for Traitors and diſobedient Subjects. O ridiculous and abominable Conceits! O hateful and filthy Imaginations! O deceivable and impoſturing Impiety! Nay, in a Word, O horrible and flagitious Madneſs! without Reaſon, Likelihood, or Inference of any probable or perſuaſive Circumſtance.*

But, leſt my Preface extend beyond the Bounds of my Heart's Commiſſion, I will attend the Particulars of my Story, with this Expoſtulation to all noble and generous Spirits; yea, I will kneel on my Knees and hold up my Hands unto them, that they give no Way to any deceivable Seduction of Pope, Jeſuit, Prieſt, Faction, Innovation, Repining at the State, private Ambition, corrupted Malice, and ſuch like, againſt the Current of Government, or the Ebbings and Flowings of the World and Times. For the Majeſty of Kings will not be tied up with the ſlender Bindings of Rebellion, nor taught any Leſſon againſt their Wills, either of Favouring or Diſfavouring, whom they pleaſe. As for perſonal Faults, alas! Princes, Prelates, Officers, Magiſtrates, and all Sorts of Men will run the Race of Mortality; and, if it were poſſible to remove Offenders at Pleaſure, the Perſons may be changed, but the Imperfections continue. Let them therefore alone a God's Name; for they muſt ſtand or fall to the Eſtate of their Lives, which he hath appointed; only this I will be bold to ſay, I would have no Man, for any private Reſpect, run in the outrageous Races of Sins himſelf, or defend any Wickedneſs in others, bear with great Men in their Vices, flatter, or temporiſe for Profit or Preferment, yield unto baſe or degenerating Actions, either for Fear or Favour; or, in a Word, do any Thing contrary to God's Word, wherein, as in a Glaſs, Men may perſpicuouſly behold the Way of Life and Death,

Death, and the infallible Poſitions, which, in the Affirmative and Negative, conclude all Things either by Precept or Interdiction.

Parvis enim res magnas quomodò caperet quis laboribus? Stultum etiam velle & conari hæc; quando enim excanduerit populus, ad iram prolapſus, ſimilis eſt igni ad extinguendum vehementi; ſi vero pedetentim quis ei concitato quidem cedens obſecundârit, tempus cautè obſervans, cum autem emiſerit flatus, forſan exhalaverit. *Eurip. Oreſt.*

THE Contentions between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* are the Subjects of many Diſcourſes, and therefore I will inſiſt the leſs either upon Genealogies, Titles, Uſurpations, Wars, Factions, Encounters, Revenges, Battles, and Slaughters, or other accidental Outrages, which, for ninety Years, filled the Wrinkles of the Face of our Commonwealth of *England*, with the Blood and Sweat of ten Kings and Princes of the Race royal: Sixty Dukes and Earls; a thouſand Lords and Knights, and an hundred and fifty thouſand Soldiers and People. Only I muſt make a little Continuance and Abiding in the wretched and ragged Houſe of Envy and Malice, governed and overſeen by a Woman, who was ſo oppoſite and adverſe to the *Lancaſtrian* Family, that, though King *Henry the Seventh* had obtained the Crown by a ſtrong Hand, and, as we ſay, *divinitus præmunitus*; yea, debarred all Titles, or ſuming Shadows of Titles, by conſummating that Marriage with the Lady *Eliſabeth*, eldeſt Daughter of *Edward the Fourth*; ſhe yet contrived all the Ways of his Overthrow, and, *invita fortuna*, entertained every Occaſion, which might add Fuel to the Fire of her inveterate Hate, and blood-thirſty Humour of Revenge, as if ſhe had been born like certain Antipathies in Nature, which cannot endure any Neighbourhood or Commixture; ſuch as the Yew and Palm, the Fig and Vine, the Strings of Wolves and Sheep, which makes me remember the Story of *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, the Sons of *Oedipus*, whoſe Hate was ſo great in their Lives, that, after Death, the Bones being burnt together, the Flame of the Sacrifice divided aſunder.

This was *Margaret* Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, Siſter of *Edward the Fourth*, and a ſworn Adverſary to caſt the red Roſe of *England* into the black Pit of Confuſion, who, perceiving her firſt Hopes fruſtrated and annihilated concerning the Progreſſion of *Lambert*'s Enterpriſes, ſtudied Night and Day upon further and further Inſtigations, yea, hovered over and over Opportunity like a Hawk for her Prey, to torment and trouble the Peace of *England*; embracing every ſtrange and preſtigious Illuſion, and not caring with what Pullies of ridiculous and impoſſible Actions her Malice and Revenges were wound up, ſo they might be hurried down again upon the Head of the King, whom ſhe curſed on her Knees, and hated, even beyond the Tenderneſs of her Sex, many of her own Friends, for his Sake. Therefore, to weary his Patience a little more, ſhe ſet up another Puppet like the former, one *Peter Warbeck*, a *Fleming*, to act a Part of Wonder on the Stage of dangerous Innovation, and take upon him the Title of *Richard the Fourth* Prince of *England*, and white Roſe of the ſame: But before I play the Midwife, or (if you will) Phyſician to her, to deliver her Womb of this monſtrous Birth of *Peter Warbeck*, whom ſhe taught the Cunning and audacious Impudence of perſonating *Richard* Duke of *York*, murthered with his Brother in the *Tower*, by *Richard the Third*, ſome eight Years before; I think it not impertinent to our Purpoſe in Hand, to tell you what this *Lambert* was, and wherein he ſeemed cozened with the whoriſh Smiles of an adulterate Fortune by the only Means and Coadjutement of this Ducheſs of *Burgundy*.

The firſt and ſecond Years of *Henry the Seventh* ſwelled to ſo great a Height of Joy, Bleſſedneſs, and Contentment from the Rivulets of King *Richard*'s Slaughter, the Corroboration of his Eſtate, the Amity of the Nobles, the Marriage with the eldeſt Daughter of *York*, the Birth of Prince *Arthur*, the League and Amity of foreign Princes, and the Applauſe of all his Subjects, that the divine Providence thought it meet to temper and allay the Exceſs of the ſame with ſome Mixtures of Fear and Diſpleaſure, leſt Mortality might preſume too far, and Man triumph,

that his own Arm of Fleſh had contrived his Eſtabliſhment: So that the Lord *Lovel*, *Humphrey* and *Thomas Strafford*, with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, and divers others, attempted a dangerous Rebellion, and drew into the Field a great Army againſt the King; whom to prevent, the Duke of *Bedford*, with ſuch Forces as could be raiſed on a Sudden, made Haſte to an Encounter. But his Fortune was ſo good, that, with a ſucceſsful Oratory, not ſtriking a Stroke, he prevailed to diſſipate thoſe threatening and thickening Clouds of Diſturbance; for (after he had intimated the Heinouſneſs of their Tranſgreſſion, and Nature of their Offences, which were capital Treaſons, and withal inferred the King's great Mercy, which was willing to pardon their Raſhneſs, and pitiful Overlights, ſo they would deſiſt, and retire peaceably into their Countries) the whole Company ceaſed, and quietly depoſed their Arms, whereupon the Lord *Lovel* fled, and the *Staffords* took Sanctuary in a Village called *Culnaham*, two Miles from *Abington*; but becauſe the Judges of the Law alledged that the Towns of Refuge among the *Jews* were ordained for other Purpoſes; and that *Joab* was killed holding by the Horns of the Altar, and the Places of Privileges in *England* were never meant to ſuborn Traitors: *Humphrey Stafford* was taken by Force from the Town, and ſent to the *Tower*, from whence they brought him to *Tyburn*, and there put him to Execution: His younger Brother *Thomas* was, notwithſtanding remitted as a Man whom Conſanguinity and Brotherhood had rather deceived, than Wilfulneſs and Malice againſt the King abuſed. O bleſſed Wiſdom! that can ſo temper Juſtice with the Conſideration of Men's Frailties, and other malevolent Circumſtances, to keep her a While from contracting a Brow of Revenge upon every Offender, and had rather draw ſome Men to a ſweet Obedience from their Penitency, and Newneſs of Life, than cut off others by the ſtrong Hand of Execution: And thus in other Caſes of State it many Times chanceth, that even Acceſſaries are condemned, when the Principals go free; yea, in the higheſt Degree of Treaſon, which is Diſplaying of Colours, and Taking up Arms againſt a Prince, it is ſometimes better taken in Action than in Conſultation; yet is there no Preſuming on Favour in any of theſe Caſes, nor Taking Hands with Example to trace in the By-paths of any indirect Courſes.

But as Miſchiefs, according to *Euripides*, ſeldom come alone, and *unda undam ſequitur*; ſo preſently upon the Neck of this followed a ſtrange and wonderful Trouble, through the Inſurrection of one *Lambert Simnel*, taking upon him the Perſon of *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, Son of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, newly come into the Hands of the King, and committed to the *Tower*. This *Lambert* was induced, or, if you will, ſeduced, to this Enterpriſe, by the deviliſh Impoſtures of *Richard Simond* a Prieſt, who was ſo haſty in his Accounts, and forward in his Reckonings, that he preſently concluded, that, if *Lambert* could be King, he ſhould be an Archbiſhop at leaſt; *O manifeſta phreneſis!* where, by the Way, you may obſerve, that never Enterpriſe was atchieved to the Diſſipation of Monarchies, and Tranſlation of Kingdoms; never Miſchief ſet on Foot, nor Wickedneſs put on the Wings of Prevailing; but from the Contrivance and Coadjutement of a Prieſt, and ſuch Men as profeſſed the Religion of thoſe Times, as in Hiſtories may appear: But, if you deſcend into *Europe*, and come lower amongſt ourſelves, I dare ſay, that, from the Conqueſt to this Hour, all exorbitant Actions, dangerous Attempts, terrible Enforcements, never heard of Projects, and monſtrous Commotions, to the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, and Weakening the Glory of our Kingdom, have been atchieved and furthered by the Means of Popiſh Prieſts, and Jeſuits, and the damnable Doctrines and Inſtructions of their Aſſociates, mere Hypocrites both in Life and Doctrine; yea, that monſtrous Terror of *Chriſtendom*, the Family of *Ottoman*, and Religion of *Mahomet*, was blown ſo big, as you ſee it in the Furnace of *Sergius*, a counterfeit Monk, and now ſet on the Throne of Imperiouſneſs through his Supportation and Aſſiſtance in compoſing the Alcoran.

When this our Prieſt, *Richard Simond*, or *Verſipellis Sinon*, well perceived and underſtood the gentle Condition and Pregnancy of this *Lambert*, he wrought moſt cunningly upon him, and thought him a fit Inſtrument to hammer out the deviliſh Plots he projected; whereby, queſtionleſs, you may apprehend the Cunning and Malice of Satan, who can entangle Men with ſuch ſtrange Illuſions, and all

in the End to deſtroy them, and bring them to Confuſion: How elſe can any reaſonable Man apprehend, that a Scholar and Prieſt ſhould be ſo infatuated as to make a ſilly Fellow take upon him the Perſon of a Prince, laid long before in his Grave, and murthered by the Tyranny of an unnatural Uncle? Yet did this Novice go forward with theſe ſtrange Diſguiſes, like a ſealed Dove flying into the Hawk's Seizure by her own Wilfulneſs and Blindneſs, and as if the Poet ſhould cry out,

Medeæ faciunt ad ſcelus omne manus:

So was he led by the Hands of this Prieſt, who was now ſet upon nothing but Wickedneſs, and at the laſt plunged into the Sea of Turmoils.

But the chief Original of this Diſturbance aroſe from a certain Fame, and Report, that King *Edward*'s Children were not dead, but ſecretly conveyed into ſome other Country, as *Edward*, ſirnamed *the Outlaw*, had in former Times been into *Hungary*, and that *Edward* Earl of *Warwick* ſhould be ſhortly put to Death: O ſimple Men! and oh vain Multitude! that are carried away with every Wind, believe unconſtant Reports, rely on fooliſh Prophecies, and run along with uncertain Rumours; which makes me remember one of the fooliſheſt Things that ever happened amongſt us, of one *Bolton*, Prior of *St. Bartholomew*'s, about the fifteenth Year of *Henry the Eighth*, who in a great Rain, to prevent a Prophecy, or rather his own atheiſtical Fear, that the World, or if you will, the Country ſhould be drowned again, retired himſelf to a Houſe made for the ſame Purpoſe on the Top of *Harrow-hill*, to the great Amazement of the People, and his own eternal Infamy, that being a Clergyman believed in God no better, and underſtood the Scriptures ſo weakly. But this was the Blindneſs of thoſe Times, wherein Men believed any Thing was told them by a cozening Prieſt, and durſt report what they heard, threatening as they pleaſed, yet daring do nothing, becauſe, when it came to their own Carving, they knew not what to do, nor how to juſtify their own Speeches, which in the beſt Commonwealth, concerning Rumour, is remedileſs, and concerning Prophecies, with the beſt Men, is unpreventable. For every Man is afraid of the Miſchief, but never any anticipated the Effect, or prevented the Danger.

Theſe Lyes, for I may now well ſay *fama malum*, although they were frivolous and vain, and out of all Likelihood, either of Verity, or to ſet up any Frame of Stedfaſtneſs; yet animated and encouraged this Prieſt, to propoſe a Time of *Lambert*'s Royalty, with his own Exaltation, if he could be perſuaded to aſſume the Character of *Edward the Fourth*'s Child, and ſo to lay Claim to the Crown of *England*, whereunto he was confidently led, as it were by the Arm of Foreign Friendſhip and Home Coadjutement, partly upon his own Experience and Knowledge of many wavering Hearts in the Kingdom, and partly upon a Conference he had once with a *Burgonian*, who ſpared not to confeſs the Hate of Lady *Margaret*, the Ducheſs, againſt the King now reigning. Whereupon a Philoſophical Meditation flattered him, that, where Hatred and Malice is once rooted in the Heart of a Woman, it will ever ſpring green, and never leave, till it have produced ſome Fruit of Vengeance, unleſs it be prevented by being digged up by the Roots, and thrown into the Fire; whereupon this poor Prieſt was now brought into this fooliſh Paradiſe, through his fantaſtical Imagination, like him that had a brazen Target carried over his Head, for Fear the Sky ſhould fall upon him; and ſo inſtructed his Youth both diligently and effectually in *Oxford*, where he went to School, that he began to underſtand from what Progeny he was extracted, with what Titles he was to be ſaluted, and to how many Families he was allied, all which he ſaid was nothing, without ſome worthy Actions of his own, to which Purpoſe he very often remembered the Poet:

Nam genus & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipſi
Vix ea noſtro voco.——

He could alſo diſcourſe of his Mother's Kindred as well as his Father's, and tell the lamentable Tragedies of both his Grandfathers ſlain in the Wars; eſpecially, how the warlike Duke of *York* was abuſed by Queen *Margaret*, and that his Uncle *Glouceſter* had fulfilled the Prophecy imputed to *George* Duke of *Clarence*. He had alſo ſo clerkly and craftily learned his Leſſon, that he could by Name remember his Kindred formerly dead, and capi-

tulate his Friends now living, and who would ſtand as Supporters to his lawful and princely Claim. To which he added a compleat Manner of princely Behaviour, both in Geſture, Gate, Countenance, Elocution, and Courage, which was many Times adorned with ſuch a natural Gravity and Temperature, that he wondered at his Pregnancy and Apprehenſion; yea, his very Heart leaped for Joy, to imagine that the People, hearing him in this ſo wonderful a Juſtification, and lively Setting-forth of himſelf, muſt needs believe theſe deceitful Pretences, and allow of ſo well coloured a Falſehood.

While all Things were thus enacted in the diabolical Conſiſtory of this Prieſt's Brain, there was a Rumour vented abroad, as true as the reſt, that *Edward*, the young Earl of *Warwick*, was broke out of Priſon; whereupon our Sir *Simond*, even with Child again to be delivered of ſome Prodigy, began to reaſon of the Danger of Delay, and Benefit of Expedition, and ſo changed *Lambert*'s Name into *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, all Things ſerving as well to this as the other: The Joy whereof brought him into ſuch an Extaſy, that he quite forgot the Union of the Houſes, and how the King had married the eldeſt Brother's Daughter, which muſt needs be a Bar to *Warwick*'s Claim, when wiſe Men came to diſcuſs the Matter: But, reſolved in the Error of his Illuſion, he ſtrongly conjectured, that any of the Houſe of *York* were of Sufficiency to pull down the Strength of the *Lancaſtrian* Family. Beſides, he knew that *actio nulla laudata niſi peracta*, and therefore ſomething muſt be done to ſet the People on Work, though it were with throwing Firebrands of Diviſion and Falſity amongſt them, even to the Dazzling of their Eyes with Smoke, and Caſting the Sparks about their Ears. Whereupon, both craftily and audaciouſly, he put his Buſineſs to the Trial, and ſailed with his Pupil over into *Ireland*, where his Grandfather and Anceſtors had gotten ſuch Love and Reſpect, that even the Name of *Mortimer* and *York* was ſanctified and religious amongſt them: For barbarous Nations are ſtrong Obſervers of Ceremonies and Cuſtoms, and whatſoever hath taken Root and Impreſſion amongſt them will hardly be removed or extinguiſhed; as it is too lamentably apparent at this Hour, where the Impoſturing of Prieſts hath got the upper Hand of all Religion and Piety, and to ſwear by *O Neal*'s Hand is of more Efficacy, than to call God and Heaven to witneſs.

Here he ſmoothly made Relation of his own and the Prince's Fortunes and Eſcape to certain of the Nobility, eſpecially of *Geraldine*'s, whom he knew every Way tranſported againſt the preſent Government, enlarging his Diſcourſe with his miraculous Preſervation, when, without Law, or other Enforcement, he ſhould have been cruelly put to Death by the Uſurper, and brought in Queſtion for never-heard-of Treaſon; all which, by God's Providence, and his Aſſiſtance, was judiciouſly prevented; and he had, from a mere Commiſeration of a Prince's Eſtate, ventured himſelf in that Manner, and to ſuch a Place, where he ſuppoſed true-hearted Honour was reſident, and Care of Religion and Humanity maintained.

Whereupon, *Thomas Geraldine*, Lord Chancellor of the Kingdom, defrauded by this Illuſion, under Colour of ſuccouring the Diſtreſſed, and performing a Work of Charity, received him into his Caſtle, and, adding all the Ceremonies of Reverence and Honour to his very Perſon, aſſured him of Aid, Comfort, and Supportation. To this you muſt ſuppoſe was an Anſwer ready, and ſuch an one delivered with ſo ſmooth and attractive a Demeanour, that, though he had not been ſuch as he proteſted, yet he would have ſworn him of high Birth and extraordinary Bringing-up; which cauſed him to aſſemble together all his Affinity and Friends, to whom he related the Matter as it chanced, with Intimation of the Glory of the Enterpriſe, and the good Service to God and the Church, for Eſtabliſhing a Prince dejected in his Throne, who was the true and only *Plantagenet* left to ſpring up into a ſpreading Tree of Royalty; and therefore he requeſted their Loyalty and reſolved Courages to take his Part, that the right Heir of the Crown might be reſtored to *England*, and themſelves eterniſed to future Memory for ſo meritorious a Work. *Little needed a Spur*, ſaith our Proverb, *to a forward Horſe*; all that ſaw him believed it, and ſuch as heard only the Report, according to the Poet,

———*Et errorem vocis, ut omen, amo,*

clapped their Hands for Joy that they ſhould be employed in an Enterpriſe of ſuch Wonder and

important

mportant Greatneſs: Whereupon Money, Horſes, Armour, Men, and all Things elſe were promiſed, which might be advantageous to ſuch a Buſineſs. But, alas! *Ireland* was too weak, and of themſelves they did only diſcover their Malice, curbed yet with Inſufficiency, giving the King Notice how their Wills exceeded their Power, and that they were ready to entertain every Opportunity to do any Miſchief. Therefore they ſent over into *England*, acquainting many diſcontented Perſons with the Buſineſs; but moſt principally, as to the Life of their Actions, they ſubmitted to *Margaret* Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, Siſter of King *Edward the Fourth*, for her Directions. This was a Woman of a wonderful Compoſure, ſo adorned with Princely Qualities, and ſettled in Majeſtical Authority, as you ſhall hear hereafter, that ſhe was admired of all *Europe*, and beloved in her own Country: Only, as ſtinking Flies, lying ſecretly in Boxes of ſweet Ointments, putrefy the ſame, an innate Malice, and virulent Hatred to the *Lancaſtrian* Family, corrupted her other Virtues, and, as it were, thruſt up her Princely Endowments into a mere Bog and Pool of Dirt and Filthineſs. For, although ſhe knew the Blood of *York* extinguiſhed, and that the Earl of *Warwick* was in King *Henry*'s Poſſeſſion, as taken forth, together with the Lady *Eliſabeth*, now his Wife, out of the Caſtle of *Sherrington* in *Yorkſhire*, under the Cuſtody of Sir *Robert Willoughby*, yet, inſatiate in her Hate, and ſo conſequently in her Revenge,

——— *Nam ingentes parturit ira minas*,

ſhe admitted of every Motion of Diſturbance, and invented Means of her own to ſet in Combuſtion the whole State of *England*, under a hopeful Pretence to ſee the King overthrown and ſupplanted.

Thus did ſhe pile up together the Fire of this Diſturbance, and countenanced the Matter more with her Greatneſs and Power, than all the other Accomplices beſides; but, if you aſk me, How ſhe continued in this Authority, being a Widow, amongſt Strangers, and Enemy to ſo great a Prince as the King of *England*? I will anſwer in a Word, and meaſure out the chief and principal Cord that bound her Royalty together: *Charles* Duke of *Bourgoigne*, having married this Lady *Margaret*, Daughter to *Richard* Duke of *York*, and Siſter to *Edward the Fourth*, had yet no Iſſue by her, but left one ſole Daughter behind him, named *Mary*, which he had by his firſt Wife, the Daughter of the Duke of *Bourbon*: This was married to *Maximilian*, Son to *Frederick* the Emperor, by whom he had two Princes, *Philip* and *Margaret*; which Children, after the Death of the Lady *Mary* their Mother, this Lady *Margaret*, Ducheſs-Dowager, ſo intirely loved, ſo tenderly brought up, ſo motherly nouriſhed, and ſo carefully preſerved, that ſhe was highly reputed of and eſteemed for the ſame: To which when ſhe added a politick Ordering her Affairs, both for the Maintenance of their Honour, and Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the Commonwealth (ſo that I may ſay, with the ancient * Poet, *Sæpenumero jam per ſubtiliores ſermones ivi, & ad contentiones veni majores, quam conveniat genus fœmineum perſcrutari, &c.*) the whole Body of the Government willingly conſented to be apparelled and adorned after her Faſhion; ſo that, like an abſolute Prince indeed, ſhe proceeded in the Government both for their Benefit, and the Illuſtration of her own Greatneſs.

In this Orb of Reputation, thus moving herſelf, ſhe ſtill ſhined like a full Planet, from whoſe Influence could proceed nothing but ſweet Preſages, till, ſtepping aſide into a contrary Motion of Deſpight and Rancour againſt the King, as an Enemy to Knowledge and her own Conſcience, ſhe countenanced this ridiculous and yet unhappy Conjuration, which by her Means grew a-pace, like broad and ſtinking Burs, unprofitable in themſelves, and ſpoiling all the Graſs about them, until at laſt they were, by a politick Hand of Prevention, pulled up by the Roots, and caſt under Foot into the Dirt. For, when King *Henry* was certified of all theſe Tumults and Comminations, and knew the Deepneſs and Fulneſs of the Channel, in which the tottered Barque of this Rebellion ſteered, he verily ſuppoſed the beſt Point of Wiſdom was *principiis obſtare*, and ſo attempted, with all Care and Vigilance, to turn the Rage of thoſe Troubles another Way, or elſe to prevent them from flowing over the Banks of his Incloſures: And, although the Colluſion and Fraud of the In-

* *Euripidis Medea.*

vention vexed him more than the Matter or Subſtance of ſuch a Rebellion, yet he moderated his Anger, and, with *Janus*, looked both Ways, ſmiling with one Face at the Ridiculouſneſs and Deceit of the Project, and marking warily with the other all the Means to reduce the confuſed *Chaos* of this Moleſtation to better Order and Uniformity, deſiring only at God's Hands to prevent Effuſion of Blood, which muſt needs be ſpilled in any ſettled War and contracted Army. Beſides, in well-ordered Battles the Event was diſputable, and many Times Puniſhments were ordained, as well to reduce good Men *ad Correctionem* and Amendment, as to bring bad Men to *Ruinam* and Deſtruction; and therefore, if it were poſſible, he would rebate the Inſolency by other Means, and divert it from handy Blows and bloody Contentions; whereupon he called his Council together at the *Charter-houſe*, beſide his Royal Mannor of *Richmond*, and there conſulted how to pacify this ſudden Tumult and Conſpiracy, without any further Diſturbance, or open Defiance. This Motion of the King's, ſo tempered with Gravity, Mercy, and Commiſeration, was ſo well accepted of the whole Company, that they preſently applauded his high Wiſdom and religious Care, and put in Practice whatſoever ſeemed convenient for their intended Affairs.

They *firſt* began with a general Pardon, publiſhed to all Offenders, that were content to receive the ſame, and remain obedient to the Majeſty of *England*. For although, at this very Inſtant, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, who had obſcured the Lord *Lovel*, a great Seaſon, from the King, was in a Manner ready to give him Battle, with many friendly Coadjutors, and a well ſettled Army; yet did the King think it Policy to deſiſt from a forcible Overrunning them; becauſe, as deſperate of Life or Pardon, conſidering their former Treaſons and Abuſes, they would hardly be reclaimed in their Rages, but now fight for their Lives and Liberties. Again, in ſhewing exemplary Juſtice upon them, once ſubject to Accuſation or Condemnation, he muſt needs proceed againſt many, yea ſuch, whoſe Offences, in Standing out, could admit of no Pardon: And therefore, as I ſaid, he gently proclaimed the ſame, which was much available to his Purpoſe. For even thoſe, which favoured the Lord *Lovel* moſt, began to ſtagger in their Reſolutions, when they perceived the King's Benignity, and knew, with what Lenity and Commiſeration, he was willing to proceed.

Secondly, They thought it neceſſary and pertinent to their Peace, to ſhew the Son of *Clarence* perſonally Abroad in the City, and other publick Places; whereby the Rumour might be daſhed out of Countenance, and the purblind Eyes of falſe Opinion extinguiſhed. For ſuch an Impreſſion this feigned Relation of his Eſcape had made, that, though they beheld him preſent, yet durſt ſome of them ſwear, it was but a Device of the King's; whereby you may obſerve the Danger and Inconveniencies of idle Reports, which if they be not ſtrangled in the Cradle, with *Hercules*'s Serpents, and ſmothered betimes, before they come to ſtronger Growth and Life, will Viper like, after they have received Warmth in one's Boſom, fly in his Face: Nay, ſuch is the Nature of Devices in a tottering Commonwealth, that Prohibitions, to reſtrain them, augment them the more, and they who would have ſpoken Nothing but Truth, left to their own Liberty, being prohibited, divulge more than they meant.

Thirdly, It was determined, that Queen *Eliſabeth*, Wife to *Edward the Fourth*, ſhould loſe her Lands, and be depoſed from all Manner of Sway in the Government, becauſe ſhe had voluntarily ſubmitted herſelf and Daughters to the Hands of King *Richard*, whereby all former Contracts and Pretences of Eſtabliſhment might have been fruſtrated, through the Inconſtancy of a Woman; or as the State pretended a private Ambition, or Covetouſneſs to ſet any Loom on Work, to weave the Web of her own Pleaſure and Contentment, which although it was a heinous Crime, and very dangerous to the preſent King's Peace and Tranquillity; yet, queſtionleſs, the Doom and Judgment ſeemed over rigorous: *Durus fuit hic ſermo*, and, if ever *ſummum jus* proved *ſumma injuria*, it was verified in this Verdict. For, doubtleſs, they forgot the Turbulency of thoſe Times, the Rage of the Tyrant, the Fearfulneſs of many Accidents, the Seducings of a King, and the flattering Promiſes of a whole Commonwealth; wherein ſtronger Judgments might have failed, than a Woman's: But it ſhould ſeem, that God hath a ſpecial Hand in the Puniſhment of Sins, and Diſpoſing

ſing of Kingdoms. For, without Controverſy, if ſhe conſented to the Murthering of King *Richard*'s Wife, for her own Eaſe and Emolument; if ſhe ſeemed an Adverſary to the Good pretended to *England*, by Uniting the Families; or if ſhe projected her own Advancement in the preſent Glory of the Kingdom; forgetting the Loſs of her Huſband, the Murther of her Kindred, the Slaughter of her Children, the Odiouſneſs of the Inceſt, and the Curſe of Heaven upon crying Sins: God would never ſuffer ſuch horrible Faults unrevenged, but, as you hear, inflicted her wavering and inconſiderate Timerouſneſs with this Puniſhment: For ſhe was preſently confined to the Abbey of *Bermondſey* in *Southwark*, and there deceaſed, after ſhe had lived a While in ſome calamitous Diſtreſs, and Excruciation both of Soul and Body; ſuch are all human Inſtabilities, worldly Chances, and the Condition of Princes themſelves. Otherwiſe, ſhe that, being a poor Widow, had reſiſted the King's Importunity, and by her chaſte and modeſt Behaviour attracted his Good-will, to marry her; ſhe, that had founded a College in *Cambridge*, bearing her Name, at this Hour, of *Queen*'s College, for the Propagation of Learning, and Education of Children and Students: She, that had loved her Huſband, and the Glory of *England*, endeavouring all Things to the Augmentation of the Honour of them both: She, that ſeemed proud in Works of Charity, and to help forward the Petitions of honeſt Complainants, and diſtreſſed Suitors: She, that kneeled on her Knees, for *Clarence*'s Liberty, and importuned the King to remember his Brother, by the Example of *Richard the Firſt*, who remitted his Brother *John*, a far greater Delinquent; had never fallen ſo low into the dangerous Pit of a Son-in-Law's Diſpleaſure, and ſeen herſelf generally maligned through the Kingdom; or elſe, as I ſaid, the revealed Things belong to us, the ſecret to God, who, queſtionleſs, blew the Coals of this Diſpleaſure, to purge the Contagion and Infection of her Heart, which was only known to himſelf.

Fourthly, Becauſe they knew that Reward and Hope of Gain might do much with corrupted Perſons, and irreſolute Men, as all Rebels were, they proclaimed a Gratuity of a Thouſand Pounds Sterling to any one, which would preſent the State, with the Body of this counterfeit *Lambert*; to which they were the rather induced, becauſe, not long before, the Tyrant *Richard the Third* had prevailed with the like againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom his own Servant *Baniſter* betrayed, in Hope of Recompence from the State; which is alſo a Cuſtom in *Italy*, where the Heads of the *Banditti* are valued at ſo many *Checkinos*, or Pieces of Gold; and ſo the *Zaffi*, or other deſperate *Ruffiani*, obtain many Preys and Booties.

Laſt of all, it was concluded to have Forces in Readineſs, and an Army prepared, whatſoever ſhould chance, with all Proviſion and Furniture belonging to the Setting forth of the ſame, and Honour of ſuch a Kingdom, that neither Security or Preſumption, one Way, of their own Greatneſs and Eſtabliſhment, might make them too confident of themſelves, nor Vilipending and ſlight Regard of the contrary, another Way, too negligent againſt their Enemies.

When all Things were thus befitted to the Diſpoſing and Ordering their Affairs, on a *Sunday* enſuing, *Edward*, the young Earl of *Warwick*, was brought from the *Tower*, through the publick Streets of *London*, to the Cathedral Church of *Paul*'s, where he remained all Proceſſion-Time and high Maſs, having open Conference with many of the Nobility, eſpecially ſuch, who the King ſuſpected might have been induced to the Commotion, upon the full Aſſurance of his Eſcape. But, if he had aſked them, Why he was impriſoned, or what Tranſgreſſion the King could impute unto him, to detain him in Durance in that Manner, and after put him to Death, being an Infant innocent, without Law or Reaſon, I marvel what they would have anſwered, or how the Council themſelves would have ſatisfied a judicious Queſtioner in that Kind? Yet, by this Occaſion, the Imaginations of divers were ſettled, and the better Sort believed, that theſe *Iriſh* News were ſimulatory, and repreſented *Ixion*'s Boaſting that he had lain with *Juno*, when it was but a Cloud, as, by the monſtrous Birth of the *Centaurs*, did appear.

But it was not ſo with all: For, as it often happens in the Stopping of a violent Inundation of Water, that it cauſeth it the more to rage and make a terrible Noiſe, whereas, running in a deep Channel, it would quietly go away: So it fell out,

out, in the Suppreſſing of theſe Rumours, and Men's Hatred and Malice; many were the more exaſperated, and, by this gentle and fair Courſe to reduce them, thought all but Tricks of Policy to deceive them; proving, like certain Kinds of Burs and Nettles, which, ſoftly handled, ſting the more violently, but, hardly cruſhed together, loſe their Force and Energy. Of this Sort was the Earl of *Lincoln*, Son to *John de la Poole*, Duke of *Suffolk*; and *Eliſabeth*, another Siſter to *Edward the Fourth*; who, much maligning the Advancement of this Earl of *Richmond*, far his Inferior, as he ſuppoſed, took Hold of this open Rebellion, as a meet Opportunity to beat out his own Ends on ſuch a peſtilent Anvil, and, therefore, determined to uphold, fortify, and ſupport this *Iriſh* Expedition, and take Part with his new Couſin, who, as he made himſelf believe, was eſcaped, indeed, for all the pretty Conveniences of the State. This Earl of *Lincoln*, beſides his Blood, Experience, and Wiſdom in great and important Affairs, had a Privacy of Humour, which many Men excepted againſt, as fantaſtical and preciſe; for he was ſo cautious in his Words, and ſingular in his Phraſes and Actions, that he would neither ſwear nor tell a Lye, by Reaſon his Communication was ſtill ſeaſoned with ſavoury Parentheſiſes and Breakings off, or, if you will, Apoſiopeſiſes; as, I will not confidently aver it, but it is ſo, and ſo, if Men may be credited in their Mortality.

The Number amounts to ſo many, if Men fail not in their Computations: I dare not juſtify it further than one may credit another, with ſuch like. Yea, in his Enterpriſes, he was both curious and *Roman* like for Strictneſs of Diſcipline, yet valiant enough: To conclude, in a Word, had not the Mantle of Greatneſs overcovered his Geſture and Actions, the ſame Garb and Faſhion in an Inferior might have been thought ridiculous: But to our Purpoſe in Hand.

When he apprehended a Kind of Fear and Jealouſy in King *Henry*, through this falſe Rumour, he determined with the ſame Water that drove the Mill to drown it, and, out of this Fiction, to raiſe a Matter of Conſequence; whereupon, he preſently repaired to Sir *Thomas Broughton*, and others, who, like the Thieves of *Egypt*, lying in the Reeds by the River *Nile*, breaking out upon any Hope of Advantage upon the ſilly Paſſengers, watched all Occaſions to be revenged on the King, and yet could render no juſt Account of their Diſcontentments, and, after divers Conſultations, concluded to ſail into *Flanders*, to his Aunt the Ducheſs, being his Mother's own Siſter, and ſo, without further Delay, after the King had diſſolved the Parliament at *London*, put the ſame in Practice, whither he was welcomed with all worthy and kind Embraces. Not long after, *Francis*, Lord *Lovel*, repaired unto him well accompanied, where for the Time ſecured, and aſſembling themſelves with this Poſition, that, *omnia efficit conſilium, quod & ferrum hoſtile efficere poteſt*, leſt the World ſhould laugh them to Scorn, for Proſecuting idle and vain Attempts, they reſolve, That the Earl of *Lincoln* and Lord *Lovel* ſhould repair into *Ireland*, and add a better Countenance to the Buſineſs by their Preſence, in Attending and Honouring their new King, with all graceful Ceremonies and Marks of Majeſty: Then, with the Power of the *Iriſhmen*, to bring him into *England*, by which Time the *Dutch* Forces would be ready to join with them. Laſt of all, to give King *Henry* Battle whereſoever; in which, if they prevailed, they might, at their Pleaſure, depoſe this counterfeit *Lambert*, and deliver the true Earl of *Warwick* out of Priſon, in all which they proceeded accordingly, and with Expedition.

But King *Henry*, ſuppoſing he had ſettled and appeaſed the Minds and unſtable Humours of his Nobility, by the perſonal Preſence of *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, began to be leſs moved and diſturbed; yea, as it were, ſecure and careleſs of any further Malice, and dangerous Attempt, againſt his Eſtate and Dignity, miſtruſting Nothing leſs, than any Man to be ſo fooliſh and mad, as to believe that *Lambert* could be the Earl; ſo that he conjectured Nothing but the Suppreſſing of thoſe barbarous *Iriſh*, and the Appeaſing of that Trouble, until he heard how the Earl of *Lincoln* was fled out of the Realm, until he heard how the Lord *Lovel* was Confederate with him, until he heard how divers were united unto them, until he heard how the Ducheſs of *Burgoine* coadjuted the Enterpriſe, until he heard they had raiſed a ſtrong Party, and reſolved to give him Battle; this ſomewhat moved him, and exaſperated his Diſpleaſure: For, when he ſaw no other Cataplaſm could ſerve the Turn, but that he muſt cauteriſe the Sore, and fear and cut away the putrefied

putrefied Fleſh of this corrupted and rebellious Body, he determined, with ſtrong Hand and martial Power, to do the ſame.

Whereupon, he commanded his Muſters to go forward, and appointed the ſeveral Captains a Rendezvous where the whole Army might meet, as Occaſion, and his Adverſaries, ſhould excite him; and, leſt others might pretend Diſcontentments, Wants, Debts, Devotion, Pilgrimages, and ſuch like, and ſo go out of the Realm after the reſt, he gave Order to all Lieutenants of Shires, Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and Officers, to ſearch and watch the Ports and Havens, for the Going out, and Recourſe of Strangers, or Paſſengers unlicenſed and unlimited.

Thus, what he could not with the Fox's, he was fain to compaſs with the Lion's Skin, and yet knowing, that *Victoria eſt tota ſita in bona conſultatione*, he did not caſt away the other; but, when he ſaw no Counſel nor Policy could either ſoften their Obdurateneſs, nor divert their officious Intents againſt him, he reſolved, with an equal Strength, to remove the Blocks of his Peace and Quietneſs, caſt thus in his Way by flagitious Contumacy and ridiculous Innovation. But ſome Fires are not ſo eaſily quenched, as raiſed or maintained; for, though all his Advices and good Order conſorted with Succeſs, yet were they not ſufficient to ſtop the Mouth, or hinder the Paſſage of the preſent Diſturbance, with Deputies or Commiſſioners; therefore he ſet forward in Perſon, ſuppoſing they would arrive from *Flanders* Side, on ſome of thoſe Coaſts, and ſo came to *St. Edmondſbury*, where he was certified, that the Lord *Thomas*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, was coming to him, to excuſe and purge himſelf of thoſe Crimes inforced againſt him; or, at leaſt, ſuch Overſights, in which he perfunctorily performed his Duty, while he was in *France*. To him was ſent the Earl of *Oxford*, by Way of Anticipation, to intercept, at this Time, his Journey: For the King was too full of Troubles and Cogitations about the Suppreſſing his Enemies, and new raiſed Tumults, and ſo could not attend his Buſineſs. The Earl had only Commiſſion to convey him to the *Tower*, which, when ſome of the Council ſuppoſed a hard Doom, he anſwered them plainly, What need further Words? If he be my Friend, as I am confident thereof, he will be contented a While to ſuffer a little Reproach and Rebuke for my Sake; yea, peradventure, Pleaſure and Contentment. If he be otherwiſe, it is a Place of Security, and would I had my Adverſaries as ſafe there, as they would have me in the like either Miſlike, or Contention.

From thence the King went to *Norwich*, where he ſolemniſed the Feaſt of *Chriſtmas*, and ſo departed to *Walſingham*, under Pretence of Devotion, as the Superſtition of thoſe Times required; for, according to that ancient Poet, *Ritus vero extra juſtitiam ſunt, rejicientes cultus deorum.* It was an Inſtinct of Nature to confeſs a Deity, and maintain the Sacrifices and Offerings to the ſame. Now, becauſe the moſt Part of the World knew not the true God, they invented ſeveral Idols to repreſent their ſeveral Deities, to whom they brought their Prayers and Oblations, nor durſt they enterpriſe any Buſineſs without Offertories and Devotion, that their true Intents might be acceptable to the God which commanded them; yea, ſuch as profeſſed Religion, and abuſed their Knowledge, invented Images and Devices, to pleaſe the natural Man, becauſe, with the Reaſon of the Idolater, they would not kneel to the Air in Vain, which was, and is, the Error of Chriſtians, both of the *Greek* and *Latin* Church. Now, becauſe our Lady was in theſe Times the Mediator of the Papiſts, and the Lady of *Walſingham*, the moſt famous Shrine of our Country, as that of *Loretto* is at this Hour for *Italy*: The King went thither for the Impetration of Proſperity in his Affairs, and Overthrow and Diſſipation of his Enemies; which finiſhed, he returned to *Cambridge*, and ſo to *London*.

In the mean While, the Firebrand and Fuel of this Contention, Lady *Margaret*, Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, had blown the Coals to ſuch a Heat, that there were two thouſand *Germans* in a Readineſs, under the Conduct of *Martin Swart*, a Nobleman of *Germany*, and a martial Man by Profeſſion, bold, expert, and daring, whom, after great Rewards, and ſecret Directions from a well-contracted Oratory, ſhe ſent into *Ireland*, with all his Company, where they arrived at *Dublin*, and were joyfully welcomed by the Prince, and other Lords the Confederates, eſpecially the Earl of *Lincoln*, who well knew that no Enterpriſe was to be entertained without Men and Money, and good Beginnings were the Drawers on of Succeſs in the End. Thus they made no more ado, but, in the Pride and Strength

of

of their Conſpiracy, they proclaimed young *Lambert* King of *England*, with all the glorious Titles, and glorious Manner appropriate, as the Time and Country afforded, which ended, with other Ceremonies and ſome Circumſtances; to ſet as upright their Buſineſs as they could, they protracted no Time, but, knowing the Secret of Expedition, which, as their Caſe ſtood, muſt be their beſt Friend, prepared for *England*, the Army conſiſting as yet, principally, of high *Germans*, and a Multitude of beggarly *Iriſh*, which, according to the *Roman* Saying, were many Men and few Soldiers: For their beſt Defences were Skains and Mantles, and here and there a ſlender Dart, fitter for a May-game, and to move Wonder, than to oppoſe againſt good Defences, and well ordered Troops. Of theſe the Lord *Thomas Geraldine* was Captain, and, with theſe and the reſt, they landed for a ſpecial Purpoſe (or, if you will, to unite themſelves with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, one of the chief Commanders in this unhappy Conſpiracy) at the *Pile* of *Foudray*, within a little of *Lancaſter*.

Theſe Affairs, ſo notorious, and ſo publick, could not have ſo ſecret a Paſſage and Contrivance, but the worthy and wiſe King muſt needs be made acquainted with the ſame; whereupon he diſpatched certain Horſe and Scout-Maſters, through the Weſt Parts of the Realm, to attend the Arrival of his Enemies Abroad; yea, peradventure, to overwatch the Actions of his Friends at Home, as much troubled with the Unconſtancy of theſe, as diſturbed with the Rebellion of them. Preſently after he raiſed a ſufficient Army over which the Duke of *Bedford*, and Earl of *Oxford* were principal Commanders, whom he ſent forward before him; then he came in Perſon to *Coventry*, where the principal Rendezvous was appointed, and where he firſt heard of the Landing of his Enemies. Within a While he could fill up a Schedule with the chief Traitors Names, and the Manner of their Troops and Proceedings. Laſt of all, he called a Council, propoſing only two principal Matters unto them: *Firſt*, Whether it were better to encounter with his Enemies out of Hand, as *Achitophel* perſuaded *Abſalom* to do againſt *David*, and ſo to diſſipate them by main Force and Expedition, according to the Poet:

Tolle moras; ſemper nocuit differre paratis.

Secondly, Or weary them out by Delays, and Detracting of Time, as *Quintus Fabius*, ſirnamed after *Maximus*, did by *Hannibal*, and ſo ſent him far enough from *Rome* into *Brutia* and *Apuleia*, whereupon he was eterniſed with

Unus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit rem.

The Concluſion was, that, though many Times great Armies, whoſe Fury at the firſt Ruſhes could not be rebated, were at laſt ſpent with Time, Expectation, and many Inconveniences; as Want of Pay, Commotions, Mutinies, Incumbrances in a ſtrange Country, Fear of foreign People, Mortality, Famine, and ſuch like; yet, as the Affairs of the Kingdom ſtood, all Speed, and an orderly Feſtination, was to be put in Practice, leſt, like a Ball of Snow in a moiſt, cold, and miſty Country, which, by often Rolling, groweth greater and greater, they might augment their Numbers with their Rage and Madneſs, being ſo near the *Scots*, open Enemies, and in the North Parts, diſſembling Friends: Whereupon the King removed to *Nottingham*, and took a Field near unto a Wood, called *Bowers*, whither came unto him the Lord *George Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewſbury*, the Lord *Strange*, Sir *John Cheny*, and many other Commanders, with ſufficient Forces and Furniture, to encounter better Men than heavy *Germans*, and unarmed *Iriſh*; and ſo the King's Army wonderfully increaſed, and had the Fulneſs of his Subjects Obedience, to his great Satisfaction, and the Comfort of all the reſt. For a Prince can in nothing be ſo well pleaſed as in the Loyalty, Love, and Obſervation of the Subject; nor the Soldier ſo contented, as in the Amity and full Aſſurance of one another, eſpecially being all of a Nation and Language, to underſtand the Wants of ſuch as would be ſupplied, and be relieved with the Willingneſs of thoſe which are ready to perform the ſame.

In this Space, the Earl of *Lincoln* entered *Yorkſhire*, by eaſy Journies; for, not overwearying his princely Nephew, unaccuſtomed to travel, and, after his preciſe Manner, he both commanded, that no Violence ſhould be offered to any of the Inhabitants, and commended all thoſe which repaired unto him, uſing ſuch Humility and affable Demeanour, that it won the Hearts of many as yet unſettled

ſettled unto him, and ſtrengthened the Love of ſuch, as had already ſubmitted themſelves. Notwithſtanding, being much fruſtrated in his Expectation of many Coadjutors, and failing in that Sufficiency, which he preſumed upon, he began a little to entertain an ill Companion to all noble Deſigns, Fear and Miſtruſt; caſting up an untoward Reckoning of his Proceedings in this Manner: To retire back again were to meet Death and Deſtruction by a Way which he looked not for: To go forward he was yet too weak, the King being ſo ſtrong and inabled, which Irreſolution made the Poet cry out:

Non ſatis eſt muris latebras quæſiſſe pavori?

And again,

———*facilis ſed vertere mentes*
Terror erat, dubiamque fidem fortuna ferebat:

At laſt remembering, that *audaces fortuna juvat*, and the Adventures of War are not always bound to Numbers and Multitude: For King *Henry* himſelf had, not two Years before (with a ſmall Power) vanquiſhed King *Richard* and his mighty Army: He abſolutely determined to try the Fortune of a Battle, and encounter with his Adverſaries, who not only expected the like, as being in the ſame Forwardneſs and Reſolution, but determined to rouſe them, in deſpight of any Protraction, in what Den or Place ſoever they meant to obſcure themſelves; whereupon he marched from *York* to *Newark* upon *Trent*, preſuming the King to be two or three Days Journey from him, and ſo he was ſure not to loſe by the Bargain. But, before he came thither, King *Henry* was in his Boſom, as underſtanding his Egreſs, Regreſs, and Progreſſes, which he undertook, and, when he came there, was ready to fly in his Face; for he ſettled himſelf the Night before the Battle, approaching within three Miles of the Earl.

The valiant and over-hardy Earl of *Lincoln*, nothing terrified at the Matter, but rather

———*duro admiſit gaudia vultu*,

And came forward a-pace; yet not in any over-daring Manner, but, unſtartled in his Reſolutions, retained his accuſtomed Gravity, and very near the King's Army, at a Village called *Stoke*, quartered his Forces, and took the Field, with Reſolution the next Day to call Fortune to the Deciding of the Controverſy. The King likewiſe prepared himſelf, and, only acquainting the Company with Matters of Neceſſity, in an equal and plain Field divided the Troops, and ranged the Battalions.

To tell you of any Signs, Wonders, Prodigies, Prophecies, Dreams, Devices, Forewarnings, or portentous Accidents, making ſometimes a Cauſe either good or bad, would ſpend Time to loſe Time, and procure ſmall Thanks in the Pains; for the Superſtitious and Ignorant would be angry at the Oppoſition and Repugnancy; and the truly Religious offended at the Vanity and Superfluity, as abhorring the Participation of divine Power to Men, Devils, or Angels. To enlarge my Diſcourſe concerning military Proceedings, of Intrenchings, Fortifications, Encounters, Diviſions of Squadrons, and Setting forward the Forces, would prevent me from a fitter and more opportune Occaſion hereafter. To diſcourſe of the Captains, the Soldiers Encouragements, the Earl of *Lincoln*'s Orations, the King's forcible and gracious Speech, the Intimation of the Impoſture, and Diſcovery of the Treaſons at large, were to prolong the Hiſtory without further Profit than a poor Invention, which would, queſtionleſs, extenuate the Worthineſs of the Buſineſs; therefore I deſiſt from all extraneal and ſuperfluous Diſcourſes, and apply myſelf to a more ſuccinct Enarration of the Matter.

When the Field was fully and orderly agreed upon, the preciſe Earl, as if he would animate the King with a Kind of Precedency, ſet forth the Vanguard of his Army, and, with a manly Courage, only animated the Soldiers that Day to remember his Honour, the King's Safety, and their own Lives and Liberties, and ſo gave a Sign to the Battle; whereat the *Iriſh* began their accuſtomed Cry, or, if you will, *Lullal lullo*, which neither affrighted nor troubled the *Engliſh* on the contrary Side, but miniſtered Occaſion rather to laugh at. The *Germans*, perceiving the Skirmiſhes and violent Meetings of theſe warlike Bodies, contrary to their uſual Keeping of their Stands and cloſe Fights, ſet upon the King's Vanguard; and, as they were approved and expert Men in many Encounters, ſo did they, for the Time, in all Things, as well as Strength and Policy could execute, equalling and anſwering the *Engliſh* Man to Man,

Man, or Battle to Battle: And, for the Generals, had the Earl of *Lincoln* been as nimble and active, as he was vigilant, valiant, and wary, he might well have paralleled the beſt of his Adverſaries. But to decypher, and truly to ſpeak of *Martin Swart*, I ſhall much diſable his Worthineſs and Merit: For he was heroick in Spirit, ſtrong in Heart, and of great Ability in Body, expert, experienced, and failing in nothing but his Fortune: For when the *Iriſh*, being moſt of them, as I ſaid, unarmed, were put by their light Manner of Skirmiſhing a far off, and charged with ſtrong Horſes on the Flanks, and as ſtrong Bodies of Pikes in the Front; to which you may add the Cunning of the King's Artillery, and Violence of the Arrows, which fell down like Hail upon theſe poor and naked Souls; they knew no Way of reſiſting or retiring, but were ſubject to a terrible Encounter and Slaughter. And, although they held out a While, as long as an equal met Manhood protracted the Victory, yet were they ſo preſſed and oppreſſed, that they quickly yielded, and ſhrunk under the Strokes of a mightier Arm. Again: The King's Forward, being full of Company, and well furniſhed, continually ſupplied with Wings and Archers, and wonderfully encouraged with the high Deſerving of the Commanders, at laſt broke the Body of the *Germans*, and ſcattered their Company with a lamentable Diſcomfiture: Yet I muſt needs ſay, they were firſt more terrified to ſee the *Iriſh* killed ſo confuſedly, than exanimated with their own Diſaſters. What ſhould I report? It is with ſtaggering Troops and diſperſed Companies, as with a Man falling down a Pair of Stairs, who never leaves tumbling till he come to the Bottom: So theſe yielded to the Fortune of a Defeat without Recovery, and only met Honour in the Way to a glorious Death; therefore I will ſtand the leſs on Deſcriptions: For never was a Victory ſo ſoon gotten, nor a Buſineſs more quickly ended; many being ſlain, many taken Priſoners, many hurt, and few or none eſcaped: The chiefeſt Reaſon is, becauſe the Lord *Lovel*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and other Commanders, deſperate of Mercy, or Reconciliation, and wondering at the valiant *German*'s Manhood and Exploits, joined with him in a new Adventure, and cried aloud, 'We will die with 'thee, noble Heart, for thou art worthy to 'live with Kings and die with Princes; yea, 'to be buried in the Fields of everlaſting Re-'nown:' And ſo they were as good as their Words; for, after Men and Manhood had acted their Parts on this bloody Stage of Fury and Slaughter, they were all found dead in the Field; that is to ſay, the Lord *Martin Swart*, or, if you will, *Sward*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Geraldine*, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, with the moſt Part of the Commanders, and five-thouſand Soldiers.

The Report was, that the Lord *Lovel* took his Horſe, and would have fled over *Trent*; but, not able to recover the Highneſs of the Banks, he was drowned in the River: Some alſo maintain, that the King, out of the Generoſity of his Spirit, commanded that none ſhould kill or hurt the Earl of *Lincoln*, that, being brought unto him, he might diſcover the Secrets of this Miſchief, and the viperous Brood of falſe-hearted Subjects: But the Soldiers would not permit it, leſt the Saving of his Life might, by Detection, endanger divers others, as good as himſelf, and ſo killed him by Way of Anticipation.

After this Victory, the King would needs ſolemniſe a Thankſgiving to God in the open Field, as well to avoid Ingratitude, as to give good Example: And when it was urged, he might better defer it till he came to ſome Religious Place, or Houſe of Devotion; he more religiouſly aſſured them, that God was every where, and neither the Place, nor the Manner, graced the Sacrifice, but the Intentiveneſs of the Heart, and true Meaning of the Soul, which he had learned of the Poet, and ſo alledged theſe Verſes out of *Lucan*:

Eſtque Dei ſedes, ubi terra, & pontus, & aer,
Et cœlum, & virtus: ſuperos quid quærimus ultra,
Jupiter eſt, quodcunque vides, quodcunque moveris?

This the Biſhops preſent durſt neither deny, nor would willingly approve, for Fear of any Diminution in their ſettled Ceremonies and glorious Cathedrals: But at this Time the King's Ardency prevailed, and he kneeled down on the bare Ground in the open Fields, and rendered Thanks and Praiſes to God: Afterwards, he gave Order for the Funerals of the Dead, ſhedding Tears himſelf, in Commiſeration of ſo many worthy Men ſlain for ſuch an unjuſtifiable Buſineſs; the People yet unmoved,

unmoved, and the Soldiers not ſo much as daunted, though they ſaw the bleeding Carcaſſes and wounded Bodies, according to the Saying:

Exemploque carens, & nulli cognitus ævo
Luctus erat, mortem populos deflere potentis.

Then he proceeded to the Caſting up a new Account of Mercy and Forgiveneſs, proclaiming Pardon to all, that would penitently admit of the ſame, and, to his eternal Fame, not only gave *Lambert* and the Prieſt their Lives, but commanded, that no Man ſhould abuſe them, with Contumely and Reproach, as perceiving the one, for his Years, incapable of the Apprehenſion of Treaſon, or flagitious Circumſtances concerning the ſame; the other (for his Orders and Profeſſion) to be a privileged Perſon; yet, moſt heroickly and wiſely, he told him, That he, which rolleth a Stone up a Hill, may, peradventure, have it fall upon his own Head; and he, that looketh too high in a dangerous intrenched Ground, may fall into the Ditch. Notwithſtanding, for his Penance, he was committed to perpetual Impriſonment; but *Lambert* admitted into the Palace, and, from Place to Place, came at laſt to be one of his Majeſty's Faulconers. Laſt of all, he looked joyfully on his own Company, and, in Remuneration of their Loyalty and noble Services, ſpread the Mantle of Honour over divers, and imparted ſeveral Rewards to the reſt, according to their Places of Eminency.

This Battle was fought on a *Saturday*, the Sixteenth of *June*, 1489, and in the End of the ſecond Year of *Henry the Seventh*. And thus was all this high Enterprize of Lady *Margaret*, repreſented to a Ball blown out of a Box of Soap and Water, which, when it comes to a ſwelling Fulneſs, at laſt burſts in Pieces of itſelf; of which when ſhe was advertiſed, and had Cauſe ſufficient of Exclamation and Repining againſt her Misfortune, and diſaſtrous Prevention of her Malice; yet was ſhe ſo far from Relaxation or Pacifying her Hate, that it rather exaſperated the ſame, and made her more forward to contrive more helliſh Projects, as we ſhall ſee by and by; ſo that I may well exclaim:

——— *O rabioſa mulier!*
Quàm ſit manifeſta phreneſis! ———

Yea, ſhe ſet up ſuch a Loom out of her peſtilent Invention, that a Man would think it impoſſible for a Woman to contrive, or proſecute, but that the old Poet hath ſo long ago told us:

Præterea nos ſumus mulieres,
Ad bona quidem ineptiſſimæ,
Malorum verò omnium effectrices ſapientiſſimæ. Eurip. Medea.

Yet, for the Time, ſhe deplored the Miſcarrying of the Matter, but was not aſhamed to confeſs, that ſhe cared not, by what Means, King *Henry* might be debaſed.

After this great Miſchief, like a Piece of Ordnance overcharged, was thus broken in the Fulneſs, and that with little Trouble, Tumult, and Expences, compared to many other Wars: The King, as you heard, returned Thanks to the Decider of all Controverſies; and preſently ſent Word to *London*, of his Proſperity and Adventure, ſeeming ſorry for Nothing, but the Death of the Earl of *Lincoln*, aſſuring the Duke of *Bedford* and Earl of *Shrewſbury*, that he delighted in his Humours, and had a Determination to have ſaved his Life; adding yet this by the Way, that he was amazed at nothing more, than the Audacioufneſs of the Man, that durſt (ſo meanly accompanied) ſet upon ſuch a great and puiſſant an Army. Therefore it muſt needs be, that he preſumed on further Supplies, or ſome Breakings out among themſelves. But ſeeing it hath pleaſed God, that we have not only eſcaped this threatening Storm of Commotion and Diſturbance, but alſo, choaked with the Duſt of their own Diſſenſion, the interior Diviſions and Conſpiracies of the Kingdom: Let us, my Lords, I pray you, be ſomewhat conſiderate, touching tumultuous and diſcontented Perſons, that they may be orderly ſatisfied in their honeſt Demands, and diſcreetly prevented from unlawful Conventicles, or aſſociated Aſſemblies of Unquietneſs, and Murmuring againſt our Government, under Colour of Hunting, Fairs, Markets, Horſe-races, Weddings, and ſuch like. Let us alſo have a Care of our Ports, Harbours, and Havens, to prevent Wanderers and Travellers, who, from the Excuſes of Devotion to viſit *Rome*, and Curioſity to explore foreign Countries, do many Times deceive our Truſt with indirect and prepoſterous Buſineſs.

In this triumphant Proſperity he returned to *London*, and was as well welcomed by the People, as contented in himſelf, and ſo ran forward in the Race of all mundane Felicity and majeſtical Happineſs. But neither his own Wiſdom, the Vigilance of the Officers, the Fidelity of his Nobles, the Policy of his Counſellors, the Loyalty of his Subjects, nor the whole Regard of the Commonwealth, could turn the Frame of Heaven about, nor prevent his Deſtiny, concerning following Miſchiefs:

Nam fato prudentia minor:

That is to ſay, could put a ſcarlet Cloth over the Sting of that Serpent Envy, to pull it out of the Heart, no not out of the Mouth, no not out of the Hands of the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*: But ſhe muſt be tampering with the edge Tools of deviliſh Spight, and beating on the Anvil of malicious Calumniation, or, if you will, Conſpiracy, hoping, at one Time or other, to hammer out ſuch a Work of Diſturbance, that neither the King ſhould be able to quench the Flames, nor the Subject daring to diſable the Enterprize. Whereupon, to prevent all Claims, Exceptions, and Means of Diſtruſt, ſome four Years after, ſhe ſet up another Idol of Defiance, perſonating *Richard Plantagenet*, ſecond Son to King *Edward the Fourth* and Duke of *York*, ſuppoſed to be murthered with his Brother Prince *Edward* in the *Tower*, who, as it were, reſuſcitated from Death to Life, or rather reſerved by Miracle, muſt be at laſt a Scourge to the uſurping Houſe of *Lancaſter*, which, as it began with the Blood of that innocent *Richard the Second*, muſt now be revenged with the Deſtruction of the Conqueror himſelf. Nor was this barely alledged to her Friends and Followers, but adorned with certain Illuſtrations of Example and Precept. Firſt, concerning the Wonder and Deliverance of the Prince, ſhe alledged the Example of *Joaſh*, kept from the Rage of *Athaliah*, and after advanced to the Throne of *Judah*. Then, for the Buſineſs of the War and Revenge, ſhe proclaimed herſelf another *Thomyris*, who overcame the *Perſians*, and, in Recompence of her Son's Death, cut off the Head of *Cyrus*, and ſlew Two-hundred thouſand of his People: Nor ſeemed this Miſchief ſimply to be acted on the Stage of Fiction, like an hiſtorical Tragedy, or ridiculous Innovation: But a Work of peſtilent Contriving and ſettled Reſolution, from the Policy of many Circumſtances, and Prevention of former Inconveniencies. For ſhe not only ſtood on a Guard of Circumſpection, reforming all ſuch Errors as had paſſed in *Lambert*'s Diſaſter, but took a Time according to the Poet:

Ingenioſæ mulieres ad inveniendum fraudes,

When the King was walking in the Fields of Renown and Victory, before the City of *Bulloigne* in *France*, and had newly returned to *Calais*, not with an Intent to leave the War, but with Commiſeration of his People, and to preſerve them from a certain Deſtruction in aſſaulting the Town, without further Aſſurance of Spoils, Renown, or Enlarging his Territories.

Here he underſtood firſt of this Project, ſo that he was compelled to make Peace with *France*, for fear of this ſtrange Eruption at Home, which he well perceived, upon further Enlargement of her Proceedings, would reſemble a Smith's Forge, which ſprinkled with a little Water, muſt needs recover a greater Heat; but either ſcattered abroad, or extinguiſhed, could not further prejudice, which was not to be done by two Armies at once, both in *France* and *England*, without hurrying, as it were, the Kingdom to Extremities; he was the ſooner, as I ſaid, induced to contrive his Buſineſs from a Treatiſe of Pacification with the *French* King, not once mentioning any domeſtick Suſpicion or Inſurrection: Nay, he kept this Rumour cloſe from his own Subjects, and, when he certified the Mayor of *London* of all his Affairs, he only mentioned, that his Army in *France* was diſſolved upon an honourable Compoſition, and Receiving eight-hundred-thouſand Ducates to defray the Expences of his Journey: And ſo with a Kind of Applauſe and Satisfaction of all Sorts, he returned into *England* to attend the Proceedings of ſuch Enemies, as this deviliſh Woman the Ducheſs would animate and ſupport againſt him. All which happened in the Beginning of the ſeventh Year of his Reign, preſently after the Birth of *Henry* his ſecond Son created Duke of *York*.

For all this wonderful Haſte, which the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* made to King *Henry*'s Deſtruction, you muſt conſider that he never gave Occaſion

Occaſion unto her of Diſpleaſure, or Affront: But the Malice (Viper like, who, being full of Poiſon, muſt needs ſpurt it abroad, or burſt in Pieces with the Venom) ſprang from herſelf, becauſe he was of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and adverſe Lineage to her Family, according to that authentick Saying,

Mulier enim aliàs quidem metus plena,
Ignava autem ad pugnam, ferrumque aſpicere:
Quando verò in matrimonio injuria affecta fuerit,
Non eſt aliorum mens truculentior,——

which cauſed her to deviſe and invent how to caſt a Scorpion in his Boſom, or infect the whole Realm with a Diſcord moſt violent and peſtiferous: And, becauſe ſhe would intermingle Reaſon with her Enforcement, ſhe made the Death of the Earl of *Lincoln*, a Man every Way anſwering *Henry* of *Richmond*, as ſhe termed the King) the Motive to her Revenge, and Deſire to infeſt the whole Kingdom: Not caring what became of him, ſo ſhe might ſatiate her rancorous Hate, and ſet up ſome of her own Faction to give her Joys the Fulneſs of Hope in Prevailing.

Thus like a Dog ſhe returns to her Vomit, or as a Spider, who, perceiving her Caul broken and torn in Pieces, ſtill ſpinneth a new Web, ſhe inventeth far fetched Devices and (as we ſay) rather than ſit out will play a ſmall Game; nay, be contented with poor Acates, though ſhe know the Devil provides the Sauce: But it ſhould ſeem her venomous Stomach is prepared for corrupter and fuller Banquets, and ſhe means to ſpread a Cloth of inſatiate Gluttony, to feed on the ſeveral Diſhes of Envy, Hatred, Malice, Spight, Vexation, Deceit, Wickedneſs, and deviliſh Invention; whereupon ſhe caſts her Eyes towards a young Man, not fully ſixteen, of Viſage beautiful, of Countenance majeſtical, of Wit ſubtle and crafty: In Education pregnant, in Languages ſkilful: Of Behaviour extraordinary, and of Manners audacious, called *Peter Warbeck*, a *Fleming*, and yet in Scorn nicknamed both by his Countrymen, and *Engliſh*, *Perkin*, according to the *Duch* Phraſe, who character cowardly and timorous Younglings in that Manner. His Lineage and Bringing up he ſhall ſhew you hereafter, in his publick Confeſſion. His Actions and Proceedings, till then, or if you will fatal Ruin, I will undertake, and (as far as my Ability may extend, or the dangerous Buſineſs in Hand require) delineate unto you: Deſiring all Eſtates whatſoever to behold the Attributes of God in this Hiſtory, as his Power, Wiſdom, Providence, Juſtice, Mercy, and what elſe belongeth to the Humbling of mortal Men, or Pulling on their Knees the proudeſt Preſumption and Security: But eſpecially confounding the Inventions of Men, and Policies of Satan, as laughing all to Scorn, that ſubmit not to his Greatneſs and unmatchable Power, according to our *Lucan Lib.* ii.

Jamque iræ patuere deûm, manifeſtaque belli
Signa dedit mundus: legeſque & fœdera rerum
Præſcia monſtrifero vertit natura tumultu,
Indixitque nefas:

Firſt, a mighty Prince was not only terrified with an Idol and Puppet, as it were, made of Straw and painted Cloth: But threatened to be ſhouldered aſide, out of his Firmneſs and Throne of Majeſty: Secondly, when the Wheel was turned about, God derided the Devil, and brought this Mountain of Pride down with a Vengeance, ſeeing the noble King's Innocency, Patience, and Humility: Thirdly, he taught all abominable and diabolical Practices a new Leſſon, condemning both the Actors and Contrivers, as frenetical, and fooliſh: Fourthly, he inſtructed the beſt of Men, to conſider they were but Men ſubject to the Inconveniences of Life, Mutability of the World, Counterchangeableneſs of Times, and Inconſtancy of People: Laſt of all, to make us know that all Actions grounded on irreligious Foundations, and wicked Conventions, muſt needs fail in the End; for, rather than Puniſhments ſhall not follow Sins, God will ſcourge one wicked Man with another, as you ſaw how all the Monarchies of the Earth were diſſolved, and the Kingdoms of the *Gentiles* brought to Ruin and Deſolation. But now to our Story.

After the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* had faſtened on this Anchor-hold for her Revenges, ſhe cauſed the young Man to travel into many Countries to learn as many Languages, whereby he was ſo perfect in the *Engliſh*, that ſhe rejoiced to think in what a well manured Ground ſhe had ſowed the Seeds of her Hopes; by which Occaſion, the Baſeneſs of his Stock and Birth was ſo obſcured, that few or none diſcovered the ſame, or durſt detect the Secrecy: Thus ſhe kept him a certain Space privily with herſelf, and uſed ſuch Diligence and Inſtruction concerning

concerning the Houſe of *York*, the Affairs of *England*, and the Lineage, Deſcent, and Order of her Family, that, by that Time he came to repeat his Leſſon, ſhe verily believed he was the ſame ſhe had ſuppoſedly contrived, and he quite forgot that ever his firſt Original came out of the Dunghill: For, without any Difficulty, or Sign of Subornation (ſuch a forcible Impreſſion hath the Hope of Honour and Preferment, according to that common Saying, *Honores mutant mores*) he kept ſuch a Princely Countenance, and counterfeited a Majeſtical Royalty, that all others firmly approved he was extracted out of the Blood of *Plantagenet*, and obſerved him accordingly: She again grew proud of Nothing ſo much as the Wonderment of her own Handywork, and that, out of ſo little a Cloud, ſhe ſhould raiſe ſuch a Tempeſt of Trouble and Diſtraction: But our *Ovid* indoctrined her,

Flumina magna vides parvis de fontibus orta,

and ſhe knew ſhe was a Woman fit to be ſuch a Work-miſtreſs.

Whereupon, taking an Opportunity of the King's Wars in *France*, ſhe ſent for her Youngling out of *Portugal*, and privily conveyed him into *Ireland*, with ſure and forcible Inſtructions how to inveigle and incite this ruſtical People to admit of him, who, beſides their natural Inclination to Rebellion and Diſorder, would now be glad of this new Occaſion and Buſineſs, to revenge the Slaughter of their Countrymen: And although it might ſeem to reaſonable Men, and underſtanding Apprehenſions, that the unhappy Proceedings of *Lambert*, and his counterfeit Aſſociate, the Prieſt I mean, might have been a ſufficient Warning unto them for ever being taken again in the Net of ſuch Abuſes, or intangled with the Snare of Colluſion; yet did he ſo demean himſelf, that he made theſe Doubts the very Ground of his Acceptation: For, once again, inſinuating with the Houſes of the *Geraldines* and *Butlers*, he plaid the Orator with them, and, as we ſay, *captare benevolentiam*, thus perſuaded them to give Credit and Affiance to his falſe and wonderful Demonſtrations, as though he had been the very Son of King *Edward* indeed.

'MY worthy Lords, and gracious Friends, 'ſaid he, For the Generality of my 'Buſineſs, I hope you are not unacquainted 'with many Inſtances of diſtreſſed Princes, fly-'ing to one another for Refuge and Succour, 'when an overdaring Hand of a more mighty 'Enemy hath ſuppreſſed them, of cunning In-'ſinuation ſpread Abroad a Mantle of more 'forcible Reaſons to admit of his Title in pre-'vailing, rather than to look after the weak-'ened Eſtate of his wronged and abuſed Com-'petitor; for ſo *Jeroboam* and *Hadad* the *E-'domite* were entertained in the Court of *Pha-'raoh*, merely from charitable Commiſeration 'againſt *Solomon*, who had yet formerly mar-'ried a Daughter of *Pharaoh*; and, amongſt 'ourſelves, the Sons of that valiant *Edmund 'Ironſide* fled from *Canutus* into *Hungary*, and 'were there protected; yea, advanced in Mar-'riage, for the further and better Recovering 'their Inheritances: But what need I go 'further, than the Uſurper now reigning, 'who, in Spight of my Father, and Uncle of '*Glouceſter*, was entertained by the Duke of '*Bretagne*, and the *French* King, and, as it 'were, ſecured from all Treaſons and Corrup-'tion, or, if you will, Policy of Searchers, to 'bring him to Deſtruction; wherein, queſtion-'leſs, thoſe Princes, as they obtained a perpe-'tual Renown for ſo noble and glorious a Cha-'rity, ſo did they repute Nothing ſo meritori-'ous, as the Extenſion of Favour, and a help-'ing Hand to the perfecting ſuch a Work from 'Princely Compaſſion: Therefore, I will ſay 'the leſs, in this Point, unto you, becauſe you 'have ever been faithful to my Progenitors, and 'willing to be counted a Nation for the Defence 'of Virtue, and Repulſing of Injuries. As 'for the ill Succeſs of *Lambert* in Perſonating 'my Couſin, the Earl of *Warwick*, and Setting 'a-foot that Title, whereby you may be ter-'rified in future Proſecutions: Alas! I con-'feſs it was for my Sake, and a mere Device to 'found the Ford of the troubleſome Streams 'of thoſe Times and Proceedings; wherein, if 'my Uncle of *Lincoln* had any Way thrived, 'you muſt be aſſured, though they would not 'hazard my Perſon ſo young, yet it was only 'to make Way to my Fortunes: For ſmall 'Recompence ſhould have ſtopped his Mouth, 'and, *ut major lux extinguit minorem*, my Pre-'ſence quickly have turned the Stream, and, 'with the Sun, exhaled the Strength of his Me-'teor. This Trick my Grandfather put upon 'the State, when he was Governor amongſt 'you, by *Jack Cade* of *Kent*, who proclaimed 'himſelf *Mortimer*, to ſee how the People af-

'fected

'fected the Title, or could remember the 'Genealogy in the Truth of his Precedency, 'as marrying the Daughter of *Lionel* Duke of '*Clarence*, third Son of our great *Edward the* '*Third* of *England*, and Heroes of his Time; 'ſo that I hope this ſhall be no Bar or Inter-'ception, either to my Intereſt, or your Good-'will, conſidering I am now come in Perſon 'to offer up myſelf a Sacrifice, if Need be, for 'you all, and promiſe you, by the Secrets of 'my Birthright, to make you a glorious and 'free Nation under me, if I prevail by your 'Means.'

Theſe Words were uttered ſo audaciouſly, and yet with ſimulatory Majeſty, that they conceived every Thing in his Behalf, and not once diſputed on the Craft or cunning Conveyance of the Buſineſs, but exalted and applauded him with all Reverence and due Honour, combining themſelves with affectionate Obedience to his Aid and Aſſiſtance; wherein, that they might be the better induced juſt at the ſame Inſtant, as if Honour made Haſte to welcome him, according to our Poet:

Nunc feſtinatos nimium ſibi ſenſit honores.

And Fortune determined to ſmile on them all. *Charles*, the *French* King, in ſome Diſpleaſure with King *Henry* of *England*, ſent for *Perkin* out of *Ireland*, with Reſolution to make him the royal Head of an Army againſt *England*; which, although it much animated the *Iriſh* to believe the former Seduction, yet, it was but a Device of the *French* King's to divert the War, which the King of *England* pretended out of *France*, and ſo to force him back again to look Home to his own Affairs. Howſoever, this our Counterfeit was not a little revived with ſuch a Meſſage, and ſuppoſed himſelf exalted to Heaven, in being thus called to the Familiarity and Acquaintance of Kings and Princes; ſo that, coming into *France* accordingly, he was royally accepted, and after a Princely Manner entertained, having a Guard aſſigned him, whereof the Lord of *Congreſhall* was Governor. Hither alſo repaired unto him, eſpecially while he lay in *Paris*, Sir *George Nevil* the Baſtard, Sir *John Tailer*, *Rowland Robinſon*, and a hundred *Engliſh* Rebels: But, alas! all theſe were but ſmoaking Illuſions; for, on a ſudden,

——— *Ingemuit rector, ſenſitque deorum*
Eſſe dolos, & fata ſuæ contraria menti.

And, when a Peace was to be determined and concluded between *England* and *France*, the *French* King quickly diſmiſſed the young Man and all his Aſſociates, under Colour of Excuſe, that he durſt no longer protect him againſt his new Confederate, and Brother of *England*; but ſome others attending upon him yielded a more forcible Reaſon for his Departure, that he himſelf ſuſpected how King *Charles* would deliver him into the Hands of the King of *England*, and therefore he beguiled the Lord *Congreſhall*, and fled from *Paris* by Night. But, howſoever this may be diſputed, and whether he departed without the King's Conſent, or no, he was, queſtionleſs, deceived in his Expectation, and, in a Manner, deſperate of Succeſs; ſo that, loth to remain amongſt ſuch diſtruſtful Enemies, he quietly returned to his moſt aſſured Friend, the Lady *Margaret* of *Flanders*, the Maſter-Builder of this Work.

The Ducheſs, before he came, thought every Hour from his Departure, a whole Year, till his Return: For to hear, how he proceeded, was a Quiet to her Thoughts; and to know, how Fortune would deal with him, a Joy to her Heart; but to ſee him, a very Raviſhment: Yet, when ſhe underſtood how he was abjected and repudiated in the *French* Court, it could not chooſe but be a great Agony and Amazement unto her. Notwithſtanding, to prevent all Suſpicion, ſhe ſeemed at his Arrival no leſs revived, than a Mother is glad for the Return of her long abſent Son, or a Perſon condemned, for a Pardon and Reſtoration of his Life and Dignity: At his firſt Approach ſhe received him with large Embraces, and hanging over his Neck, ſeeming to ſhed Tears of Joy and Comfort for his Eſcape from many Dangers and Adventures: O diſſembling and deceiveable Hypocriſy! that ever a Woman ſhould be the Author of ſuch deviliſh Devices and helliſh Projects, and yet over-daub her miſchievous Imaginations with he ſugared Shows of Love, and Regard of Pity towards a Prince in Diſtreſs; but this made *Hippolytus* long ago cry out,

O Jupiter! quodnam adulterinum hominibus malum
Mulieres, ad ſolis lucem habitare feciſti, &c.
Eurip. Hippolytus Coronatus.

And this ſhe had learned of her own Phyſicians, who, in adminiſtering of bitter Pills,

had ſhewed her to roll them over in ſome candied Powder; and this we have taught ourſelves out of God's own Mouth, who, in ſeveral Places of Scripture, hath publiſhed wherein a bad Woman doth exceed all the Creatures of the World.

After this Extaſy was paſt, ſhe proceeded with a cunning Deſire to have him relate his firſt miraculous Preſervation, his After-travels and Exploration of Countries, next his Entainment in *Ireland* and *France*; and, finally, his Reſolution to go forward in his noble and neceſſary Intendment for his Inheritance, and Recovery of the Crown of *England*; wherein he proceeded ſo effectually, and orderly, without Stammering or Stuttering, that the whole Company verily believed it; and ſuch as were not preſent, the rather, induced by the Report of others, ſorrowing for nothing but that they heard him not *viva voce*, and endeavouring what they could to preſent their perſonal Obedience unto him: Whereupon, when ſhe perceived how every Thing conſorted to her own Wiſhes, ſhe aſſigned him a Guard of fifty Perſons in Murray and Blue, and honoured him with a Cloth of Eſtate, and Denomination of the *White Roſe* and Prince of *England*.

From thence forward the Nobility of *Flanders*, and divers of *England*, with all obſequious Diligence attended him, and, from a reverend Eſtimation of his Anceſtors, performed all the good Offices which belonged to the Exornation of his Majeſty, and Extenſion of their own Loves and Duties; ſo that, in a Word, this *Sinon*'s Horſe entered the broken Walls of *Troy*, and feigned Invention, ſhadowed with the Pretence of Verity and Truth, prevailed with their Credulity, that they adhibited the more Faith and undoubted Truſt unto it, ſuppoſing verily he had been preſerved by the Will and Providence of God, and ſo committed to the Truſt and Cuſtody of ſome faithful Friend, either by King *Edward*, or his Mother when ſhe was in Sanctuary; relying alſo on this Impoſſibility, that any Tyrant would ſo rebel againſt God, as infringe the Orders of holy Church, and take him *per* Force from thence, as yet the Story manifeſteth was to be done even by the Cardinal himſelf.

By this Time the Fame of this juggled Miracle was not only blown over *Flanders* and the Territorities adjacent, but ſo rumoured in *England*, by Reaſon the preſent Government ſuppreſſed all publick Reports, Libels, and Writings, that in the very Whiſpering,

Nam fraudibus eventum dederat fortuna,

It was more forcible than if it had been publiſhed by Licenſe and Authority. Thus have I ſeen a Fire ſmothered, and incloſed in ſome ſecret Place, never to be quiet, till it were vented out; and, when it came to Eruption, made the more forcible and outrageous Noiſe. For it was here received as an infallible Truth, and not only believed of the better Sort, but entertained of the common People; who, being more liberal of audacious Behaviour, and leſs fearful to offend God, began to confirm it with Oaths as a Matter of Truth, which others barely affirmed as a Report of Uncertainty.

Thus began Trouble upon Trouble; and, as the Spring putteth forth the Buds and Bloſſoms, like the Meſſenger of Summer and pleaſant Times to enſue, ſo did this fantaſtical Fable, thus divulged, prognoſticate following Calamity and conſequent Deſolation: For, after it was known with what Honour he had been entertained in *Flanders*, and reverenced in other Places of *Europe*, there began Sedition on every Side in *England*, and no Man was ſure of his Friend, the Times grew to ſuch Diſtraction. Some, that were fled to Sanctuaries, for great and heinous Offences perpetrated, diſcharged themſelves, and went beyond the Seas unto him: Some, that had confined themſelves to privileged Places, for Debts and Accounts, began to ſhew themſelves under his Support and Combination, then being ſafeſt, when the State is unſafeſt: Some, even of the better Sort, through Raſhneſs and Temerity, becauſe they would be counted factious and ſtirring, drew a-pace unto him: Some, out of the Nature of Inconſtancy, or rather Impreſſion of Melancholy, never to be removed from the Opinion they have once entertained, believed verily, that this *Perkin* was the undoubted Son of *Edward the Fourth*; Some, through Simplicity and Eaſineſs of Apprehenſion, without Examining the Probability and Likelihood of the Matter, yielded to any Thing which was told them: Some Temporiſers, to curry Favour in the Change of Princes, perſuaded and ſollicited others to their Opinions, that ſo, bringing many Coadjutors, they might not only be reputed

reputed of Strength and Reputation in their Countries, but the better welcomed and entertained with the Prevailer: Some, through Indignation and Envy, murmuring at their ſlender Advancement, or grudging they were not more condignly rewarded for their former Pains and Adventures in his Majeſty's Buſineſs, reſorted to this new Prince, in Hope of better Acceptation: And ſome, over-wearied with Eaſe and Placability of Idleneſs, grieving to ſee the World ſtand at a Stay, with Deſire of Change ran headlong into this Fury, Madneſs, and ſeditious Conſpiracy:

O tempora! ô mores! ô flagitioſa voluntas!

But, for all this Rumour of this twice-born Duke *Richard* of *York*, and that *England* was divided and drawn into Parts-taking and ſeveral Factions, ſo that the Minds of Men were vexed either with the Hope of Gain or Preferment, or Fear of Loſs and Confuſion; yet were the King and his Council not much diſturbed or affrighted, more than their Marvel and modeſt Anger at ſo many Perſons, ſeeming in their right Wits, to be ſeduced either in the Contriving ſuch a manifeſt and notorious Lye, or Aſſenting and Preparing themſelves to countenance the ſame, without Fear of God or Men, not once forecaſting the dangerous Penalty of Treaſons, Contempts, Conſpiracies, and Practices againſt their natural Prince, and ſo ſufficient a Governor. For it was not only a pernicious Fable and Fiction, ſtrange and marvellous, but prodigious and unnatural, to reſuſcitate a Man from the Dead, and with impudent Aſſeveration to ſet it forth, and palliate it with the Veſture and Garment of a profeſſed Verity. But, in ſuch Caſes, be Kings never ſo wiſe, nor Matters ſo trivial and unlikely, there is no Sitting ſtill, nor Giving Way to the Buſineſs; eſpecially, there is no Rebating an Enemy with Proclamations, Writings, and Prohibitions, who cometh forward with the Clamours of War, and well-ſettled Preparation of Offence. Therefore his Majeſty thought it the beſt Courſe to look about him, and, both by Force and Policy, to prevent the Miſchief impending and threatened; for he perceived how already the Fire of Rebellion had taken Hold of ſome of the principal Houſes of *England*, who, he knew, had underhand already ſent Meſſengers unto Lady *Margaret*, to underſtand when *Richard* Duke of *York* would come conveniently into *England*, that they might be ready to help and ſuccour him, even at his firſt Arrival.

This Buſineſs increaſed to a Fulneſs and Ripeneſs, about the eighth Year of his Majeſty's Reign; inſomuch that the Confederates (by common Aſſent and Agreement) poſted over Sir *Robert Clifford*, Knight, and *William Barley* into *Flanders*, to be the better aſſured of all Particulars; who were not only gladly accepted, and lovingly welcomed of the Ducheſs, with full Intimation of the Truth, and wonderful Delivery of the Strangeneſs of the Story,

Nec gravidæ lachrymas continuere genæ,

but brought to the Sight and ſweet Entertainment of *Perkin*, who plaid the Counterfeit ſo exactly, that his Words reſembled forcible Incantations, according to that of the Poet:

Una per æthereos exit vox illa receſſus,
Verbaque ad invitum præfert cogentia numen.
Lucan. *Lib.* vi.

For all Men praiſed his Virtues and Qualities, with a reſolved Belief of his Princelineſs; and Sir *Robert Clifford* ſwore directly, that he was extracted of the Blood Royal, and the very Son of King *Edward the Fourth*: Whereupon he wrote Letters of Confidence and Credit to his Aſſociates in *England*, That, as the Queen of *Sheba* told *Solomon*, ſhe did not believe the Half of that which was reported, till ſhe had ſeen it with her Eyes; ſo he could not be perſuaded to ſo much, as Rumour had preſented, till he had overviewed him in Perſon: But, when theſe Letters were received in *England*, the Conſpirators cauſed them to be openly publiſhed and divulged in many Places, with full Credence, That it was true, and not feigned, which was ſpoken by the Duke of *York*, and therefore they need not be afraid to be drawn to ſuch a Commotion and Parts taking; all yet was carried ſo orderly and covertly, that the King (more than uncertain Suſpicion) could not as yet detect any Perſon of Name or Quality, which troubled him ſo much the more.

But, when he perceived indeed, that this miſty Vapour was not quite vaniſhed, nor the Impreſſion put out of the mad Brain of the common

common People, and underſtood how Sir *Robert Clifford* was privily fled into *Flanders*, he reſolved on a Conſpiracy againſt him; and thought it expedient, both for the Safeguard of himſelf and his Realm, whoſe reciprocal Good or Hurt were dependent one upon another, to provide ſome Remedy for the Repreſſing of this abuſing Fraud and Deceit, and Suppreſſing the Inſolency, if it ſhould extend to Force and Rebellion. Wherefore he diſperſed ſeveral Companies, both of Horſe and Foot, to defend the Sea-coaſts, that no Man might paſs or repaſs unapprehended, who had not Licenſe or Safe-conduct for his Journey, Buſineſs, and Affairs: Then he ſent down the Lieutenants and Juſtices into their ſeveral Countries, to detain the People in Obedience, and muſter the Forces of the ſame, as Occaſion ſhould ſerve; which Order obſerved, he underhand authoriſed wiſe and diſcreet Spies into all the Cities of the *Low-countries*, to diſcover of what Province, Progeny, Parentage, and Eſtate this miſnamed *Richard* was deſcended and propagated, promiſing Princely Rewards to ſuch Perſons, as could relate the Truth, and, as a Man may ſay, enucleate the Secret. Beſides, he wrote loving Letters to certain truſty Friends concerning the ſame; who, to do their Prince and Country Service, diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral Towns and Cities, both of *France* and *Burgundy*; where they were certified and aſſured, by the Teſtimony of many honeſt Perſons (amongſt whom, ſome of ſpecial Wit and Behaviour repaired to the Town of *Tournay*) that this feigned Duke was of mean Parentage, and truly named *Peter Warbeck*; which was principally confirmed by one *Nathaniel Oſbeck* of his own Kindred, who, as it ſhould ſeem, in Hope of Reward, took upon him more than the reſt, and exprobrated him, for ſo Counterfeiting, with this Taunt out of the Poet:

Sed male diſſimulas, quis enim celaverit ignem
Lumine qui ſemper proditur ipſe ſuo?
Paris Helenæ.

And alas! however he is now tranſhaped into a princely Garb and Faſhion, we of *Peter* named him *Perkin*, for his Effeminateneſs and Childiſhneſs.

With this News and Man, the Inquiſitors returned into *England*, and made a true Report unto his Majeſty of all they knew and heard, both concerning the aſſumed Preſumption and Impudence of the Counterfeit, as alſo the Proceedings and Purpoſes of all the Conſpirators; which was ſeconded by the faithful Letters of eſpecial Perſons, who had larger Commiſſion to make their Continuance the longer out of *England:* When the King was thus ſatisfied, and, (as he ſuppoſed) to all ſeeming reaſonable Underſtanding, had openly and apparently manifeſted it, he reſolved to have it further publiſhed and declared, by open Proclamations, and Sound of Trumpet, both in the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and in the Courts of foreign Princes; for which Purpoſe he ſent over divers Ambaſſadors to many Countries, eſpecially to *Philip* Archduke of *Burgoigne*, and his Counſellors, as a Place which neareſt concerned him. This Ambaſſy was the Charge and Commiſſion of Sir *Edward Poinings*, a moſt valiant Gentleman, and *William Warham*, Doctor of the Laws, a Man of great Modeſty, Learning, and Gravity. The general Points of their Commiſſion had large Fields to walk in, but the principal Matters to be inforced had theſe Limitations:

FIRST, to declare, that the young Man, reſident amongſt them, with the Lady *Margaret*, was deſcended of a baſe and obſcure Parentage, having falſely and untruly uſurped the Name of *Richard* Duke of *York*, who long before was murthered in the *Tower*, with his Brother the Prince, by the Commandment of King *Richard*, their Uncle, as many Men living can teſtify.

Secondly, That, from the Probability of the Matter, and Inforcement of Reaſon, there was no Likelihood that King *Richard*, diſpoſſeſſing the Prince both of his Life and Kingdom, would leave the other Brother ſtill to affright him, and trouble him in his Government.

Thirdly, That Queen *Eliſabeth*, their Mother, was therefore attainted in Parliament, for Surrendering her Daughters into the Tyrant's Cuſtody, and Committing them into his Hands, who, ſhe knew, had already murthered their Brethren.

Fourthly, To deſire the Archduke, and the principal Lords of his Council, not to give any Credit to ſuch Illuſions, nor ſuffer them-

themſelves to be any more blinded or ſeduced with Impoſtures, or ſhadowing Appearances of Truth.

Laſt of all, To remember how King *Henry* had (ſome few Years ſince) ſuccoured and relieved *Maximilian*, their principal Lord, almoſt oppreſſed and overcome with the foreign Hoſtility of the *French* King, and inteſtine Rebellion of his own Subjects; and therefore it muſt be unprincely, and a Point of great Ingratitude, either directly or indirectly, to abet or maintain any Traitor or traitorous Practices againſt him, or the Peace and Tranquillity of his Kingdom.

With theſe Inſtructions the Ambaſſadors ſailed into *Flanders*, and were gently received and honourably welcomed by the Archduke and his Council, as appeared by the Solemnity of their Audience, and quick Diſpatch of their Buſineſs; wherein Dr. *William Warham*, in a well penned Oration, declared the King's Mind, as before you heard, and, by the Way, touched the Malice of Lady *Margaret*, ſaying with the Poet,

——*Tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?*

And under a Kind of Reprehenſion, rebuked her treacherous Diſpoſition againſt a Prince of ſo great Worth and Deſerving, that never wronged her, nor entertained a prejudicial Motive, to afflict either her or her's, with any malignant Injury; wherein ſhe only might be compared to a weak Breath, which, ſpitting againſt a forcible Wind, had it returned back again into her Face; adding withal, ſomewhat vehemently, that, in her old Age, contrary to the Nature of all Births, ſhe had brought forth two ſuch deteſtable Monſters, that is to ſay, *Lambert* before diſputed upon, and now this *Peter*, that the like was never heard of. And whereas, in the Conception of Children, Women were commonly delivered in eight or nine Months as Nature did require, ſhe could not be releaſed in eight or nine Years; nay, the youngeſt was fifteen Years old, before her Pains were paſſed, and they juſtified to be ſhewn openly; and this was not ſufficient neither, but they muſt be at leaſt extracted of Princes, and able to give Kings Battle in the open Field; whereupon he might well conclude with that ancient Poet,

Sed res excellens eſt, contra reptiles beſtias
Remedia Mortalibus deorum præbuiſſe aliquem,
Quæ viperas & ignem ſuperant:
Sed nullius contra mulierem remedia invenit adhuc
Malam; hujuſmodi ſumus hominibus malum.
Eurip. Andromache.

This Oration, ſo effectually delivered, and in the publick Aſſembly, audaciouſly maintained, did not ſo much trouble and vex the Ducheſs, as affright and diſhearten poor *Perkin*, who, in a Manner, exanimated, leſt his Fraud and peſtilential Enterpriſes ſhould not only be diſcovered, but diſcouraged, began to be ſomewhat appaled, and, by a fearful Countenance, ſeemed to diſcountenance both his Honour and the Action, had not the Ducheſs taken the Cauſe in Hand with a more undaunted Courage, and, like a true *Virago*, raiſed her Spirits to a higher Pitch of Revenge, thus reſuſcitating her Darling, and anſwering the Doctor:

MY Lords Ambaſſadors of *England*, for the Dignity of Princelineſs commandeth no leſs, and awful Regard of Majeſty combineth me to ſuch Obſervation: Beſides, I am no Way offended with your Perſons, but your Meſſage, wherein I know the Orator hath much tranſcended his Bounds, but, ſpeaking for his Fee, and doing another Man's Errand, he is the more pardonable, and therefore, as near as I can remember, I will anſwer ſuccinctly to every Point delivered.

Firſt, Whereas you impeach the miraculous and wonderful Preſervation of this Prince, in which yet my Credit and Knowledge of the Truth ſhall be of Sufficiency to anſwer all other Objections and Intercedings, I cannot blame you, nor him that ſet you on Work; for he well knows that Sons are to be preferred before Daughters, and, aſhamed of the Treachery of his Anceſtors, he would put off the Blame by a Trick of Policy, in laying as great Faults on the Shoulders of his Adverſary; I mean my Brother *Richard*, whoſe Tyranny and obdurate Heart hath only wrought this Relenting in me, that, ſay and do what *England* can, I will be now the Protectrix of this every Way diſtreſſed Prince; and ſo, to conclude this Point, aſſure your King,

Permanet in voto mens mea firma ſuo.

Secondly, Whereas you infer the Improbability and Unlikelihood of ſaving the Prince, being in a Tyrant's Cuſtody, and determining to murder the King himſelf, I anſwer in a Word, I am of your Mind, if ever he had come into his Hands: But it is well known, that the Cardinal himſelf was deceived, and the Child conveyed away, in Spight of the malevolent Practices of ſo cruel an Homicide. Yet ſay it had not been ſo, I hope eldeſt Brother's Daughters are preferred before a younger Brother's Claim; and he had five Princeſſes, beſides my Nephew *Warwick* to wreſtle withal, before he could go out of the Liſts, with his own Triumphs. Therefore it was not the Fear of him that did accelerate his Murther, as you ſuppoſe; but his Reſolution to be King, in Spight of Heaven and Hell.

Thirdly, Concerning the Diſpoſſeſſing of the Queen, their Mother, by your Parliament, I am aſhamed of your Aſſeveration, that ever Man, and ſuch a Man, whom (as you ſay) the Heavens protected, ſhould be attainted of Inhumanity, to think a Woman might not be affrighted with a Tyrant, when he himſelf ran into every Corner from his Reaches. But ſay there had been a Fault perpetrated (through the Timidity of her Sex, and Tenderneſs of her Widowhood) Would any Man marry the Daughter, and hate or diſtreſs the poor Mother? In whoſe Behalf I may well ſay with *Ariadne* to *Theſeus*,

———*Si non ego cauſa ſalutis:*
Non tamen eſt, cur tu ſis mihi cauſa necis?
Ovid. Epiſt.

And therefore, if there were no more than to revenge her Quarrel, I will be an Enemy to *Lancaſter*, while I live, and am no further moved with your unſeaſonable Oratory, than afraid of his Menaces.

Fourthly, Whereas you would inſinuate with our Nobles, and truſty Friends, to deſiſt from my Allegiance, and Aſſiſting my Nephew in his lawful Claim: You think belike we are as perfidious as yourſelves, that ſeem glad of Treaſon and Turmoils upon the very Sound of Innovation; yea, the leaſt Advantage or Diſadvantage will cauſe you to leave your Prince in the Midſt of his Enemies.

Fifthly, Concerning your Exprobration of *Maximilian* for Ingratitude, and not Coadjuting your King in his petty Revenges upon *France*: *Firſt*, His great Deſigns are not to be compared to your trivial Buſineſs, and, having Matters of high Conſequence elſewhere, he could not leave them to attend your weaker Importunities: *Secondly*, He well knew it was but a Folly to aſſiſt you in any Buſineſs of *France*; for as faſt as you got it one Way, you would loſe it another, ſo that you cannot now ſhew any Town or Fort, either of King *Edward*'s Conqueſts, or *Henry the Fifth*'s Enterpriſes, except *Calais*, which lying ſo near you, you cannot, for Shame, but defend. And *Thirdly*, In my Conſcience, he took Pity on you, knowing you had a War at Home to attend, and ſo were not able to proſecute both Encounters at once: Go back, therefore, and tell your politick Prince, that, whereas Words are but Women's Weapons to his Imagination, we determine to arm ourſelves, and this Prince, by God's Aſſiſtance, and my Power, ſhall bid him Defiance in his own Kingdom with Spear and Shield, and make an equal Combate the Decider of both their Titles.

Laſt of all, Concerning your Invective againſt Women: Alas! I ſmile at your Scholarſhip, and am aſhamed at your poor Diſcretion in adapting ſome poetical Invention out of Fury or Spight, to your preſent Purpoſes, when both the ſame Man, and all others, of the ſame Condition, are as forward to commend as diſpraiſe us: For, to anſwer your worn-out and thread-bare Tragedian, hark what our Divine *Petrarch* affirmeth:

Hujus mens terrenarum neſcia curarum: Cæleſtibus deſideriis ardet: In cujus aſpectu ſi quid unquam veri eſt divini ſpecimen decoris effulget: Cujus mores conſummatæ honeſtatis exemplar ſunt: Cujus nec vox, nec oculorum vigor mortale aliquid: Nec inceſſus hominem repræſentat.
De Contemptu Mundi Dial. iii.

With which Words ſhe aroſe, and carried away *Perkin* with ſuch State and Majeſty, that Sir *Edward Poinings*, though he were every Way invincible for his Courage, and a known Man for wonderful and ſeveral Exploits, yet ſeemed amazed at her heroical Speech, and delicate Manner of Obſtinacy.

Notwithſtanding, the Ambaſſadors and Council of State often met, and, after long Debating the Matter, ſomewhat to pacify the King of *England* for many reciprocal Gratuities and Benefits received, they concluded, that the Archduke

Archduke ſhould neither aid nor aſſiſt *Perkin*, nor his Accomplices, in any Cauſe or Quarrel whatſoever, againſt the Majeſty of *England*: Only, if the Ducheſs continued in her Obdurateneſs, and would not deſiſt from her feminine Rages, and terrible Proſecutions, they were not to oppoſe againſt her, nor was it in their Power to let or withſtand it: For ſhe was an abſolute Governor in her own Territories, and the Signories and Lands, aſſigned for her Dowry, were of Sufficiency to ſupport her Enterpriſes without their Contradiction or Reſtraint.

When this Anſwer was given, they returned again into *England* with a true Relation of all Occurrences as they chanced, and Circumſtances impending: Whereupon, King *Henry*, both politick and charitable (for, of all other Things he deſired, if it were poſſible, to avoid Effuſion of Blood, and hazardous Danger of Battle, ſuppoſing that was the laſt Remedy of Curing diſeaſed Commonwealths, as Surgeons do to feſtered Sores) contrived another Work, which, although it was branded by ſome with the Character of traitorous Intelligences, yet it ſerved his Turn for the Preſent, and ſo divers were appointed to diſcover the Secrets of the contrary, by feigned Diſſimulation. Of theſe were two Sorts, one to feign themſelves *Yorkiſts*, and ſo learn out what they could prejudicial to King *Henry*; another, to tamper with Sir *Robert Clifford* and *William Burley*, for their Return to the Obedience of the King; and, concerning the Plot itſelf, he reputed it juſtifiable, as authoriſed by all Authors, Ages, and Commonwealths, who ſet down in their politick Diſcourſes, that

——— *Fraus eſt conceſſa repellere fraudem,*
Armaque in armatos ſumere jura ſinunt.
Ovid. de Arte Amandi, *Lib.* iii.

Theſe cunning Informers ſo demeaned themſelves, and employed their Time with ſuch Sedulity and Care, that they perſuaded, though with much ado, Sir *Robert Clifford* to deſiſt from this fooliſh and dangerous Colluſion, which had neither ſure Ground nor Foundation to ſtay itſelf upon; but Mr. *Burley* could not be diverted at this Inſtant, till within two Years after, almoſt tired out with Expectation after *Perkin Warbeck*'s Fortunes and Succeſs, he returned of himſelf to the King, and had Pardon both for Life and Liberty. The others likewiſe proceeded ſo effectually, that they had ſure Notice of eſpecial Perſons confederated, and adjured to this blind and fooliſh Project, of which they preſently informed the King, who, by that Means, could not only perſonally name his Home Enemies, but, to prevent the worſt, did as perſonally attach the moſt principal; that is to ſay, Sir *John Ratcliffe*, the Lord *Fitzwalter*, Sir *Simon Mountford*, Sir *Thomas Thwaits*, *William Dawbney*, *Robert Clifford*, *Thomas Greſſenor*, and *Thomas Aſtwood*: With theſe, were divers religious Perſons impriſoned, as *William Rochford*, Doctor of Divinity, and *Thomas Poines*, both *Dominican* Friars; Dr. *William Sutton*, *William Worſley*, Dean of *Paul*'s; *Robert Laiborn*, and *Richard Leſley*, with divers others unapprehended, of whom ſome took Sanctuary, and others fled into *Flanders* to *Perkin*: But, of thoſe whoſe Liberties were conſtrained, Sir *Simon Mountford*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, and *William Dawbney* were beheaded as powerful, factious, and chief Authors of the Conſpiracy; the reſt were pardoned, eſpecially the Prieſts, who were, in thoſe Times, for their Order's Sake, ſequeſtered from publick Executions, what Offences ſoever they perpetrated, which made them ſo forward in in all facinorous Actions; and others ſo ſuperſtitious, as to believe any Thing they either projected or attempted; from which hypocritical and deceivable Manner of Life, all Poets and Philoſophers themſelves have had both general and particular Invectives againſt Prieſts, Augurs, Soothſayers, Figure-caſters, and Religious Perſons, both for their profane Lives and ſeducing Vanities; ſo that *Euripides*, amongſt many other Places, concludes in his *Iphigenia*,

Vatidicûm omne genus ambitioſum malum eſt.

And all the Kingdoms and Times of the World have ſmarted through the Pride, Covetouſneſs, and malicious Wickedneſs of Prieſts and Friars; and laſtly, Jeſuits, as I ſaid before. But to our Story.

Although the Lord *Fitzwalter* was pardoned his Life for the Preſent; yet, coming after to *Calais*, he was beheaded for Attempting to eſcape, by Corrupting his Keepers, and ſo to go to *Perkin*: Whereby this ſtrange and intricate Work ſo buſied his Majeſty, that he would often compare it to the Conquering of *Hydra*, a Beaſt ſo privileged by Nature, that, as one

Head

Head was ſtruck off, ſeven others grew in the Place. For his Turmoils, both at Home and Abroad, increaſed; and he ſeemed as much tormented with the Suſpicion of Boſom Friends, as Affrightings of Foreign Enemies, which ſo exaſperated him, that, as he ſuppoſed, to prevent the worſt, conſidering *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, had trifled with him in his Wars againſt *France*, and that Lady *Margaret*, with the *Flemings*, had ſupported *Perkin Warbeck* againſt him, he, in a Kind of Revenge, baniſhed all *Low-Countrymen*, and their Commodities, out of the Realm, with Reſtraining the Merchants from having Acceſs into any of their Cities: But, alas! this was to no Purpoſe, and, in Truth, rather a Cuſtom of Anger, than Secret of Policy; as if a Man, becauſe his Finger torments him, ſhould cut off his Hand to eaſe himſelf; for they did the like by us, whereby, the Mart being kept at *Calais*, and no Vent elſewhere for our Merchandiſe, many poor Houſekeepers complained for Want of Work, many rich Men murmured, and were compelled to leſſen their Families, and abate their Retinue; many Merchants felt the Loſs, and the Tradeſman cried outright, becauſe the *Eſterlings* brought all Manner of manual Work, ready made, into the Land, and took from them both their Labour and Cuſtomers, whereby a Riot was made upon them at the *Stilyard*, and the Mayor of *London*, with the principal Officers, had much ado to appeaſe the Tumult; and this was the ninth Year's Diſturbance.

The King, thus turmoiled every Way, repaired, for divers Reaſons, to the *Tower* of *London*, whither ſhortly after came Sir *Robert Clifford* unto him, party truſting to the King's Promiſe, partly miſtruſting his own Company, and *Perkin*'s Weakneſs: But the chieſeſt Policy of his Reſidence in the *Tower*, was, to ſecure himſelf, and lay Hold of all others ſuſpected, or accuſed in this Conſpiracy, who, thither reſorting to the Council, might with Eaſe, and without any Tumult, be committed to Priſon, as it preſently fell out: For, after the King had admitted Sir *Robert*, and inſinuated with him in excellent Poſitions of Divinity and Morality, by Way of Diſceptation, urging the Love and Favour of his Prince in his true Obedience and Reconciliation, he not only related the Manner of *Perkin*'s Proceedings, but, on his Knees, with Tears in his Eyes, diſcovered the Matter to be weak and impoſſible, if it had not factious Supportation from ſome of powerful Houſes of *England*, and very near his Majeſty's Perſon, whereof, though many were puniſhed, and the reſt diſſipated and divided, yet Sir *William Stanley* remained unſuſpected, and his Heart trembled to accuſe him: But, when the King heard Sir *William Stanley* named, he ſtarted back amazed, and, in a Manner, confounded, ſo that Sir *Robert* was afraid he had done him more Harm in the Relation, than Good in the Detection.

At laſt he burſt out, What, my Boſom Friend? My Counſellor? My Chamberlain? Then I ſee there is no Truſt in Men, nor, as the *Pſalmiſt* ſays, Confidence in Princes: For, as we ſhall not want Inſtruments to go forward with what Enterpriſe we pleaſe, as *David* had his *Joab*; ſo ſhall we not lack Enemies, let them be never ſo careful and deſirous to favour the leaſt Deſerver; but I will cry out, *Heu cadit in quemquam tantum ſcelus!* and with the kingly Prophet exclaim, It was not mine Enemies Abroad, but my Companions, and ſuch as eat at my Table, betrayed me: What, Sir *William Stanley?* He had the Government of my Chamber, the Charge and Comptrolment of all that are next my Perſon, the Love and Favour of our Court, and the very Keys of our Treaſury: He made me a Conqueror in the Field, and, by his Hand, I ſcourged Tyranny out of his Throne, therefore it is impoſſible, and I cannot believe it: But, when a ſecond Reply brought him to the Sight of fairer Particulars, and that he ſaw the Smoke, though it was but a Smother, come from ſome Fire, he quickly recollected his Spirits, and, with theſe Verſes of *Euripides*, ſet himſelf down at the Table of Prevention and Repoſedneſs:

Ex amicis autem alios quidem non certos video amicos
Qui vero ſunt rectè, impotentes ſunt ut juvent:
Talis res eſt hominibus ipſa infœlicitas,
Quâ nullus unquam (quicunque vel mediocriter amicus mihi)
Aſſequatur amicorum examen certiſſimum,——
Eurip. Hereſurens.

The ſame Night, upon better Conſideration, the Lord Chamberlain was reſtrained from his Liberty within the Square *Tower*, and confined to his own Chamber for a Seaſon; but, when the Crime was openly proved, and the Council had, as it were, with a charming Hand of *Hecate*, turned his

his Inſide outward, and found all his Excuſes to conſiſt in Diſtinctions, and his Reaſons of Defence manifeſt Aſtipulations of the Matter, he grew out of all Patience, and knew not what to ſay or do: For one Way, like a noble Prince, commiſerating his Subjects, he feared leſt his Brother, Lord *Thomas Stanley*, the Life of his firſt Royalty, as a Man may ſay, ſhould take it grievouſly. Another Way, he miſdoubted, leſt, in remitting the Fault, ſome others might abuſe his Lenity and Mercy, and be the bolder to run forward in the dangerous Courſes of further Treaſons: At laſt, by the Advice of his Council, and general Vogue of the Court, Severity, conſidering the Peril of thoſe Days, took Place, and Mercy was put back; ſo that, after a ſolemn Arraignment, he had Judgment to die, and accordingly was brought, on the Sixteenth of *February*, to *Tower-Hill*, and had his Head ſtruck off.

The principal Point of his Indictment conſiſted in this, that Sir *William Stanley* ſwore and affirmed, that he would never fight nor bear Armour againſt the young Man *Peter Warbeck*, if he knew of a Truth that he was the undoubted Son of *Edward the Fourth*, whereupon aroſe a conjectural Proof, that he bare no Good-will to King *Henry*. Again, the principal Motive of his Diſtaſting and Murmuring at the King, was for being denied the Earldom of *Cheſter*, when his Brother, Lord *Thomas*, was inveſted with the Sword of *Derby*: Yet the King, beſides many Rewards and other great Offices, made him his Chief Chamberlain; What ſhould I ſay? It ſhould ſeem Ambition had blinded his Eyes, and perverted his Judgment. For he ſtill thought on the Benefits which the King received from the Love and Service of his Family, never remembering the Compenſation and Gratuities returned back again to himſelf; ſuppoſing that his Veſſel of Oil ſhould ſtill be filled to the Brim, or elſe he harped on a *Machivilian* Poſition: Thankfulneſs is a Burthen, but Revenge is ſweet and reckoned as Gain. But it ſhould ſeem, that, in poſſeſſing King *Richard*'s Treaſure at the Conqueſt of *Boſworth* Field, which King *Henry* frankly beſtowed upon him, and the Command over the People in the Country, he grew proud and elated, and ſo vilipended the King; or, from a continual Melancholy, reverberating Miſlike and Hate upon his ſtaggering Conceits, he more and more over-burthened his Heart with Rage and Spight, which, as you have heard unpurged, vented out thoſe Words of Diſloyalty to the Loſs of his Life; or in a Word, according to that of our old Tragedian:

Animorum Jupiter vindex eſt nimis ſuperborum,
Eurip. Heraclidæ.

The Searcher of Hearts was weary of his Humours and Ingratitude, and ſo took the King's Cauſe in Hand, and upon good Inforcement thruſt him into the Houſe of Deſtruction. Otherwiſe he could not chooſe but remember, how, not twenty Years before, the Law had interpreted the profuſe and laviſh Speeches of a Grocer, named *Walker*, dwelling at the Sign of the *Crown*, in *Cheapſide*, who bad his Son learn a-pace and he would make him Heir of the *Crown*, meaning his Houſe he dwelt in, for which he was adjudged to die: Nor forget the Story of *Burdet* the Eſquire, within whoſe Park King *Edward* hunting, a white tame Hart was killed by Chance, which he had brought up by Hand; which when *Burdet* heard of, he wiſhed the Horns in his Belly that had moved the King to come firſt thither; for which he was drawn, hanged, and quartered. Thus you ſee there is no Jeſting with Princes, nor Diſtaſting them in troubleſome Times, nor Preſuming in ſuch Caſes on their Clemency: For our *Ovid* tells us:

Non ideo debet pelago ſe credere, ſi quo
Audet in exiguo ludere cymba lacu.

After this, many Rumours and Libels, yea defamatory Speeches, both concerning the Landing of the new Duke of *York*, proclaimed already, in *Ireland*, *Richard the Fourth*: And the King's preſent Fear and Proceedings were ſpread Abroad, which compelled as ſtrange Prohibitions, yea Puniſhments and Revenges, according to the Example of that Judgment that hanged *Collingbroke* for a Rhime againſt the Uſurper:

The Rat, the Cat, and Lovel *the Dog,*
Rules all England *under a Hog:*

So that he was farther forced to have many politick Searches through the whole Realm for ſuch Offenders, and as many ſtrong Guards and Watches for the Defence of the whole Kingdom; by which, when he perceived the Care,

Care, Vigilancy, and Good-will of the Subject, he entertained a greater Fulneſs of Contentment, and ſhewed a better Alacrity of Spirit than his former Griefs would admit: Then he advanced *Giles* Lord *Dawnley*, a Man of Wiſdom, Experience, and Fidelity, to be the Chamberlain of his Houſe, and have the Guard of his Perſon. Afterwards he took Order with the City and Merchants of the ſame, and had their faithful Oath and Proteſtation to look to it, and all the Places of their Traffick Abroad, concerning ſuch Things as might be offenſive and prejudicial to the Kingdom. The next Thing, he took Care for, was the Manning of the *Cinque-ports*, and Fortifying divers Havens, with a ſtrict Commanding the Lieutenants and Juſtices of each Shire to repair into their Countries, by which good Order obſerved he grew ſomewhat ſecure and bolder, to ſhew himſelf in publick Aſſemblies undaunted, or any way diſcomfited.

But this was yet far from the Fulneſs of his Eſtabliſhment, as long as *Ireland* remained corrupted, and ſwelled again in every Place, with the overblown Reports and Rumours of *Perkin*'s Royalty, to which each traitorous Ear lay open, and abuſed Heart went quite away with the Novelty. Whereupon he reſolved on the Neceſſity of purging and cleanſing the ſame, and determined to perform it by new Officers and honeſt Surveyors: So he ſent thither, with powerful Authority, *Henry Dean*, late Abbot of *Langton*, to be his Chancellor, and Sir *Edward Poinings*, with a ſufficient Preparation to be Lord General of his Army. Theſe had a large Commiſſion, under his Deputy the Earl of *Kildare*, to ſuppreſs all Innovations, and ſpare no Offenders: For it was ſuch a Time, that Mercy and Favour would rather embolden Men to Abuſes, than Juſtice offend with Extremity. Beſides, the Majeſty of Kings was not to be controuled, either in their Favour or Revenges; but they would ſimply command, and have the Subject honeſtly to obey, with which Inſtructions and the Doctrine of Probity out of our ancient Author,

Probi enim viri officium eſt, & Juſtitiæ inſervire,
Et malefactis punire ubique ſemper:

They arrived in *Ireland*, and diſpoſed of themſelves accordingly.

Now, becauſe the Country was already infected with a ſuperſtitious Credulity of the Preſervation of one of the Sons of *Edward the Fourth*, and that the barbarous *Iriſh*, once believing a Thing, would never be diverted by Reaſon or Perſuaſion, they proceeded the more cautiouſly and circumſpectly in their Buſineſs: Firſt, aſſembling the Nobility and better Sort before the new Chancellor, who, with all attractive Demeanour and Elocution, perſuaded them not only to perſiſt in Obedience to the King, and Loyalty to the Government, but to aid and aſſiſt his Majeſty's Forces under Sir *Edward Poinings*, with their Power, Strength, and Ability; eſpecially againſt ſuch Rebels, as rather through factious Malice and wilful Revolts, than Blindneſs of Error or Folly, had adhered unto *Perkin*, or any of his Aſſociates, in which they knew there was Reaſon and Sufficiency of Inforcement: For, amongſt themſelves, the petty Lords would endure no Competition of Sovereignty, and their Law-Tenets eſtabliſhed him, that for his heroick Actions deſerved to be honoured, and by his worthy Endeavours obtained the Juriſdiction and Inheritance: So that their own Prieſts could tell them, *Ex parvis magna comparantur*; and if it were ſo in petty Governments, What was it in mighty Monarchies, and with regardable Kings? Amongſt whom,

Nulla fides regni ſociis, omniſque poteſtas:
Impatiens conſortis erat:———

Therefore, to avoid the Imputation of Treaſon, and the Fearfulneſs of Revenge, from a Prince's incenſed Indignation, he adviſed them to a Tenacity and ſtrong Continuance in their Loyalty.

To this their Anſwer was, as Soldiers in a Camp after a Mutiny, ſad Looks and ſmall Repentance: Fair Words, but little Performance. For they all promiſed Aſſurance of Faith, but no Man determined the due Performance: Only the better Sort, or, if you will, ſuch as dwelled within the *Engliſh* Pale, or had been ennobled, or inabled by the Prince to live in richer Form and Eminence than others; anſwered directly, they would acknowledge no King but *Henry*, nor ſupreme Lord, but ſuch as ſhould be extracted from the Union of the Marriage between the two Roſes; and to this they were the rather emboldened,

boldened, becauſe the Earl of *Kildare*, being Deputy, ſeemed to maintain their Submiſſion, and juſtify their Intents; ſo that Sir *Edward Poinings* had little to ſay at that Time, more than he hoped in the Confidence of their Promiſes, and relied on their worthy Integrity: Yet I dare ſwear, if he had been examined on his Conſcience, and brought to the Bar of Diſcovery for his Thoughts, he would have cried out with the Poet:

At paucos, quibus hæc rabies auctoribus arſit,
Non Cæſar, ſed Pœna tenet: &c.——

Whereupon he prepared all his Forces againſt the wild *Iriſh*, to whom, as he was informed, divers of the reſt had fled for Succour. I could here enlarge this Diſcourſe with a Topographical Deſcription of the Country, and Conditions of the People, becauſe I have perſonally overlooked their Actions, and been a Paſſenger even from one Side of the Country to the other: But the Times are full of the Experience of many Men, and divers Explorations have diſcovered the unſwept Corners of this ſavage and ſuperſtitious People, whom never Man ſhall ſee civil, or once affecting the Handſomeneſs and Wealth of the other Parts of *Europe*, till either it grow more populous, or the King be as willing, as he is able, to extirpate, as it were, by the Roots, the Bards, Rhimers, Harpers and Prieſts, that hang upon them, and ſtick cloſe unto them, as ſome deformed Wen in a ſtraight growing Tree, or, if you will, venomous Canker, which will, in Time, either eat out Root and Rind, or, for the Time, disfigure and diſproportion the proudeſt Comelineſs of the beſt Cedars in the Foreſt. But to our Story:

Sir *Edward Poinings*, according to his Commiſſion, marched into the *North*: But, alas, he neither found *France* to travel in, nor *Frenchmen* to fight withal: Here were no glorious Towns to load the Soldiers Home with Spoils, nor pleaſant Vineyards to refreſh them with Wine: Here were no plentiful Markets to ſupply the Salary of the Army, if they wanted or ſtood in Need: Here were no Cities of Refuge, nor Places of Gariſon to retire unto, in the Times of Danger and Extremity of Weather: Here were no Muſters ordered, nor Lieutenants of Shires to raiſe new Armies: Here was no Supplement either of Men or Proviſions, eſpecially of *Iriſh* againſt *Iriſh*; nor any one Promiſe kept according to his Expectation: Here were, in plain Terms, Bogs and Woods to lie in, Fogs and Miſts to trouble you, Graſs and Fern to welcome your Horſes, and corrupt and putrefy your Bodies: Here was Killing of Kine, and Eating freſh Beef, to breed Diſeaſes: Here was Oats without Bread, and Fire without Wood: Here were ſmoaking Cabins, and naſty Holes: Here were Bogs on the Tops of Mountains, and few Paſſages, but over Marſhes, or through ſtrange Places: Here was Retiring into Faſtneſſes and Glins, and no Fighting but when they pleaſed themſelves: Here was Ground enough to bury your People in, being dead, but no Place to pleaſe them, while they were alive: Here you might ſpend what you brought with you, but be aſſured there was no Hope of Relief: Here was Room for all your Loſſes, but ſcarce a Caſtle to reſerve your Spoils and Treaſure. To conclude: Here was all Glory and Virtue buried in Obſcurity and Oblivion, and not ſo much as a Glimmering of Hope, that, how valiantly ſoever a Man demeaned himſelf, it ſhould be regiſtered and remembered; which makes me conſider what that worthy Politician writes of the *Swevians* and *Helvetians* in thoſe Days, and apply them to theſe Times and People:

Helvetii, Uſipeteſque, atque effera corda Suevi,
Queis unum prædæ ſtudium, ac durare ſub ipſis,
Corpora fluminibus, teloque aſſueſcere dextram:
Non urbis, non cura domus, agrivè colendi,
Venatu ducunt vitam, atque è lacte liquente.
Et quod Marte ſpoliato ex hoſte pararint:
Bella placent, fuſuſque hoſtili è corpore ſanguis.

Whereupon the worthy General, with his other Captains, began to complain, but knew no Way of Redreſs: His Men died, the Soldiers were ſlain, the Army decayed, the *Iriſh* inſulted, the Auxiliaries failed, and not a Man, which promiſed Aſſiſtance, came in to help him; ſo that he was inraged at the Perfidiouſneſs, and compelled to retire to *Dublin*, all exaſperated to Spight, by which he aimeth at the Higheſt in his Diſpleaſure, laying the Fault and Blame of his prepoſterous Proceedings on *Gerald* Earl of *Kildare*, his Majeſty's principal Deputy; who, remembering his own Greatneſs, could not confine it within a little Circuit of Patience, but anſwered this our Captain ſomewhat like himſelf, that he

was as loyal to the King as he, as ſerviceable as he, as loving to his Country and Crown of *England* as he, and ſo defied him to his Face; which added only Fuel to the former Fire, ſo that the undaunted Soldier apprehended and attached him of High Treaſon, which ſeemed an unſufferable Piece of Buſineſs; and, had it not been within *Dublin*, or ſome principal Place under the *Engliſh* Command, an *Herculean* and intricate Labour. But thus is this great Earl under Arreſt, and, without any more ado, carried into *England*, to anſwer the Matter.

But, when he came before the King and Council, to be examined of Treaſon and Matters laid to his Charge, either his Innocency was a *Perſeus*'s Shield againſt this *Gorgon*'s Head of Calumniation, or his Wit and delicate Judgment brought him out of the Labyrinth of thoſe Troubles, or the Times afforded not ſuch Severity and Proceedings, or the King had other Matters to think upon; or, indeed, it was no Policy to rub theſe new Sores with rude Hands, according to the Rule:

Horrent admotas vulnera cruda manus:

For he was quietly diſmiſſed, thanked, rewarded, and of Deputy made Lieutenant, and ſo ſent back again, upon the Engaging of his Honour to withſtand the Landing of *Perkin*, if ever he came into *Ireland*.

By this Occaſion, the King was without Fear of Battle, and determined his Progreſs about *Midſummer* to viſit his Mother, lying at *Latham* in *Lancaſhire*, ſtill Wife to the Earl of *Derby*; but, as he was preparing his Journey, News came of *Perkin*'s Landing in *England*, which a While diverted him, and forced his Retardance from his firſt Determination: For, in Truth, when the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* had Notice of all the King's Proceedings, both in *England* and *Ireland*, and that the principal Offenders were condemned and executed, and Confederates diſſipated and overwatched, ſhe found too late her own Slackneſs, and the firſt Misfortune of the King of *France*'s Retractions from Aſſiſting the Prince; for, whether I name *Peter*, or *Perkin*, or *Warbeck*, or Prince, or *Richard* Duke of *York*, or *Richard the Fourth*, all is one Man, and all had one End: And queſtionleſs, if, at his firſt Repairing into *Ireland*, he had made for *England*, while that Rumour had poſſeſſed the People, and the Looking after Novelty buſied them with ſtrange and impoſſible Hope; while every one ſtood amazed to gaze after Wonders; while the Conſpiracy was in Growth, and had divers factious Nobles to form it to a larger Birth; while the Soldiers deſired to be doing, and Men grew weary of Eaſe and Quietneſs, the Buſineſs might have plunged the Kingdom, and Succeſs took a Flight with ſtrong Wings indeed; whereby you may perceive the Sweetneſs and Benefit of Expedition in all dangerous Buſineſs, and reſemble unjuſtifiable Actions to thieviſh Bargains, which either muſt be made away in the Dark, or haſtened a-pace in the proudeſt Market place, according to the Saying:

——— *Præceps facit omne timendum*
Victor, & in nulla non creditur eſſe carina.
Lucan. *Lib.* ix.

Notwithſtanding, our great Ducheſs remained undaunted, and, in a Manner of Scorn to depend upon others Promiſes, ſhe ventured on her own Power, and determined to put him under the Wings of Fortune, let her overſhade him as ſhe pleaſed; ſo, gathering her Forces together, and furniſhing her Ships with a ſufficient Company, and ſome valiant Captains, ſhe ſent him to Sea, and only prayed to the wrathful *Nemeſis*, as Author of her Revenge, for Succeſs and Thriving in ſo glorious an Attempt. Here were of all Nations, and Conditions of Men, Bankrupts, Sanctuary-men, Thieves, Robbers, Vagabonds, and divers others; who, affecting Liberty, Rapine, and Spoil, deſiſted from honeſt Labour to be the Servants of diſhoneſt Rebellion. His *Fortune* (as we now profanely abuſe that Term) drove him on the Coaſt of *Kent* before *Deal-caſtle*; where, being becalmed, he caſt Anchor, ſending divers on Shore to certify the Inhabitants of his Arrival, Preparation, Purpoſes, and well-furniſhed Armies, and to put them in Mind of their ancient Liberties, Privileges, and undaunted Courages, which have given Battle to Kings, and made their own Peace with Conquerors. But, alas! this Oratory flew like a Shaft without a Head, and they had learned other Leſſons of Stability and Loyalty, as finding the Sweetneſs of Peace, and Happineſs of Government: Notwithſtanding, they called a Council, and I believe, if they had been fully

reſolved, that he was the true Prince indeed, they would have entertained the Motion; for ſome of their Fingers itched to be doing; but, ſuſpicious of his Original and former Weakneſs, and wiſely apprehending how Shame and Revenge dogged Treaſon and Rebellion at the Heels, they concluded to continue firm and faithful to the State; and ſo, with a Kind of Policy to allure them to land, they ſent divers to *Perkin*, with flattering Hopes of their Aſſiſtance, while they were indeed muſtering of Forces to ſurpriſe them, as faſt as they ſhould land: Which when *Perkin* perceived, he imagined, that all could not be well, or conſorting to his Expectation; for, in this Point, his Wit and Experience ſerved him to underſtand thus much, That common People and Multitudes, ſtirred to Sedition, uſe no ſolid Counſels, or ſettled Diſcourſes, but come flocking with their Fulneſs and Forwardneſs to aſſiſt their Friends, and follow their Pretences, according to *Euripides*'s Deſcription of a confuſed Company and rebellious Army:

—— *In infinito enim exercitu*
Incoercita turba, nauticaque licentia
Violentior igne: malus vero, qui mali nihil agit. Hecuba.

Whereupon he durſt not land himſelf, and was ſorry ſo many of his Company were on Shore; but, ſeeing there was no Remedy, he ſent others, if Need were, to relieve them, or bring them back again to his Ships.

When the *Kentiſhmen* beheld ſuch a Rabble of Strangers and diſſolute Perſons, and wiſely foreſaw, that there was no Man of Honour or Eminence to give Credit to the Attempt, they preſently conjectured, that they came rather to ſpoil and forage the Coaſts, than to relieve a diſtreſſed Prince in his Right; and ſo, running the right Way indeed, ſtood firmly for their Country, and ſet upon them as they were ſtraggling up and down in the Villages, forcing the better Sort and better Armed back again to their Boats, and ſurpriſing ſuch, as could not maintain the Quarrel, and had preſumed too far from the main Battle, of whom they took an hundred-and-ſixty Priſoners, yea, the principal Captains themſelves, while they laboured to perſuade the Retreat, and to gather them together after ſome martial Form of Reſiſtance, *viz. Mountford*, *Corbet*, *Whight*, *Bets*, *Quintine*, or *Geuge*; who were all brought to Sir *John Peachy*, High-Sheriff, and ſo railed in Ropes, like Horſes drawing in a Cart, ſent up to *London*, and there executed in divers Places adjoining to the City; whereby *Perkin* had Matter of Diſconſolation for the Time, and Time enough to ſail back again into *Flanders*, to entertain better Advice and more Company.

The King, as you heard, underſtanding of this Attempt, left his Progreſs and came to *London*, where aſſured of this good Succeſs, he ſent Sir *Richard Guilford* into *Kent* to thank the Sheriff and the People, for their Loyalty, Obedience, and valiant Circumſpection, which had ſo quickly diſſipated his Enemies, and quieted the Country; giving preſent Order to his Navy to ſcour the narrow Seas, to the Province to keep the Coaſts, to the Watches to fire the Beacons, to the Captains to prepare their Soldiers, and to all Sorts to attend their ſeveral Charges, according to the ancient and laudable Cuſtom of the Kingdom.

When *Perkin* and his Captains were arrived in *Flanders*, and found, how their former Delays had been a great Obſtacle and Hindrance to their Proceedings, they reſolved to remedy the ſame in their following Courſes, and by the contrary Celerity and Speedineſs to wipe away the Blots of their Weakneſs, and faint Proceedings, as if they had learned of our Poet:

Sic agitur cenſura, & ſic exempla parantur,
Cum Judex, alios quod monet, ipſe facit:
Ovid. Faſt. *Lib.* vi.

Notwithſtanding, becauſe they were now reſolved, that the King, taking Notice of this Onſet and Attempt, would fortify the Coaſts, and be in a Readineſs with well prepared Forces: They determined to ſail into *Ireland*, there to augment their Company, and corroborate their Pretences, which accordingly was effected, and the Entertainment yielded him a little Comfort and Satisfaction. But, becauſe he well knew the *Iriſh* are weak and unarmed, and ſo unable to prevail againſt the Strength of *England*, and ſtill out of Countenance, and quickly daunted, when they were drawn from their Bogs, and Woods to ſolid Battles and ſtrong Charges, contrary to their ſlight Skirmiſhes, and running Encounters, they thought it more meet and expedient to paſs into *Scotland*, *Gens ſemper inviſa Britannis*, and there make Trial of a new Friendſhip, caſting up a

forward Account of their Happineſs, in this Manner: Firſt, they were aſſured of the natural and general Hatred between the Nations, which, upon very ſmall Occaſions and probable Opportunity, would burſt out into Flames of Spight. Next, they projected, that the Nature of the Buſineſs would allure them to his Aſſiſtance, upon Hope of Vain-glory, and a Reputation of ſo charitable a Work, as to help a Prince in Diſtreſs. Thirdly, they relied on this Hope, that, if no other Cauſe would be inducive to this Supportation, yet the Deſire of Spoil would quickly incite them to war againſt ſo plentiful a Country. Fourthly, they perſuaded themſelves, that the *Scots* had a good Opinion of the Houſe of *York*, ever ſince the Cruelty of the Lord *Clifford* againſt *Rutland*, for which they utterly abandoned *Henry the Sixth* and the Queen. And, laſt of all, they concluded to promiſe them the Surrendering of *Berwick*, and to enlarge their Territories, if he prevailed by their Aſſiſtance, which was a ſure Motive to draw them into any Action whatſoever: Whereupon he departed from *Cork* and landed on the Weſt of *Scotland*, from whence he prepared himſelf to go to the King with ſome Solemnity, wherein his Inſtructions prevailed with his Fortune, becauſe for the moſt Part the Maſs of People are guided by Shows and Ceremonies, *rather than Matter of* Subſtance and Truth; and ſo he travelled to *Edinburgh*, whoſe Citizens, unaccuſtomed to ſuch glorious Shows, began already to commiſerate his Fortune and Diſtreſs: Yea, the King himſelf aſſembled his Lords and Courtiers, as their Manner then was, to entertain him and give him Audience; which when *Perkin* perceived to fall out to his good Liking and Heart's Deſire, he thus framed his Speech unto him, or, if you will, reduced his Inſtructions to a Manner of attracting Oratory:

Moſt mighty and renowned King:

Judicis officium eſt ut res, ita tempora rerum
quærere——————

and therefore I come not to you altogether like a Caſt-away or Bankrupt, to recover my Eſtate by a cozening Agreement with my Creditors for a Trifle, when there may be ſufficient to pay the Principal: Nor like a Runaway from a hard-hearted Maſter: Or, if you will, to take my Liberty the better, to caſt off the Yoke of honeſt and civil Obedience, where there is a Duty and Neceſſity of Service impoſed: But, as a Stranger ſubject to Shipwreck, and the hazardous Endurances of a Tempeſt, I am forced to your Refuge, as much induced with your princely Delight in Deeds of Charity and Hoſpitality, as my own Wants or Recovery: I might add your famous Actions, Renown, and heroick Commiſeration of a diſeſteemed Prince, but *Pudor eſt ulteriora loqui:* And although I may confeſs myſelf to reſemble the Man in the Goſpel that fell amongſt Thieves, whom divers looking upon paſſed by without Relief: Yet, at laſt, he found one *Samaritan* to pay the Coſt and defray the Charges of the Surgery: So have I done a worthy Aunt, Friend, and noble Kinſwoman to acknowledge her afflicted Nephew, who hath helped me accordingly: So that I make no Queſtion, that, from the Example of a Woman, your princely Commiſeration and powerful Coadjutement ſhall open their larger Embraces, conſidering that you above all other Princes have been made acquainted with the Diſtractions of our Family, and from Time to Time know how the Houſe of *York* hath been dilacerated and torn in Pieces by the cruel Hand of Tyrants and Home-bred Wolves, which whether it were the Permiſſion of God, or the Secrets of his divine Juſtice, I will not now diſpute upon: Only, I muſt be bold to ſay, that, when my Father obtained the Crown, and revenged his Father's Wrongs and Death, there were Signs of God's Favour and Aſſiſtance in the fair Iſſue prepared, and ſweet Fruit of ſuch a flouriſhing Tree, namely, two Sons and five Daughters, who were ſimply committed to the Tutelage and Protectorſhip of an unnatural Uncle, who proved a Tyrant and Deſtroyer of our Blood and Progeny; ſo that I may well cry out as *Ariadne* to *Theſeus:*

Mitius inveni, quam te, genus omne ferarum.

Notwithſtanding, moſt mighty King, however my princely Brother miſcarried, as ſwallowed up in the Jaws of Cruelty and Slaughter, it ſhould ſeem the Murtherers were affrighted at what they had done already, and deſiſted from a full Proſecution of the Tyrant's Command, or, confounded with Compunction of Spirit, ſpared me, and ſecretly conveyed me out of the Hands of ſuch an Homicide and Blood-ſucker (for ſo I hope without Offence I may rightly term

term him) and although by this Means and the Supportation of high-born *Buckingham* he obtained the Diadem: Yet did God follow him with the ſwifteſt Pace of Wrath and Anger, and at laſt, I muſt needs ſay, ſcourged him with Rods of Vengeance indeed; for he preſently loſt his Son, and his Friend and Coadjutor loſt himſelf. What afterwards chanced unto me, as my ſtrange Deliverance, my Bringing up in *Tournay*, under certain ſuppoſed Parents of honeſt Reputation, my Travels into foreign Countries, my Adventures Abroad, my Endurances at Home, with ſuch like; it would be to tedious to relate, and therefore I deſiſt to put you now to further Wonder and Amazement at the ſame, becauſe I have them as it were regiſtered in a Schedule, which at your princely Pleaſure you may overlook, with the Ducheſs and Council's of *Burgundy*'s Hands, to confirm the ſame: So that I confeſs, when the King of *France* ſent for me out of *Ireland*, I was in a Manner ſecure of my Eſtate, and thought upon no farther Aſſurance, than his gracious Apprehenſion of my undoubted Claim. But it ſhould ſeem, moſt gracious King, that you are reſerved for the Glory of this Buſineſs, and everlaſting Memory of ſo remarkable an Action, wherein I ſubmit myſelf, Ships, and People to your Guidance and Direction: Oh do not then annihilate my Confidence, nor reject my Demands. For, next to the high Controuler of Men's Actions, I have put my ſelf under the Shadow of your Supportation, and altogether rely on the Unity of your Willingneſs and Power, to bear me through the Difficulties of this Paſſage.

When he had made an End and given them Cauſe of ſome Amazement, at his Years and Tenderneſs of Experience, to deliver yet his Mind ſo freely, and with ſome Illuſtration of Words and Readineſs of Geſture, the King without any further Scruple or Diffidence cheared him, telling him plainly he would aſſiſt him, and whatever he was, or intended to be, he ſhould not repent him of his Coming thither, and ſo concluding with a Speech of *Medea* to *Jaſon*:

Hinc amor, hinc timor eſt, ipſum timor auget amorem.

He gave Order for his Entertainment accordingly, whereby he had Time with his wearied People to repoſe himſelf, and the King Occaſion to think of many Matters: Yet, rather for Cuſtom than to be diverted from his Reſolutions, he called his Council, and diſputed the Matter with them; they again, (as it happened to *Rehoboam*, and ſhall be with all the Princes in the World) grew to Contradiction, and divided themſelves; ſome ſtanding for their Country, ſome for their private Affection, ſome to pleaſe the Prince, and ſome to enjoy a good Opinion of Policy and Wiſdom. The graver Sort and of greateſt Experience diſannulled all the former Intimation of the Prince, with the Impoſſibility of the Buſineſs, as if he were but a bare Aſſumer of Titles indeed. The quiet Sort, and ſuch as had ſmarted with the Diſſenſions between *England* and *Scotland*, diſclaimed any further War, and were weary with that which had paſſed. The younger Sort apprehended it, as a worthy Enterpriſe, and, though it had but Colour of Commiſeration, yet, conſidering he was befriended from the Emperor, King of the *Romans*, and the whole State of the *Low Countries*, it could not chooſe but help them with many Friends. There was another Sort, who, confeſſing the Poverty of their Country, concluded that by this Means, by Foraging, Spoiling and Getting good Booties in *England*, much Wealth might inrich them without Loſs or Hindrance of their own, and ſo cared not how the War began, nor how long it continued. The laſt Sort conſiſted of ſuch, who, becauſe they would have their Credit enlarged from an Opinion of Stateſmen, and high reaching Capacities, argued, as we ſay, on both Sides, *pro & contra*, and from a Kind of *Enthymema* raiſed Profit and Emolument to the Kingdom out of their Sophiſtry: That, if the Duke were aſſiſted and prevailed, *Scotland* was ſure to confirm their own Conditions: If he were countenanced, though not prevailing, the King of *England* would accord to any Offers or Demands, rather than King *James* ſhould take Part with his Adverſary and ſo ſtrange a Competitor.

Whereupon it was reſolved, that, without further Diffidence, or Drawing the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*'s Buſineſs in Queſtion, the King ſhould entertain the Prince, who preſently honoured him accordingly, and cauſed him to be proclaimed the Duke of *York*, ſhewing him all the Favours the Country could afford; and affording him ſuch Entertainment, as, they imagined, was both befitting his Perſon and Condition: He again, as if that *ſpes bona dat vires*,

vires, cheared himſelf, and aſſumed a new Kind of Behaviour, both tempered with Gravity, and yet commended for cheerful and well becoming: So that, by the Way of Solace and Invitation to Pleaſure and Delight, he hawked and hunted; yea, the Ladies of the Country graced the Court, and came with all Conveniency, and befitting their Eſtates, to the City. For underſtanding ſo great a Prince, in Poſſibility to be one of the mightieſt Kings of *Europe*, not full eighteen Years of Age, young, wiſe, and in the complete Strength of Beauty, was reſident amongſt them; they conceived Matters beyond the Moon, and thought themſelves happy, if he would fancy or faſten upon any of them. What ſhould I ſay, although with the Poet:

Tarda ſolet magnis rebus ineſſe fides.
Ovid. Epiſt. Helena Paridi.

Yet here was no Miſtruſt, nor any Way given to Fear and Diſpleaſure, but, as the Time Buſineſs, and Place afforded, Shows, Maſks, and ſundry Devices invited him to his Contentment, and the preſent Overcoming all Penſiveneſs: So, he courted with ſome, danced with others, jeſted with the reſt, and was acceptable to all, till, at laſt, the King giving Way to the Motion, he fancied the Lady *Catharine Gordon*, Daughter to *Alexander*, Earl of *Huntley*, nigh Kinſwoman to the Crown; and, becauſe ſhe ſhould not think him barren of Education, nor Heart-bound to his ambitious Deſigns, he took an Opportunity, thus to diſcover his Love unto her, and good Opinion of her:

Lady, ſaid he, and the firſt of Ladies, that ever uſurped my Liberty, or taught my Tongue to pronounce the Accent of Affection or Liking; if I proceed not ſo paſſionate, as your Sex expects, or you may imagine, is the Cuſtom of Courtiers, I pray you impute it to the Multiplicity of my Buſineſs, and Greatneſs of my Affairs; beſides, it is not ſeemly with Princes to betray their high Spirits, into the Hands of Deceit and overworking Fancy; yea, Foppiſhneſs either of Words, or Geſture: Yet, concerning your Perſon, I can ſay with *Paris* to *Helena*:

Si tu veniſſes pariter certamen in illud,
In dubium Veneris Palma futura fuit.

And touching my Good-will, if I live, I will make you as great in the World, as myſelf, and deſire no more, but that you keep you within the Limits of Love and Obedience, that our Children may be our own, and the Commonwealth rejoice, they be not mocked or deceived with extraneal Inheritors. What I am, you now ſee, and there is no Boaſting in Diſtreſs; what I may be, I muſt put it to the Trial, and ſubmit to the Divine Providence: If you dare now adventure on the Adverſity, I ſwear to make you Partaker of the Proſperity; yea, lay my Crown at your Feet, that you ſhall play with me, as *Apame* did with *Darius*, to command, and I obey: Take me now then into your Embraces, and I will adore and reverence your Virtues, as you commiſerate my Misfortunes: O! give me Leave to ſay no more, leſt I be tranſported to Indecencies; be now conformable, and let me be the Servant of your Deſires, and you ſhall be hereafter the Miſtreſs of my Performances. If I prevail, let this Kiſs ſeal up the Contract, and this Kiſs be a Witneſs to the Indentures, and this Kiſs, becauſe one Witneſs is not ſufficient, conſummate the Aſſurance; and ſo with a Kind of Reverence, and faſhionable Geſture, after he had kiſſed her thrice, he took her in both his Hands croſs-wiſe, and gazed upon her, with a Kind of putting her from him and pulling her to him, and ſo again and again rekiſſed her, and ſet her in her Place with a pretty Manner of Inforcement.

The young Lady pleaſed, as well with the Compliment of his Behaviour, as the Matter in Hand, which was the Hope of one of the greateſt Diadems in the World, whether as Lovers, who, in a Sympathy of Liking, applauding any Thing from their *Amoroſo*'s, ſeemed pleaſed with the very Accent of his Voice, and Variety of the Courtſhip; or, unaccuſtomed to ſuch Wooers, ſhe remained glad of the Opportunity; or, taught before-hand what to do, ſhe reſolved to caſt away all Peeviſhneſs and Nicety; or, indeed, raviſhed with the Thing propoſed, ſhe was loth to be ſilent, conſidering ſhe was pleaſed, and could not be diſpleaſed, conſidering he had begun ſo kindly with her; and therefore anſwered him with a pretty bluſhing Modeſty, to this Effect:

My Lord, If I ſhould act a true Woman's Part, I might play the Hypocrite, in ſtanding a-loof

a looſ off from what I moſt deſire, and cry out with *Ariadne* againſt *Theſeus:*

Non ego ſum titulis ſurripienda tuis.

Whereupon ſome reſemble us to Lapwings, that make a great Ejulation fartheſt from their Neſts; but I mean not to deal ſo with you, but come as near as I can, in my Anſwer to that which conſorteth with Reaſon and Probability: If I were then abſolutely at my own Diſpoſing, I would thank you more than I do, and think you, for your Gentleneſs and fair Demeanour, worthy of any Creature, or Thing you could deſire. As for your Diſclaiming deceitful Words and flattering Oratory concerning our Beauty, Comelineſs, Virtues, and ſuch like Baits, to draw us into the Net of Self-love and Amazement: I like it the better, and wiſh, that all Women were of my Mind, to marry upon fair and reaſonable Conditions, and not be hurried away ſometimes to their Overthrows, with the Violence of Paſſion and Affection, which is the beſt Excuſe, they can make, for their Folly, yea, many Times Simplicity. But you ſee I am the Father's Daughter, and the King's Couſin, ſo that I will, in no Sort, prefer my own Will before their Directions, and Diſpoſing of me: If then it pleaſeth them to hazard me, or, as you pleaſe, to beſtow me in this Sort, I ſhall be proud to call you mine, and glad, if you vouchſafe to eſteem me yours: Lay then your Foundation on them, and you ſhall ſee the Frame of the Building erected to your own Liking; for believe it, ſuch Wards, as myſelf, may well be reſembled to delicate Plants in rich Grounds, which either grow too rank, and out of Order, for Want of Pruning and Looking to, or thrive not in their Situation, for Lack of Refreſhing and Manuring; all which is reformed by the Diſcretion of a ſkilful Gardener, and adviſed Overſeer: Therefore, noble Sir, repair, I ſay, to the Maſter of the Family, Leave is light, and know their Pleaſures, for your Admiſſion into this Nurſery; and then ſhall I be glad to be a Flower of your own Choice, whether it be for Profit, Pleaſure, or Exornation.

What needs more Words? The Marriage was conſummated, and poor *Perkin* tranſported in his own Contemplation for Joy, that, if he proceeded no further, his Fortune had conduced him to ſuch a Harbour, kiſſing the Ground, which he trod upon, and ſwearing the very Place was the Seat of his Genius:

Ipſe locus miſero ferre volebat opem.

But when he more and more perceived, that the *Scots*, like a Piece of Wax, were rolled together by his warming Hand, and faſhioned to what Form he pleaſed, he then made no Queſtion to hammer out his Deſigns, on the Anvil of Prevailing, to their everlaſting Glory, and his Eſtabliſhment; yet herein he went beyond himſelf, and deceived both them, and himſelf, by Warranting powerful Aids in his Aſſiſtance, from all the Parts of the Realm, as ſoon as he ſhould ſet Footing in *England*. Notwithſtanding, they prepared all Things for an Invaſion, and every Man was ready to pleaſe the King, and pleaſure the Prince; yea they were ſo forward, that, in Hope of Gain, Spoil, Victory, Renown, and Revenge, they cared not whether, the Duke's Title were good or no; and ſo with a well appointed Army, and ſufficient Forces, they marched towards the Confines and Borders of the North. But the King out of Diſcretion, loth to make more Haſte, than good Speed, and underſtanding Policy, conjecturing that the *Engliſh*, by Reaſon of *Perkin*'s being in *Scotland*, might always have an Army in Readineſs, or raiſe ſudden Troops, to lie in Ambuſcade, in the Borders, by Way of Prevention, ſent forth divers Stradiots and Scout-maſters, to diſcover the Country, and the Behaviour of the *Engliſh*; who returned with full Aſſurance of the Coaſt's Clearneſs, and, for any Thing they ſaw, they might make both Incurſions and Excurſions, at their Pleaſure; which, although it, in ſome Caſes, made the King the rather to wonder, as if *England* was ſecure from any idle Project, or indeed ſcorned *Perkin*'s Title and Claim; yet, becauſe it was generally accepted for good News, he would not be a Contrary amongſt ſo many; but made the more Haſte, and ſo, with Fire and Sword, as if he did *arma virumque canere*, entered *Northumberland*, proclaiming the Title of the Duke of *York*, by the Name of *Richard the Fourth*, and promiſing both Pardon and Preferment to all ſuch, as would ſubmit themſelves to the Yoke of his Obedience; the Denial whereof was accompanied with ſuch Spoil, Cruelty, and Inſulting, that never, before or ſince, did they ever triumph

triumph over us, or proved ſo tyrannous; ſo that I may well cry out, as the Poet doth againſt *Scylla:*

Intrepidus tanti ſedit ſecurus ab alto
Spectator ſceleris: miſeri tot millia vulgi
Non piguit juſſiſſe mori, congeſta recepit
Omnia Tyrrhenus Scyllana cadavera gurges.
Lucan. *Lib.* ii.

Wherein, doubtleſs, they had gone forward, but that they perceived no Aid or Succour to come from any Parts of *England* to reſtore this titular Duke. Beſides, the Soldiers, full of Spoil and Blood, would go no further, till they had ſent their Preſents to their Wives and Children, or returned themſelves to gratify one another, after ſuch a Victory; but, in Truth, the King, foreſeeing it would be revenged, determined rather to retire with this aſſured Victory, than to tarry the nuncupative Duke's unſure and uncertain Proceedings, and ſo retreated into *Scotland* again.

Some remember, that, at this Time, though it was but a very ſimple Policy, *Perkin* uſed a certain Kind of ridiculous Mercy and fooliſh Compaſſion towards the *Engliſh* People, as though that rather moved the *Scots* to the Retreat, than any Thing elſe: Whereupon, leſt his Cozening and *Illuſion ſhould be diſcovered*, by Reaſon ſo few reſorted unto him, he thus complained to the *Scottiſh* King, and, as it were, exclaimed of himſelf: O! Wretch and hard-hearted Man that I am, thus remorſeleſs, to forage my native Country, and purchaſe my Inheritance with ſuch Effuſion of Blood, Cruelty, and Slaughter. For now I ſee, before this Buſineſs can be brought to any good Paſs, Houſes muſt be fired, Countries depopulated, Women raviſhed, Virgins defloured, Infants ſlain, the Aged murthered, the Goods rifled, and the whole Kingdom ſubject to Devaſtation which, to my Grief of Soul, I muſt needs deplore. Therefore, great King, I requeſt you from henceforth, do not afflict my People, nor deform my Country, in ſuch a lamentable and remorſeleſs Manner: For, doubtleſs, I ſhall never endure it with a peaceable Soul and Conſcience, and had, in a Manner, rather loſe my Part and Intereſt therein, than purchaſe it with ſuch Loſs and Excruciation of Mind, eſpecially Effuſion of Blood and barbarous Inforcement.

Surely, replied the King of *Scots* half angry, and more than half miſtruſting his Diſſembling, yea, fully reſolved on his Weakneſs and Puſillanimity:

——— Fletus quid fundis inanes?
Nec te ſponte tua ſceleri parare fateris?
Uſque adeo ne times, quem tu facis ipſe timendum?
Lucan. *Lib.* iii.

Methinks your Care is rather ridiculous than ſuperfluous, to be thus dolent for another Man's Poſſeſſions: Yea, I ſee not, but your Claim is ſo remote and diſannulled, that it muſt be an *Herculean* Labour to ſettle you in any of their Cities and petty Provinces. But, for Calling *England* your Land and Realm, and the Inhabitants your People and Subjects, it is as wonderful to me, as diſpleaſing to yourſelf, that, in all this Time, neither Gentleman, nor Man of Worth, hath extended a daring Hand, or, if you will, commiſerable Arm of Aſſiſtance towards you; nay, though the War was begun in your Name, for your Sake, and within your Realm, of which, you ſay, you are the undoubted Heir, and invited to the ſame by your own People and Faction.

Alas! replied the Prince, I confeſs as much as you ſay; but, if it will pleaſe you to acknowledge the Truth, the Falling back of the King of *France*, yea, when I was in Speed of my Journey, the Failing of many Promiſes to my Aunt the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, and the Defect and Protraction of my Buſineſs, by the Loſs of an hundred Lords and Knights, ſome in their Liberties, ſome in their Lives, ſome from their own good Motives and Intents, and all, from their true Hearts and Endeavours, by the King's Forces, and vigilant Eye over them, hath not only deceived my Expectation, but, in a Manner, perverted my Fortune. Beſides, you know with what Difficulty the Nature of Adverſity, and Men in Diſtreſs, attain unto any Credit and Eſtimation; ſo that we and you both have had woeful Experience of many great Princes depoſed from their Thrones, and left friendleſs, ſuccourleſs, and quite deſtitute of Relief in the Hands of their Enemies; and therefore, as Miſchief and Miſery are of my old Acquaintance, ſo am I not now unprepared to entertain the ſame, but muſt ſubmit to the Calamity, and attend the Appointment of the higheſt God, concerning my loweſt Dejection, and

and ſo I conclude with an ancient Saying of *Euripides*:

——— *Turbam enim recipere me puduit,*
Ut oculis viderent hunc meum turpem habitum,
Occultans præ pudore meum infortunium; quando enim vir
Habuerit malè magnus, in ineptias
Cadit deteriores, eo qui fuit dudum infœlix.
Eurip. Helena.

Although this came roundly off, and ſavoured ſomewhat better than the former; yet the King replied not at all, but was content with his firſt Reproof, being more fearful every Day than other, that this intricate Buſineſs would be a Work of Wonder, and to faſhion the Lump of ſuch Deformity, to any handſome or ſubſtantial Proportion, muſt be dangerous and prejudicial for ever to the *Scottiſh* Crown.

After the Nobles had been thus ſtartled in *Northumberland* with the Clamours of the People, and ſaw the Inhabitants fly every Way from the Fury of the *Scots*, they fortified their Holds, muſtered their Forces, followed the Enemies, and certified the King of all this Enterpriſe and Invaſion, who, not a little abaſhed at the ſame, as more fearing the natural Subject's Starting out of the Sphere of his Allegiance, than any Foreign Comet in the greateſt Radiance and Preſages, preſently took Order for the Repreſſing of each Tumult and Inſurrection; but, aſſured of the *Scots* Retreat, and that they were returned loaden with Spoils and great Riches, he reſolved upon another Courſe, having, in the mean While, ſo great Occaſions of Diſpleaſure againſt *Scotland*, that all Men, either to pleaſe themſelves, or animate the King in his willing Revenges, cried out, To Arms, to Arms! And this was the eleventh Year's Work.

The twelfth Year began with a Parliament, both for the Settling the uncertain Affairs of the Kingdom, and the Obtaining a Subſidy, or other Diſburſements of Money, for the Furniſhing an Army into *Scotland*; to which all the Nobility and Gentry opened willingly their Coffers, and chearfully their Hearts, exclaiming againſt their Immanity, and proclaiming their Loyalty and Endeavours, to proſecute them with all Revenge, that durſt ſo affright the Kingdom, and affront the Peace and Tranquillity of the Commonwealth. Of this Army was *Giles*, Lord *Dawbney*, the King's Chamberlain, made Lieutenant-General, a Man of no leſs Wit than Experience, of no leſs Experience than Hardineſs, of no leſs Hardineſs than Moderation and Government. But ſee the Changes of human Life, and the Miſchiefs to which the beſt of Men and greateſt Princes are ſubject, as if the Poet were again to cry out:

Heu non eſt quicquam fidum, neque certa fœlicitas.

As he was marching forward with his Forces, a ſtrange Innovation called him back again. For (as if Fortune only meant to play the Wanton with *Perkin* on the one Side, and bring him, as we ſay, into a Fool's Paradiſe, and Misfortune on the other Side) to try the King's Patience, a new Rebellion in the *Weſt* had like to have been as a heavy Burden on his Shoulders, and ſet in Combuſtion the whole Commonwealth. For, when the Parliament was diſſolved, and Commiſſioners were ſpeedily ſent to gather in the Money, this *excandeſcens populus*, to whom ſuch Taxes and Impoſitions were a Kind of drawing Blood from their very Life Veins, began to rebel, eſpecially the *Corniſhmen*, inhabiting the remoteſt Parts of the Kingdom Weſtward, who not only complained of their own Penury and Wants, *as living in* a barren and ſterile Soil, overcome with Labour, Watches, and Toils in the Minerals, and getting a poor Maintenance out of the Caverns of the Earth, with fearful Endurances; but threatened the Officers, denying the Taxes, and began temeariouſly to ſpeak of the King himſelf; yea, when there ſeemed by the Juſtices, and others in Authority, a Dam to be caſt up againſt this fearful Inundation, they deſiſted from womaniſh Exclamations, Lamentings, and Ejulations, and fell, inconſiderately, to malicious Calumniation, threatening the Council, and naming *Thomas Moreton*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *Reinold Brey*, as principal Directors and Setters forward of theſe Impoſitions againſt them; ſaying plainly, It was a Shame, that a ſmall Incurſion of the *Scots*, which was not only cuſtomary, but as ſoon extinguiſhed as kindled, ſhould raiſe ſuch Exactions, and excite the Kingdom to unſufferable Turmoils, with a general War, and tumultuous Hurlyburly; to which Things, when the Commiſſioners would have gently anſwered, and honeſtly maintained the King's Purpoſes and Prerogatives, *Thomas Flamock*,

Flamock, a Gentleman learned in the Laws, and *Michael Joſeph*, a Blackſmith, took upon them the Defence of the Commons, threatening, without further Reaſoning the Matter, both the Receivers, and all ſuch, whom they employed as inferior Officers under them.

By which Occaſion, according to that Saying, *Res vehemens multitudo, improbos cum habuerit præfectos:* They became a monſtrous Head to theſe unruly Bodies, exhorting the People to arm themſelves, and not be afraid to follow them in this Quarrel; for they intended neither Hurt to any Creature, nor Spoil to any Place, but merely a Reformation of the Diſorder, and Correction of ſuch Perſons, as were the Authors of their Grief and Vexation; and, when any ſeemed to impugn and reprove theſe ſeditious and unreaſonable Courſes, affirming plainly, that, from all Examples and Times, Treaſons and Commotions have ended with lamentable Effuſion of Blood, both of the Authors themſelves, and many Innocents made Acceſſaries, through Conſtraint and wicked Inſtigation, they were called baſe Daſtards, Cowards, Fools, and Lovers of Eaſe and Arrogance, more than Renown, and their Country's Honour and Liberty; ſo that, what with Shame of Taunts and Rebukes, and what with Fear of the Loſs of their Lives and Goods, they united themſelves to this outrageous Company, and made up a ſtrong Party well armed, and too well inſtructed; for the Captains not only praiſed and extolled the Hardineſs of the People, but rewarded ſuch as aſſiſted and relieved the Soldiers, whereby, after a general Muſter of forty-thouſand Men, they came to *Taunton*, where they ſlew the Provoſt of *Perin*, principal Commiſſioner for the Subſidy in thoſe Parts, and from thence to *Wells*, intending to go forward to *London*, where the King was reſident, and ſuch Counſellors as they maligned.

O rabies inaudita! O wretched and abuſed People! that think of nothing but preſent Rages, nor once admit of any Providence, to conſider of following Puniſhments, whatever ſudden Events contrive, but, in their Diſobedience againſt God, their Prince and Country, reſemble a violent Sea, a burning Torrent, a tempeſtuous Wind, all which (with Extremity and impetuous Force) ſpoil the Trees, over-run and ſwallow up the lower Ground, conſume all Things, and, in the End, leave the Miſchief to the Wringing of Hands, Crying of the People, and Deprecations of the better Sort, who impute ſuch Vengeance to the Power and Juſtice of God, that puniſheth Sins, and will not ſuffer Diſobedience and horrible Villainies unrewarded: For never Rebellion prevailed in their greateſt Forwardneſs, nor ended without unſufferable Damages wrought by their Unrulineſs, which rather tended to Theſts, Robberies, Spoils, and Slaughters, than Reformation, or honeſt Coercion of Diſorders. As for their Motives and Excuſes for ſuch facinorous Attempts, breaking out to find Fault with Men in Authority, and audacious Invections againſt the Government: Alas! neither can they tell what to demand or what to redreſs, when it ſhall come to true Deciding indeed. For a very Confuſion will hinder their Reſolutions, and, not knowing wherein to proceed directly, they aſk indirectly that which may not be granted. As for their Governors themſelves, let them be never ſo good, they ſhall be ſure of Enviers, and Finders of Faults; let them be never ſo bad, they ſhall have Flatterers and Supporters; let them be indifferent, and the Good which they do ſhall not be ſo well accepted, as the Bad they procure maliciouſly taken; yea, remove whom you will, the Perſons may be changed, but the Faults will remain, and ſo the Prince be pleaſed, and Men's private Humours ſatisfied, who regarded the Commonwealth, or helped a poor Man for Charity's Sake; yet I muſt needs ſay, that many Times honeſt Governors, inſtead of Obedience, have Good-will; and whoſoever loveth his Country, without collateral Reſpects, may ſit down with a ſafe Conſcience, but not unſcandaliſed, or maligned of ſome of his own Rank. Therefore I would have all generous Spirits, either to love Virtue for Virtue's Sake, once placed in Authority, and, in Spight of the World, ſtick cloſe to the Sides of Religion and Equity, though Perſecution and Troubles do follow, or diſclaim the Affecting ſuch tranſcendent Places, allaying the Thirſt of Ambition with a quiet Potion of Repoſedneſs and Contentment, and leaving the Vanity of foppiſh Obſervation to vain-glorious Fools, who are not only called ſo by God himſelf, but, peradventure, reputed ſo even by ſuch as do them Reverence, and fatten themſelves in the well-ſoiled Paſtures of their Government.

But

But to our Story:

When the King was advertiſed of theſe Troubles, and exorbitant Attempts, which gathered like a Cloud, threatening a Tempeſt round about him, and ſaw into what Perplexity he was now detruded, having War on every Side, he compared himſelf to a Man riſing in a dark Night, and going undreſſed into a Room, ſtriking his Head againſt this Poſt, running againſt that Table, meeting with his Shins ſuch a Stool or Form, and ſtaggering up and down againſt one Block or another; and ſo ſtood, for the Time, amazed, not knowing what to ſay, what to do, or with whom to find Fault, till, with a Kind of Sigh, he vented out this Saying of *Euripides*:

——*Similes fumus nautis, qui*
Tempeſtatis cum effugerint ſævam vim,
Prope terram appulerunt, deinde a terra
Flaminibus pelluntur in pontum iterum.
Eurip. Heraclidæ.

But to complain of God, or Men, would rather aggravate his Grief than procure his Redreſs; therefore, though he well knew that Princes were the Tennis-balls of Fortune, and Subjects of Mutability and Alteration, and that he muſt ſubmit to the divine Providence; yet he alſo underſtood there was no *Lying ſtill* in this Deploration, without the ordinary Practice of ſuch Remedies as God had appointed in their ſeveral Workings, and therefore prepared his Armies either to bring this Diſturbance to a quiet Atonement, or whip the Rebellion with the Scourges of Fire and Sword: But when again he conſidered the *Scots* were his Enemies, and muſt be ſuppreſſed; the *Weſtern* Rebels were at his Doors, and muſt be repugned; *France* was wavering, and muſt be looked unto; *Flanders* threatening, and muſt be appeaſed; *Perkin Warbeck* lay at Advantage, and muſt be watched; yea, over-watched, as indeed the principal Firebrand, that ſet all this on a Blaze, and, in the Midſt of theſe Hurlyburlies, came over Ambaſſadors from the *French* King, who muſt be anſwered; he grew ſomewhat perplexed again, till, ſhaking off all the Hindrances of his Amazement, he fell to Practice, and orderly Performances.

Whereupon he called his Council together, and they, without any great Difficulty, determined the Buſineſs in this Manner: To attend upon the *Scots*, *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surrey*, a puiſſant and politick Captain, Priſoner at the Overthrow of King *Richard the Third*, and within two Years ſet at Liberty, and after *John* Lord *Dinham* made High Treaſurer of *England*, was appointed to muſter the Forces of the County Palatine of *Durham*, and the Borders round about, and ſo attend that Service. To repreſs the *Weſtern* Rebels, the Lord *Dawbney*, with his whole Power, prepared for *Scotland*, was recalled to march againſt them, whereſoever they incamped; to look unto *France*, *Calais* and *Guiſnes*, with the Gariſons, were much augmented, and provided for. To prevent *Flanders*, the Navy was prepared, and the Staples for the Merchants ſettled: To keep *Warbeck* from Coming into *England*, and Joining with the Rebels, the whole Nobility combined themſelves, eſpecially the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Lord *Mountjoy*, who came on Purpoſe to *London*, to offer their Service to his Majeſty; and ſo all Places were looked unto with a vigilant Eye, and manned with Strength of Soldiers: And, to anſwer the Ambaſſadors of *Charles* the *French* King, he ſent honourable Perſons to receive them, and convey them to *Dover*, and there a While to detain them till ſome of theſe Tumults and Rebellions were extinguiſhed and ſuppreſſed; which indeed was ſo wiſely and politickly handled, that none of the Ambaſſadors were troubled ſo much as with the Rumours of theſe Commotions.

But ſee the Horror of Spight, and with what a contracted Brow Misfortune can look upon Kings themſelves! So that a Man well may ſay to this Rebellion, as *Ovid* did to *Cupido* in his firſt Book of *Elegies*:

Sunt tibi magna puer, nimiumque potentia regna:
Cur opus affectas ambitioſe novum?

For, as theſe Rebels and *Corniſhmen* departed from *Wells*, they entertained, for their chief Captain, *James Twichet*, Lord *Audley*, whoſe Countenance and Authority in the Country ſtrengthened them much: For, by this Occaſion, they went, without Intermiſſion, to *Saliſbury*, and ſo to *Wincheſter*, and from thence into *Kent*, hoping for further and further Aſſiſtance; but they were deceived in their Expectation: For the Earl of *Kent*, *George* Lord *Abergavenny*, *John Brooke*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Edward Poinings*, Sir *Richard Guilford*,

Guilford, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, Sir *John Pechy*, *William Scot*, and many others, with a well-muſtered Army, were not only ready to defend their Country from all Miſchief and Deſtruction, but determined to offend them in their facinorous Attempts, and prejudicial Intruſion; which Loyalty ſomewhat rebated the Forwardneſs of the *Corniſhmen*, and they began to ſuſpect themſelves, being ſo far from their Country, and remote from any Supply. Notwithſtanding, loth to diſhearten their Spirits with any depreſſing Humour, they caſt away all Doubts, and, preſuming on their own Strength and Forces, as alſo animated by their Leaders and Conductors, they were now as much exaſperated againſt the *Kentiſhmen*, for Refuſing their promiſed Aſſiſtance, as againſt the King, for Uſurping their Liberty, ſwearing Revenge againſt both: In which Rage and Heat of Repining, they came as far as *Blackheath*, within four Miles of *London*, and took the Field in an arrogant, over-daring Manner, on the Top of an Hill, ſuppoſing all Things conformable to their Arrogancy, and deceivable Hopes, becauſe, as yet, they paſſed and repaſſed without Fighting, or ſtrong Encounters: But, alas!

Blanditiæ comites tibi erunt terrorque furorque,

And they were abuſed with a Veil of Ignorance, and Covering of Obſtinacy: For the King diſpoſed of his Affairs with great Policy and Circumſpection, not determining to give them Battle, or exagitate them at all, till he had them far from their proper Dwellings and flattering Friends; till they were in Deſpair of Relief, and wearied with long and tedious Journies; till their Treaſure was ſpent, their Victuals conſumed, and Proviſion failing; till their Company dropped from them like rotten Hangings on a moiſtened Wall, and their whole Deſigns and Expectation were quite diſannulled; and then, when he imagined their Souls vexed with the Terror of a guilty Conſcience, their Fury aſſwaged with Compunction and Penitency, their Spirits daunted with Repentance and Remorſe, and all their Army affrighted with Madneſs and doubtful Extaſies, would he ſet upon them, and, in ſome convenient Place, circumvent and inviron them to his own beſt Advantage, and their irrecoverable Damage and Deſtruction.

As for the City of *London*, I cannot but remember and compare it unto *Rome*, both when *Hannibal* paſſed the *Alps*, to threaten the Monarchy, being yet far off himſelf, and alſo *Marius* and *Sylla* covered her Fields with armed Men, and trampled on the Boſom of their Country with ambitious Steps, and cruel Feet of Uſurpation: Then ſpoke the Poet in this Manner:

——*Quoties Romam fortuna laceſſit,*
Hæc iter eſt bellis, gemitu ſic quiſque latenti,
Non auſus timuiſſe palam: Vox nulla dolori
Credita: Lucan. *Lib.* i.

There was Chaining the Streets, Shutting up the Shops, Making ſtrong the Gates, Doubling the Watches, Hiding their Treaſure, Cries, Fears, Terrors, and every one more diſturbed for the Loſs of his private Goods, than the Encumberances of the Commonwealth. Here was Muſtering of Soldiers, Watching all Day in Armour, Guarding the River, Filling the Streets with Companies of Horſe and Foot, Cutting down the Bridge, Locking up their Doors, Shutting the Gates, and what elſe named before, to be put in Practice, with Advantage of many Pieces of Ordnance, both in *Southwark* and the Suburbs, and the Strength of the *Tower*, which they knew was reſerved for the King himſelf. Notwithſtanding, ſuch was the Inſtability of the Citizens, being a little diſturbed from their Quietneſs and Reſt, their Dainties and Eaſe, their Banquetings and Meetings, their Feaſts and Sumptuouſneſs, their Paſtimes and Pleaſures, that they rather complained of the King and his Council for the firſt Occaſion of theſe Tumults, than exprobrated the Rebels for Ingratitude and Diſobedience: But the King, without further Diſputing againſt their Peeviſhneſs, or Laying open the Abuſes of ſuch refractory People, delivered them of this Fear: For he preſently ſent *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex*, *Edmond de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, *Humphrey Stanley*, and other worthy martial Men, with a Company of Archers and Horſemen, to environ the Hill where the Rebels were incamped round about: Himſelf, with the main Army and Forces of the City, much Ordnance and great Proviſion, took *St. George's-Fields*; where, on a *Friday*, at Night, he quartered himſelf, and on the *Saturday*, very early in the Morning, he poſted Lord *Dawbney* to *Dertford*, who, by Break of Day, got the Bridge of the *Strand*,

in

in Spight of Reſiſters, which manfully defended it a While, ſhooting Arrows a full Yard long; and demeaning themſelves like ſcholarly and eloquent Orators, pleading for the Time in a bad Cauſe with good Words, and handling an ill Matter too well. From thence he went courageouſly againſt the whole Company; and, what with the former Earl's Aſſaulting them on the one Side, and his own Charges on the other Side, as knowing how the King's Buſineſs ſtood to make an End of the War, the Battle began a-pace, and not a Man but prepared himſelf to fight it out, till at laſt the Lord *Dawbney* engaged himſelf ſo far, that he was taken Priſoner; but whether for Fear, or through his own Wit and Policy, they quickly releaſed him, and he as quickly diſpatched the Matter, and made an End of the War; for he put them all to Flight, ſo that a Man may well ſay unto them:

——————*Via nulla ſalutis,*
Non fuga, non virtus, vix ſpes quoque mortis honeſtæ:

And I may truly report of the contrary: Never was a Battle ſo well fought, and ſo quickly determined: For, before the King was ready to go to Dinner, there were ſlain two-thouſand Rebels, and many more taken Priſoners; the reſt hardly eſcaped Home, who, for all their Defeat, and uncomfortable News to the People, were rather accelerated to revenge their Companions Wrongs, than exanimated from further Attempts, or ſeemed grieved at the King and Country's Moleſtation; ſhewing ſad Looks, but ſtomachful Hearts, and ſo remained intoxicated in their Brains, and ready, upon every Occaſion, to a new Rebellion, as you ſhall hear hereafter.

When this Battle was ended, and ſo delicately contrived (for the King loſt not above four-hundred Men) ſome imputed it to the King's Policy, who appointing the ſame on *Monday*, by Way of Anticipation, fell upon them on *Saturday*, and ſo, taking them ſomewhat unprovided, had the Fortune to prevail and thrive in his Advantage. Such as were taken and apprehended had their Pardon, except the Principal and Firebrands of the Miſchief: For the Lord *Audley* was drawn from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a Coat of his own Arms painted upon Paper reverſed and all torn, and there beheaded the Twenty-eighth of *June*. *Thomas Flameck* and *Michael Joſeph* were executed, after the Order of Traitors, and their Quarters ſent into *Cornwall*, for the Terrifying of the People: Some were diſpatched at ſundry Towns, as they deſerved; amongſt whom the Smith, and divers others of his immodeſt Friends, had no Excuſe to make for this Rebellion; but, whether they prevailed or no, they were ſure to be regiſtered to Eternity, for daring to do ſomewhat in Behalf of their Country's Liberty, and bidding Battle to Kings and Princes at their Palace-Gates, and before the City-Walls, even *London* itſelf, that great City, the Chamber for their Treaſury, and Strength of their Royalty; which makes me remember a Saying of *Lucan*, Lib. viii,

——————*Sed me vel ſola tueri*
Fama poteſt rerum, toto quas geſſimus orbe,
Et nomen, quod mundus amat:——

And in another Place, *Lib.* ix,

——*Quid plura feram? tum nomina tanto*
Invenies operi, vel famam conſule mundi:

And this was the End of the twelfth Year.

In this Time you muſt know, that the King of *Scots* lay not idle, but, merely upon Suppoſition of what would follow, prepared himſelf, nor was ſo ill befriended, but he had ſecret Intelligences of all King *Henry*'s Purpoſes and Intendments; whereupon he enlarged his Army, barricadoed his Paſſages, intrenched and fortified the Holds, kept good Watch and Ward, and ſtood on the Pinnacles of a high Preſumption to encounter with the proudeſt Forces of *England*; yea, to give Defiance, if Need were, to the King himſelf. Notwithſtanding he now lay a While only at Defence, watching with what Ward the *Engliſh* would break upon him, and wondering at my Lord *Dawbney*'s Retraction, and why he came not forward as his Spies had advertiſed; but, when he underſtood of the *Weſtern* Rebellion, he then conjectured the Truth, and a While repoſed himſelf, till a Meſſenger of theſe *Weſtern* Men came unto *Perkin* and proffered their Obedience and Endeavours, if he would come and join his Army with theirs, and ſo, as their Prince and Captain, revenge their Wrongs: This was motioned to King *James*, who tho' he confeſſed, that, if they would join with the *Corniſhmen*, there might be a Gate open indeed to prevail and walk in the Fields of Victory;

Victory; yet he would by no Means adventure his People ſo far, and confeſſed plainly he wanted Ships for tranſporting ſo great an Army into thoſe Parts: Only, becauſe he would be doing to pleaſe the ſuppoſed Prince, he meant to take this Opportunity of the King of *England*'s Diſturbance, and once again adventure into his Territories; and ſo with a ſufficient Preparation he attempted the *Caſtle* of *Norham*, ſtanding upon the River of *Tweed*, dividing *Scotland* and *England*. But *Richard Fox*, Biſhop of *Durham*, a Man of great Learning, Courage, Experience, and Fidelity, ſuſpecting as much, had well ſtored and fortified the ſame, and was in it with ſuch Power, Ammunition, and Proviſion, as he was able to raiſe, ſending the King Word of the Siege, and inviting the Earl of *Surrey* to come to his Reſcue with all Expedition: The Earl was muſtering of Men in *Yorkſhire* when this News extended itſelf, and like a worthy Servant haſtened his Journey the rather, and ſo with twelve Earls and Barons of the *North* Country, one-hundred Knights and Gentlemen of Name, and twenty-thouſand Soldiers, well-ordered and armed, he came to raiſe the Siege, in which this brave Prelate was ſo engaged: Beſides, he furniſhed a handſome Navy at Sea, whereof the Lord *Brooke* was Admiral, to give their Attendance whatſoever ſhould chance: But when the King of *Scots*, and his counterfeit Duke of *York*, had full and certain Notice of the Earl of *Surrey*'s Approach, and that the Lord *Dawbney*'s Army was alſo intire and unbroken, yea, ready to march forward as a Second to the former, they thought it better to retire with Security, than to tarry the Adventure with Certainty of Loſs, if not Hazard both of Life and Honour; and ſo by a voluntary Conſent they raiſed their Camp and returned, under Colour of Commiſeration of the People, whom they knew in the beſt War muſt be ſubjected to Slaughter or Captivity: And to this Purpoſe they could yield a Reaſon out of our Poet to certain Spirits that wondered at their Affrightings and Drawings-back, ſeeing no Peril apparent, nor hearing of any ſtedfaſt Reports concerning a more forcible Enemy, and ſo calling for a Book reading to them this Leſſon of Satisfaction:

——— Potuit tibi vulnere nullo
Stare labor belli, potuit ſine cæde ſubactum,
Captivumque diem violatæ tradere pacis

Quis furor ô Cæci ſcelerum, Civilia bella
Geſturi metuunt, ne non cum ſanguine vincant?
Lucan. *Lib.* vii.

This Anſwer of the King did rather Harm than Good to poor *Perkin*. For they perceived the King was weary of this War, and loth to take his Part any longer, and ſo they reſted a While diſpleaſingly pleaſed.

But the Truth was, the Earl of *Surrey* was ſo inraged at the Bragging and Over-daring Prince, that he followed him at the Heels, and in Revenge of many Miſchiefs perpetrated by him in ſuch audacious Manner, he entered *Scotland*, defaced the Caſtle of *Gundreſtins*, demoliſhed the Tower of *Hedonhall*, undermined the Tower of *Edington*, overthrew the Pile of *Fulden*, and ſent *Norroy* King of Arms to the Captain of *Haiton* Caſtle, the ſtrongeſt Fortification between *Berwick* and *Edinburgh*, to deliver the ſame; which he abſolutely denied, until the worthy General ſet himſelf down before it, made his Approaches, and caſt up a ſtrong Rampart, or Battery, for the Expugnation, prevailing ſo far, that at laſt it was ſurrendered, their Lives only ſaved; who were no ſooner departed, according to the Conditions, but our General quite overthrew and demoliſhed the ſame.

The King of *Scots* was within a Mile of the Siege, and yet durſt not reſcue the ſame; only, by Way of Oſtentation, he ſent *Marchmount* and another Herald to the Earl of *Surrey* with a Kind of Defiance, and Challenge either to encounter with him Army to Army, or Body to Body; conditionally, that, if the Victory fell to his Majeſty, the Earl ſhould deliver and ſurrender for his Ranſom the Town of *Berwick* with the Fiſh-garths of the ſame; if the Earl again were Victor, the King would pay one-thouſand Pound Sterling for his Redemption. The noble General welcomed theſe Heralds, and like a courageous, yet underſtanding Captain, quickly anſwered all the Points of their Commiſſion: Firſt, he was ready to abide the Battle in the plain Field, and would, if he pleaſed, for the ſame Purpoſe lay open the Trenches, and make the Paſſages ſo eaſy, that Victory ſhould have Comfort of coming amongſt them. Secondly, he thought himſelf much honoured, that ſo noble a Prince and great a King, would vouchſafe to deſcend to ſo low a Degree of Contention, as a private Duel with him, for which he would not only repute

repute him heroick and magnanimous, but, ſetting his Loyalty to his Prince aſide, perform all good Offices, which belonged to the ſweet Contract of a perpetual Amity, if it were poſſible, between them. Thirdly, for the Town of *Berwick*, it was none of his, but the King his Maſter's, which he would not ſo much as conjecture upon without his Conſent and Advice, as he himſelf might well judge in the Affairs of Princes, what was to be done. Fourthly, he thought his own Life worth all the Towns of the World, and ſo would gladly hazard himſelf; yea was proud, as he ſaid before, that ſo great a Majeſty would parallel him in ſuch a Kind; only he deſired Pardon for a little Vain-glory, that, if he conquered the King, he would releaſe him freely; if the King vanquiſhed him, he would either yield him his Life, or pay ſuch a Tribute and Competency, as is befitting the State and Degree of an Earl; to all which he was the rather induced, becauſe he was confident, that

Cauſa jubet melior ſuperos ſperare ſecundos.

But it ſhould ſeem, theſe Affronts were mere Flouriſhes: For neither Battle, nor Combate, nor any Enterpriſe worth the Recording was put in Practice, although the *Engliſh* Forces had lain long in the Country, to the ſame Purpoſe: Whereupon the Lord General, loth to ſpend his Time ſo inconſiderately, and ſomewhat wearied with the Diſtemperature of the Climate, and Unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather, the Country affording nothing but Miſts and Fogs at this Time of the Year, raiſed his Camp, and retired to *Berwick*. But, when the Truth was farther enlarged, the King commanded him ſo to do by his Letters of private Intelligence: For now came a Time, in which the Windows of Heaven ſeemed to open, and the God of Mercy thought to recompenſe his Patience and Goodneſs, with a quiet End of his Troubles, and happy Succeſs in his Enterpriſes, which fell out upon this Occaſion:

Ferdinando King of *Spain*, and *Eliſabeth* his Wife, having a Purpoſe to marry their Daughter Lady *Catharine*, to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, and very loth that any Contention between the King of *Scots*, whom he much favoured, and the King of *England*, whom he highly reſpected, ſhould be, as it were, a Wall of Partition between their projected Amity and royal Affinity; eſpecially that either Probability of an Intereſt, or counterfeit Device of the Iſſue Male from the Houſe of *York*, ſhould caſt any Blocks or Hindrances in the Way of theſe Pretences; he moſt providently ſent one *Peter Hialas*, a Man of great Learning, Experience, and Prudence, as an Ambaſſador to *James* King of *Scots*, by Way of Mediation to contract a League of Peace and abſolute Amity between the King of *England* and him; who proceeded with ſuch fair Conditions, and prevailed ſo well in his propoſed Meſſage, that he perceived a glimmering Sun-ſhine of this Peace a far off, but that there were certain thickening Clouds of Miſchief and Diſturbance, which by ſome effectual Heat from the King of *England*'s Breath muſt be removed and diſſipated; and therefore he wrote to King *Henry*, that, if it would pleaſe him to ſend ſome worthy Man to be his Aſſociate in this Enterpriſe, he perſuaded himſelf, that an honeſt Oratory would quickly conclude the profitable Articles of Amity. For the Poet had aſſured him, and he found by ſome Experience, that

Addidit invalidæ rebus facundia cauſæ:

And, for an Entrance into the ſame, he aſſured the King, that there was a great Likelihood to lay down the bloody Colours of Defiance, and flouriſh the pleaſant Enſigns of Tranquillity. For the King of *Scots* had already proteſted, he was only emulous of King *Henry*'s Virtues, and neither maligned nor ſpited his Perſon; and, for *Perkin*'s Title, he made it a Matter of Conſcience and Charity. For he knew him the right Heir, if he were the right Creature, and the Clergy warranted the Actions as meritorious. The better Sort diſclaimed all tyrannous Proſecutions: For, except their Obedience to the King, they ſpent and conſumed their Eſtates, and only returned with Tears and Lamentations for the Loſs of their Friends. The inferior Sort imputed all to the ſuperior Commands, and, as for the formidable Effects and bloody Iſſue of War, it was only the Chance and Fortune of Encounters, the Action of Fury, and the Vengeance or Curſe appropriate to Diſſenſions, according to that worthy Author of excellent Sentences and Propoſitions,

——*Sed mentibus unum*
Hoc ſolamen erat, quod Voti turba nefandi
Conſcia, quæ patrum jugulos, quæ pectora fratrum
Sperabat,

Sperabat, gaudet monſtris, mentiſque tumultu,
Atque omen ſcelerum ſubitos putat eſſe furores.
Lucan. *Lib.* vi.

Whereupon King *Henry* boaſting of the Character of Prince of Peace, ſo that he might not be branded with Ignominy of Baſeneſs, Puſillanimity, and Diſhonour, quickly conſented to ſuch Agreement, and for the ſame Purpoſe ſent *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Durham*, who ſtill lay in the battered Caſtle of *Norham*, as his chief Commiſſioner, who accordingly aſſociated himſelf with *Peter Hialas*, at the Town of *Jedworth* in *Scotland*, whither the Ambaſſador from King *James* likewiſe repaired. Here were many Matters diſputed upon, many Conditions laid open, many Difficulties raiſed, many Grievances urged, and many Concluſions argued: But, becauſe they failed in the main Point, nothing was determined. For the King of *England* required *Perkin Warbeck* to be delivered into his Hands, as the principal Fountain of this venomous Stream, the chief Occaſion of his Unquietneſs, the Perturber of his Realm, the Seducer of his Subjects, and the Author of many Rebellions. But the King of *Scots*, like a Prince indeed, would not buy his Peace with the Blood of Innocents, eſpecially a Man coming to him for Succour, ſhewing all the Marks of a diſtreſſed and abuſed Prince, allied unto him by Marriage, commended by the Emperor, aſſiſted by the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, and himſelf of fair Demeanour, ſweet Behaviour, and of a moſt royal and well eſteemed Spirit: Therefore, I ſay, he would by no Means betray him into the Hands of his Enemies, that was ſo long admitted into the Boſom of his Friends; nor ſhould it be ſaid, that in any ſuch Degree, for any worldly Reſpect whatſoever, King *James* of *Scotland* would be baſe or perfidious; which he had learned from the Example and Puniſhment of *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, whom the *Romans* depoſed, for Conſenting to betray *Hannibal* into their Hands, though they had promiſed large Rewards, and threatened ſevere Vengeance.

The Commiſſioners anſwered directly, that they intended not by Way of Defamation, or contumelious Diſcovery of the Vanity of the Man, or Impoſſibility of his Buſineſs to make him odious or corroborate their own Purpoſes, by the Deſtruction of ſo ſilly a Creature, or Diſcrediting ſo poor a Buſineſs: But merely to ſhew the Truth, and unfold the Secrets of the Deceit, that ſuch a Prince, as King *James*, might not be colluded with Shadows and Apparitions, but orderly drawn into this holy and general League, wherein both the Emperor, *France*, and *Spain* deſire a Combination of Amity with *England*; there only wanted himſelf to make the Number complete, that the Horn of *Achelous* might be ſent from Nation to Nation, from Kingdom to Kingdom. For I can aſſure you, the Merchants of *England* have been received into *Antwerp* with general Proceſſion, the Emperor is pleaſed with this Combination, the King of *Spain* pretendeth a Marriage, the King of *France* endeavoureth a League, and all the Princes of *Europe* ſeek after a true Confirmation of Quietneſs: Therefore, once again, be not an Enemy to the Good of all *Chriſtendom*, nor ſo adverſe to this holy Combination, that the World ſhall rather eſteem you wilful and prejudicate, than wiſe and conſiderate.

Notwithſtanding all this forcible and effectual Intimation, the King of *Scots* would not conſent to deliver *Perkin* upon any Condition; but, as he came to him for Refuge, he ſhould depart untouched, and not by his Occaſion be in worſe Caſe than the brute Beaſts, or vileſt Condition of Men, as he had learned long ſince out of that ancient Tragedian:

Habet confugium bellua quidem petram,
Servi vero aras deorum: civitas vero ad civitatem
Fugit, calamitatem paſſa: Rerum enim humanarum
Non eſt quicquam perpetuò beatum.
Eurip. Supplices.

Yet with much ado he was brought to a Truce for certain Years, and condeſcended to this, that *Perkin* ſhould be no longer ſuccoured, harboured, or maintained by him, or in his Territories and Dominions: With which Anſwer, and orderly Ratification of the ſame, the Ambaſſadors departed, the Armies retired, the Soldiers were diſcharged, the King of *England* ſatisfied, the Orators of *France* (who from *Dover* had Audience at *London* about the ſame Purpoſe) rewarded, and of all others the worthy *Peter Hialas*, as principal Work-man in this intricate Buſineſs, liberally and bountifully recompenſed.

Only poor *Perkin*, whoſe glorious Meteor began now to be exhaled, ſeemed diſconſolate and exanimated at this News and Determination, eſpecially when King *James* began to expoſtulate and reaſon the Matter with him: *Firſt*, From a Repetition of the Benefits and Favours received by his Princely Liberality and Gentleneſs.

neſs. *Secondly*, From his Conſanguinity, in marrying his Kinſwoman upon dangerous Hopes and trivial Adventures. *Thirdly*, From his many Trials of ſundry Conflicts in *England*, proving all his Promiſes Wind and Smoke, and his beſt Enterpriſes trivial and fanatical. *Fourthly*, Upon the now Combination of Amity with all the Princes of *Europe*, which could not be done without the King of *England*'s Conſent and Agreement. *Fifthly*, Upon the fatherly Regard of his Country, which had need have ſome Breathing-time of Eaſe and Reſt, and muſt queſtionleſs take a Love-day of Conſolation and Deſiſting from Turmoils. *Laſt of all*, from the Care of Religion and Mother-Church, unto whoſe Obedience and Regard he was now abſolutely ſworn: Therefore he deſired him to take ſome other Courſe, and depart out of his Realm. For, as he heard, he was now intereſted in the Confederacy of the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, and, unleſs he ſhould be a perjured and perfidious Prince, he could in no Sort infringe the Conditions, nor break the Truce combined by a firm and inſeparable Adjuration.

When *Perkin* had heard him out, although every Word was worſe than the Croaking of ſome Night-raven or Screech-owl, and the Amazement, for the Time, might have much diſabled him: Yet loth to diſcredit his Cauſe by any Dejection or Puſillanimity, and ſeeing all Anſwers were ſuperfluous, and the very Meſſengers of Deſpair and Diſconſolation, he raiſed himſelf with ſome outward Chearfulneſs, and, as well to avoid Ingratitude towards ſo great a Benefactor, as to countenance himſelf and his Buſineſs, he thus, caſting away all Fear and abaſhing Timidity, replied: Moſt worthy Prince,

Mortale eſt quod quæris opus: mihi fama perennis.

And therefore God forbid, that my Continuance in your Court and Kingdom, or the weakened Cauſe of my Attempts, ſhould prove diſadvantageous or ominous unto you, both in Regard of the many Favours, your Princelineſs hath heaped upon me undeſerved, and my own Willingneſs not to be too troubleſome or offenſive unto ſo benign a Majeſty; which rather than it ſhould be hazarded for my Sake, without a chearful and liberal Willingneſs, the Fame and Glory of the Enterpriſe ſhall be ſufficient for me; and I will not only diſclaim my Right and Intereſt in the Kingdom of *England*, my lawful Inheritance, by Deſcent, but pour out myſelf, and ſpend my Life, moſt profuſely for your Sake. Only this I muſt intreat at your Hands, to give me Leave to rig and caulk up my Ships, and gather together that diſperſed Company I have, or ſuch as would willingly and voluntarily attend me. Which ſeeming but reaſonable, and no Way repugning the former Agreement with the Ambaſſadors, was quickly condeſcended unto; ſo with many Gifts, and Royal Furniture for his Wife and Family, he took his Leave, and ſailed back the ſame Way he came into *Ireland*, determining (as the laſt Anchor-hold of his Fortunes) either to unite himſelf with the *Corniſhmen*, whom he knew not fully appeaſed, or to retire to Lady *Margaret*, his moſt worthy Aunt, and faithful Coadjutrix.

He had not been long in *Ireland*, but his falſe Fortune began once again to play with him, as flattering him with aſſured Confidence and Warrant, that the *Weſtern* Men would welcome and entertain him; from whom he had this Notice, that they could not forget their former Injuries and Slaughters, nor determine a ſettled and true Obedience to the *Lancaſtrian* Family: Whereupon, becauſe ſomething muſt be done, or elſe he ſhould be for ever diſcredited; or that God, in his Juſtice, deriding all ſuch Enterpriſes to Scorn; or, elſe in his Mercy, would give King *Henry*, a Breathing-time to ſet his other Princely Qualities of Wiſdom, Magnificence, Quietneſs, Religion, Charity, Government, and Policy on Work; he ſailed out of *Ireland*, with five ſmall Ships, and two-hundred Men, his Wife and Attendants, his Subſtance and Wealth, and, in a Word, all that he had.

But, when he was to confer about his Landing, and Setting forward his Deſigns, he had ſuch poor Counſellors, as a Man would ſmile at for Pity, rather than laugh at for Scorn: For his principal Friends were now *John Heron*, a Mercer and Bankrupt; *John* of *Water*, ſometime Mayor of *Cork*; *Richard Skelton*, a Taylor; and *John Aſſley*, a Scrivener, Men in general Defame for diſhoneſt Actions, and in particular Reproach, for Underſtanding Nothing but what conſorted to their own Wilfulneſs, and outrageous Appetites; of whom I may ſay, as *Ovid* complains in another Caſe, in his Elegies:

Non bene conducti vendunt perjuria teſtes,
Non bene ſelecti Judicis arca patet:

With this Crew, about the Month of *September*, he landed at a Place called *Bodnam*, and there ſo ſollicited and excited the Multitude, and wavering People, that, when they heard him proclaimed *Richard the Fourth*, as the undoubted Son of *Edward the Fourth*, whom the Duke of *Glouceſter*, or, if you will, *Richard* the Tyrant determined to murther, but that he eſcaped by the Providence of God, they flocked unto him to the Number of Four-thouſand, and, according to the Nature of Children running after new-fangled Toys and painted Pictures, ſubmitted to his Highneſs, and ſwore, with all Allegiance, to maintain his Dignity and Royalty; with which Confidence and Company, after they had taken the Muſters of his Army, and concluded to get ſome ſtrong Towns into their Poſſeſſion, that ſo they might not only augment their Forces, but ſtill have Places of Supportation and Refuge to retire unto, they went directly to *Exeter*, and beſieged it. But becauſe they wanted Ordnance to make a Battery, and other Proviſion to raiſe their Trenches, and Approaches; or indeed, if you will, were ignorant of Martial Diſcipline, and the Secrets of a true Soldier's Profeſſion; they ſpent the more Time againſt the Gates, and endeavoured Nothing, but a forcible Entrance, aſſaulting the ſame, with great Pieces of Timber, like the *Roman* Rams, Crows of Iron, Firebrands, and impetuous Violence of great Stones caſt at them, and amongſt them. But the Citizens manfully defended themſelves, and held it out to their perpetual Fame, letting over the Walls, in ſecret Places, divers in Baſkets, with ſtrong Cords, to poſt to the King, and acquaint him with their Diſtreſs. In the mean While, ſeeing a Fire made under their Gates, and that the Enemy's Fury increaſed, they ſuſpected themſelves, and had no other Shift but to put Force to Force, and with one Fire extinguiſh, or, if you will, devour another; and ſo they cauſed great Store of Faggots and Timber combuſtible to be brought cloſe to the Poſterns and greater Gates, where the Miſchief began, and ſet the ſame on Fire, which increaſed with a filthy Smoke, and Smother, and, at laſt, burſt out into a Flame and Blaze, ſo that neither the Enemies could come in, nor Citizens go out; but all were compelled to deſiſt from that Work, and apply themſelves to more new and neceſſary Labours. For the Rebels aſſaulted the moſt weak and broken Places of the Wall, and the Citizens ran to the Expulſions, and repaired the Breaches, as faſt as they were made; beſides, they had Leiſure to caſt up great Trenches under their Gates, and by ſtrong Banks rampiering the ſame made them more difficult Paſſages than before: The Walls were mightily and impetuouſly aſſaulted, but the worthy Citizens defended them, with that Courage, and Countermanding, that they ſlew above two-hundred Soldiers, in their Fury, and behaved themſelves, as if they determined to obtain a perpetual Name of Renown, and unmatchable Trophy of Honour: So that I may well and briefly ſay of them:

———*Serpens, ſitis, ardor, arenæ*
Dulcia virtuti: gaudet patientia duris.

When *Perkin* and his Aſſociates ſaw ſo ſtrong and ſtrange Oppoſition, they ſeemed both amazed and diſheartened at the ſame; whereupon, between Rage and Deſpair, he retired his louſy and diſtreſſed Army to the next great Town, called *Taunton*, where he muſtered them *a-new, but found a great Want of his* Company: For many of his deſperate Followers were ſlain and cut off; many of the honeſter and civiler Sort, ſeeing the Town of *Exeter*, ſo well maintained, and that very few reſorted unto him, contrary to his former Flouriſhes and Oſtentation, fell from him, and retired themſelves Home; many weary of the Wars, and conjecturing an Impoſſibility to remove a King ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, or terrified with the Puniſhment impending on Treaſon, and preſumptuous Rebellion, left him to his Fortunes; and many politickly forecaſting for the worſt, ſeeing not one of the Nobility or better Sort to afford a helping Hand to the Lifting up of this Frame, were contented to diſpenſe with former Proteſtations, and ſo provided for themſelves, whereby as I ſaid, as if the Proverb was verified,

Non habet eventus ſordida præda bonos,

he came ſhort of his Reckoning, and the Items of his Accounts were much curtailed of their former Length and Computation.

But,

But, in Truth, the Poſts of the Country brought comfortable Tidings of the King's Army Approaching, of which the Lord *Daubney*, a fortunate and ſucceſsful Man in all his Enterpriſes, was General; yet, in the mean While, had Lord *Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, Lord *William* his Son, Sir *Edmund Carey*, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Fulford*, Sir *John Hatwell*, Sir *John Croker*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgecomb*, *William Sentnaure*, and divers others, brought forward the Forces of the Country, to raiſe the Siege of *Exeter*; which not only animated and encouraged the Citizens, but rebated the Fury of the contrary, and diverted them from that ſore and outrageous Manner of Aſſaulting the Walls, where, in the laſt Onſet, the noble Earl, and divers others, were hurt with Arrows; he wounded in the Arm, and the reſt in ſeveral Parts of their Bodies, but very few ſlain: And ſo, with much Ado, this famous and honour-thirſting City, with the honeſt Inhabitants of the ſame, were delivered and relieved.

By this Time the Royal Standards of King *Henry* were advanced in Sight of the City, and the Drums beat up their accuſtomed Marches, to the Joy and Fulneſs of Contentment, both of the Town and Country: But, when the King was advertiſed of their Returning to *Taunton*, he haſted thither: But firſt he welcomed *Edward*, Duke of *Buckingham*, a young noble, and well regarded Prince, in whoſe Company came along an hundred Knights and Eſquires of ſpecial Name and Credit in their Countries, amongſt whom, Sir *Alexander Bainham*, Sir *Maurice Berkley*, Sir *Robert Fame*, Sir *John Guiſe*, Sir *Robert Points*, Sir *Henry Vernon*, Sir *John Mortimer*, Sir *Thomas Tremaile*, Sir *Edward Sutton*, Sir *Amias Paulet*, Sir *John Bickwell*, Sir *John Sapcotes*, Sir *Hugh Lutterel*, and Sir *Francis Cheny* were principal. O what a glorious Thing it is, to ſee a Nobleman either ſtand by the Chair of the Prince, as a Court Star and Supportation, that, at laſt, the King may aſk, What ſhall be done to the Man he means to honour? Or move in his own Orb, that is, the Love and Credit of his Country, firm to the State, and graceful in all his Actions and Proceedings, ſtill having a Care to the Government of the People, and an Eye to the Dignity of the Commonwealth; ſo ſhall his Fame be extended Abroad, and his Renown enlarged at Home; which makes me remember the Deſcription of *Capaneus* in that ancient *Euripides*'s *Supplices*, who may be a Precedent to all young Noblemen; yea, I wiſh with my Heart, that ſuch, as are not too preſumptuous on their own Gifts of Nature and Education, would take the Book in Hand, and make Uſe both of Precept and Example, for the Illuſtration of their Honours, and Adminiſtration of their Lives: The Poet is ſomewhat large, and more pleaſant in the *Greek*, than the *Latin*. He thus beginneth:

Capaneus hic eſt, cui facultas vivendi erat abundans,
Minimè verò divitiis inſolens erat; magnitudinem verò animi
Non majorem habebat, quam pauper vir,
Fugiens ſplendido victu, quicunque intumeſceret minis,
Sufficientia vili pendens: Non enim in paſtu ventris
Virtutem eſſe, mediocria verò ſufficere dicebat, &c.
Capanei Laus.

But to our Story again: When the King approached the Town of *Taunton*, whether out of Policy not to hazard the whole Army at once, or out of Suſpicion of ſome Revolters in his Company, or humbly conſidering there might be a Turning of Fortune's Wheel, as ſtill *Rota fortunæ in gyro*, in the Encounters of a Battle, or harping upon ſome Stratagem and Enterpriſe, as providently forecaſting both the worſt and beſt, which might chance; he ſent before him *Robert*, Lord *Brooke*, the Steward of his Houſe, *Giles*, Lord *Daubney*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, to give the Onſet, and begin the Battle, that he with the reſt, as a ſtrong Ambuſcade and Relief, might come to the Reſcue, if they were wearied and fatigued. But little needed this Policy or Procraſtination: For poor *Perkin* (deſperate of his Fortunes, and quite exanimated to encounter with the King's Forces, in ſo warlike a Manner and fearful a Preparation, contrary to all the Motives of a true *Roman* Honour, and without Knowledge of his Army) about Midnight, accompanied with ſixty Horſe, departed in wonderful Celerity to a Sanctuary-Town beſides *Southampton*, called *Bewdley*, where he, *John Heron*, *Thomas a Water*, and others, regiſtered themſelves as Perſons privileged.

O what a God art thou! that canſt, one Way, humble ſettled Princes, with the very

Shadows of Peril and Danger, making them confeſs their Frailty and tickliſh State of Mortality, by the ſeveral Incumbrances and Miſchiefs to which they are ſubject; and, another Way, confound the mightieſt Projects, and annihilate their Enterpriſes, turning all Actions and Mountains of Pride, Sedition, Conſpiracies, and Ambition, to Powder and Duſt, and then blowing it away like Smoke and Vapour; and, another Way, protect the Right of the Innocent and Diſtreſſed, ſending Remedy and Comfort, when they leaſt think of it, or know to help and advance themſelves; and, another Way, whip with the Rods of Vengeance the frenetical and vain Multitude, who know Nothing but Rudeneſs and clamorous Outcries, nor practiſe any Thing but Indecencies and Outrageouſneſs: So that we may well ſay:

O Jupiter, cur nam miſeros ſapere dicunt
Homines! ex te enim pendemus,
Agimuſque ea, quæ tu volueris,
O nihili homines!
Qui arcum extendentes tanquam ultra articulum,
Et jure utique mala patientes multa,
Amicis non quidem creditis ſed ipſis rerum eventibus, &c. Eurip. Supplices.

When King *Henry* knew that *Perkin* was fled, and departed from his Camp, he ſent the Lord *Daubney*, with five-hundred Horſe, to intercept him; but he was lodged before they came, although moſt of his Company were ſurpriſed and taken, who, as miſerable Caitiſs, and poor wretched Delinquents, were preſented to his Majeſty: But, when the Reſidue of this fearful and ſtaggering Army could neither underſtand what was become of their General, nor ſee their accuſtomed Pendants and Ancients, nor their Quarters ſo well ordered, as was the Manner of Soldiers, nor their Companies ſo chearful and well heartened, they knew not what to ſay or to do; ſome ſuppoſing he was fraudulently ſlain, ſome ſuſpecting he was traitorouſly fled, ſome reporting the Manifeſtation of his Deceit, ſome wondering at the Strangeneſs of Proceedings, in that he had ſo miraculouſly begun, and preſumptuouſly proſecuted ſuch a dangerous Work; ſome exclaiming upon the Simplicity of the Matter, that built upon no better Grounds, than vain Hopes and preſumptuous Titles; ſome curſing themſelves, that they had ſo far engaged their Loyalties againſt their Sovereign Lord and King; ſome, continuing in their rancorous Malice, ſwore Nothing but Revenge and Obſtinacy; and ſome, never to be reclaimed, even when their Forces failed, cried out to go forward, railing at the Misfortune of the Buſineſs, that they muſt now fail, when they were ready to pull down the Town-Walls with their Hands: Yet, when they were aſſured of his cowardly Flight and baſe Puſillanimity, the common Fear, common Miſchief, and common Danger, made them caſt away their Armour, and ſubmit to the King; to whom, though they came with affrighted Countenances, and venomous Hearts, ſad Looks, and little Repentance, Curſes in their Souls, and Promiſes of Faith, Loyalty, and Obedience out of their Mouths; yet did the King entertain them with all Chearfulneſs and acceptable Comfort, as the greateſt Benefit which God could, at that Time, beſtow upon him, not diſputing of their Hypocriſy, nor determining, by more narrow Searches, or artificial Incantations, to try out the Depth, and ſearch the Bottom of their Reſolutions.

Thus, as a Conqueror, without Manſlaughter and Effuſion of Blood, he rode triumphantly into the City of *Exeter*; and knowing *Præmium* and *Pœna* to be the maſtering Curbs of all the Things in the World, not only praiſed and applauded the Citizens, but opened the Treaſure-Houſe of Reward and Honour amongſt them, giving ſome Preſents, advancing others to the Order of Knighthood, and granting many Petitions, according to the worthy Condition of a Prince, and the full Corroboration of their Obedience: Then proceeded he to ſome exemplary Puniſhment of divers refractory *Corniſhmen*, whom their own Companies accuſed as Delinquents, and the Majeſty of the Government would not endure without Correction.

But all this was Nothing, in Compariſon of that which followed: For his Horſemen proſecuted the Chace ſo diligently and honeſtly, that they purſued the Lady *Catharine Gordon*, Wife to this *Perkin*, even to *Michael's Mount*; who, notwithſtanding, had ſhe not been betrayed by ſome of her own Followers, might have eſcaped; for, transforming herſelf into one of her Servant's Habits, ſhe had gone quite away to her Ships, but that ſome pitying the Diſtreſs of the King and Turmoils of the Kingdom, and perceiving the End of the War, and Pacification of theſe Troubles, to depend upon her Surpriſing, would, by no Means, give Way unto new Diſturbances, but took her, and preſented her

her to the King's Commiſſioners: What ſhould I ſay, when ſhe herſelf ſaid Nothing? But, perceiving them Gentlemen of Worth, with *Hypſipyle* to *Jaſon*, ſhe cried out:

Si vos nobilitas, generoſaque nomina tangunt.

I know you will uſe me like yourſelves, and underſtand I am a Prince every Way. So they gave her Leave to adorn herſelf, and brought her, like a Bond-woman and Captive, to the King, who, wondering at her Beauty and attractive Behaviour, lifted up his Hands to Heaven in her Behalf, to ſee ſo great a Worth betrayed to fanatical Hopes and frenetical Deceit, thanking God for himſelf, that he had ſuch a Trophy of his Endurances and Victories in his Hands; nor was the Emperor *Aurelius* more proud of *Zenobia*, than he rejoiced in this Adventure; ſome ſay, he fancied her Perſon himſelf, and kept her near unto him as his choiceſt Delight; yea, ſo doated on her Perfections, that he forgot all Things, but the Contentment which he received by her, inſomuch that many dared to libel againſt him, with that Saying of *Dejanira* to *Hercules*:

Quem nunquam Juno, ſerieſque immenſa laborum
Fregerit, huic Iolen impoſuiſſe jugum.

Some ſay, he durſt not let her marry, for Fear of ambitious Tumours in ſuch as could attain to ſuch a Fortune: Some confirm, that ſhe was of that Greatneſs of Spirit, that ſhe ſcorned all others in Regard of herſelf, both by the Privilege of her Birthright, and the Poſſibility of her Greatneſs. Howſoever, he intreated her moſt honourably and amiably (ſuch a Power hath Beauty and Comelineſs ever in Diſtreſs) and ſent her to the Queen ſo majeſtically attended, as if ſhe had been a Queen indeed.

In the mean While, my Lord *Daubney* employed himſelf, and his Company, ſo effectually, that, invironing the Sanctuary, wherein *Perkin* was, with two Companies of light Horſe, who were vigilant, cautious, ſtrong, and courageous, he ſo lay in the Advantage of Watching the Place, that *Perkin* could no Way eſcape: But the King was not ſatisfied with this Protraction, and therefore loth to loſe him, or give him Liberty to run, with the blind Mole, into further Caverns of the Earth, to caſt up Heaps, and little Hills of Commotion, and affrighting his Eſtate; and yet daring not to infringe the Privilege of theſe holy Places (ſuch a Hand had Superſtition, and the Pope's Fulmination, got over all the Princes of *Europe*) he went more politickly to work, and ſent divers Perſons of Account to perſuade his Submiſſion, and render himſelf wholly into the King's Hands, who not only promiſed him Pardon of Life, but Comfort of Liberty yea, honourable Maintenance, upon the eaſy Conditions of deſiſting to perturb the Commonwealth any further, and diſclaiming ſo injuriouſly to pretend any Title to the Diadem.

When *Perkin* ſaw to what Streights his Barque was driven, and that he muſt either ſplit on the Rocks of Deſpair, or retire back again into the troubleſome Ocean of Deſpight, according to the Nature of cowardly and irreſolute Men, he choſe the worſt Part, to ſave his Life and ſubmit to the King's Acceptation; not remembering; becauſe he was never acquainted with the Secrets of Majeſty, That he, which hath been once a Prince, muſt never look for a ſettled Quietneſs in a private Eſtate (becauſe he is ſtill ſubject to the Conqueror's Pleaſure) but an ignominious Life, than which an honourable Death is ten-thouſand Times better; which made the noble *Hecuba*, as a worthy Pattern to all unfortunate Princes, thus anſwer the proudeſt Conquerors themſelves:

Porrigam collum cordatè, intrepidè,
Liberam vero me, ut libera moriar,
Per deos quæſo dimittentes occidite: apud manes enim
Serva vocari, Regina cum ſim, pudet me.

But, as I ſaid, he now only recounted the difficult Paſſages of his former Travels, the Dangers eſcaped, the Deceit pretended, the Peril imminent, and the Misfortune too apparent, as being in no Security in the Place he was fled unto, nor having any Confidence in the Perſons he had choſen: For, though he knew there was a Reverence appropriate to Sanctuaries, yet Kings, if they pleaſed, would be tied neither to Law nor Religion, but perform what they liſt, or, under Colour of their own Security, ſay they are compelled unto. Therefore, without any further Aggravation, relying on the King's Pardon, and thoſe honourable Conditions propounded, he voluntarily reſigned himſelf, and came to his Majeſty, as a Meſſenger of glad Tidings, That now all Wars,

Wars, Troubles, and Commotions were, by this Means, ended and determined.

The King wondered not much at him, for he only found him ſuperficially inſtructed, of a natural Wit, of reaſonable Qualities, well-languaged, and of indifferent Apprehenſion, but far from that Highneſs of Spirit, or heroick Diſpoſition, to deſerve the Character of a Prince, or lay Claim to a Diadem; yet, loth with any boiſterous Strength to handle a bruiſed Arm, or draw the Fellow into a new Self-love, or good Opinion of himſelf, he paſſed over his Examination the ſlightlier, and brought him immediately to *London*, being met all the Way with great Concourſes of People; who both came to gratify him and his auſpicious Succeſs, and to ſee *Perkin* like ſome ſtrange Meteor or Monſter; or, if you will, becauſe we will deal more cleanly with him, like a triumphant Spectacle, to move Amazement, Delight, and Contentment, according to that Saying of the Poet:

Nocte pluit tota, redeunt ſpectacula mane.

But, when they began to capitulate, that, being a Stranger and an Alien born, he durſt not only abuſe ſo many Princes and Commonwealths with Lyes, Fictions, and abominable Deceit, but even bid Battle to Kings and Princes, yea, bring Kings and Princes into the Field for his Aſſiſtance, they fell from Wondering at him to rail and abuſe him, both with Checks and opprobrious Taunts; yea, divers dared to put in Practice many Indecencies, both of Rage and Indignation, had not the Reverence of his Majeſty's Preſence diverted their Conſideration, and commanded no further Rumour, Gazing upon him, or violent Threatenings againſt him. To conclude, the King brought him quietly to *London*; and, though he had given him Life, and afforded him a Kind of Liberty, yet did he ſet a Guard over him, that he could neither have free Conference, nor do what he wantonly lifted without them.

By this Time you muſt conſider, that Lady *Margaret* in *Flanders*, Ducheſs-Dowager of *Burgundy*, was not ſo ill befriended, or negligent in her own Affairs, but ſhe had both Intelligence from *England*, and Spies of her own, to acquaint her with all Occurrences and Adventures, as they chanced. But, whether it was a News to her of Bitterneſs and tormenting Spight, or no, let them judge, that make their Stomachs and inward Faculties a Store-houſe of Rancour and Malice, and cry out with *Seneca*, *Felix jacet, quicunque quos odit premit*; yet was ſhe not tormented ſo much with the Loſs, Expences, or Diſaſter of the Buſineſs, which might be the Chance of War, as that ſhe could not prevail in her malignant Courſes againſt her Enemy, the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: So that ſhe bemoaned the lamentable Succeſs of her unfortunate Darling, and, as many did teſtify, even ſhed Tears again; but they were ſo far from Compunction, or Penitency, that they ſeemed rather Signs of Rage, Phrenſy, and intolerable Madneſs, in which ſhe cried out on nothing but Revenge, and repeated an Exclamation of *Hermione*'s againſt *Oreſtes*:

Quæ mea Cæleſtes injuria fecit iniquos!
Quodve mihi miſeræ ſidus abeſſe querar!

So that, if ſhe had had Power equal to her implacable Hatred, King *Henry* ſhould have felt the Scourges of her wrathful Hand, even to the loweſt Dejection, and ſhe had, doubtleſs, ſhewed him a Trick of a Woman's Will, or (if I might ſpeak without Offence) Wickedneſs.

In this While, *Perkin*, having two Years Liberty to ruminate on his Buſineſs, and ſwell up his vexed Soul with uncomfortable Commemoration of preceding Misfortunes, would many Times caſt out abrupt and uncertain Speeches concerning his Diſtreſs, and the malevolent Aſpect of his Fate, curſing his miſerable Life, and complaining of his unprofitable Genius, that had ſtood him in no better Stead, wiſhing he had been born to any Mechanical Drudgery, rather than from the Royal Blood of *Plantagenet*: Inſomuch that his Keepers miſtruſted him in theſe Extaſies, and the King was ſtill troubled, that he could neither make him confeſs the Truth, nor diſclaim this high Aſſumption of another's Dignity and Royalty. But at laſt, as all ſuch Diſcontentments and Eruptions muſt have a Vent, and ſo a Determination, whether the Scandal of this Kind of Impriſonment grieved him, or the Unquietneſs of his Thoughts vexed him, or the Baſeneſs of his Submiſſion abuſed him, or the Loſs of his ſweet Wife confounded him, or the Inſtigations of others diſturbed him; or indeed, becauſe the laſt Act of his Tragedy

Tragedy and Cataſtrophe was now in Hand, he not only ſtudied which Way to eſcape, but put the ſame in Practice, in ſpight of his own Knowledge, that the King was acquainted with all his Diſcontentments. For, alas! Princes have long Hands and prying Looks, to reach into the furtheſt Parts of their Kingdom, and ſearch into the ſecreteſt Cloſets of their Palaces, yea, other Men's Houſes, and ſo are made to underſtand the Affairs of the remoteſt Regions. But, concerning himſelf, his vain Suppoſitions, as in his former Enterprizes, ſtill flattered him, that he ſhould once again find Fuel enough, to ſet another Rebellion and Commotion on Fire: And his Vexation to be bereaved of ſo delicate a Creature, as his Lady, made him deſperate of all, and ſet his Wits on the Tenter-hooks, to put ſomething in Practice to his further Contentment. So that one Day reading the Story of *Mortimer*'s Eſcape out of the *Tower*, by giving his Keepers a ſleepy Drink; he, in ſuch a Manner deceiveth his Guard, and betook him to a Reſolution of eſcaping and flying out of the Land; wherein he proved only like the ſilly Bird, that with Striving, in the Net, entangles herſelf the more: Or, as Deer that are hunted, betray themſelves to well-ſcented Hounds, by their faſter Running away, whereby they make the deeper Impreſſion in their Steps: So fell it out with him,

Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim:

And, by ſeeking after Liberty, he brought himſelf to a ſtreighter and more unkindly Endurance: For, when he had gone to the Sea-Coaſts, and heard the Exclamations of the People againſt him; ſaw all Places debarred, knew great Searches made for him, underſtood what an Indignation the Country had conceived of his Mockeries and Illuſions, and found the whole Kingdom up in his Search, and poſting after him; he was quite exanimated, and, like a Man diſtracted, knew not what to do. At laſt, unſtable in his former Wilfulneſs, he once again altered his pretended Journey, and came to the Houſe of *Bethlehem*, called the Priory of *Shene*, beſide *Richmond* in *Surrey*, and committed himſelf to the Prior, with a long and ſecret Conference; concluding, with an Impetration of his Charity, that, being a Man of God, he would not think it ſtrange to ſee Princes ſubject to Diſaſters and fatal Concluſions of Misfortune: For he well knew the Story, both of the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* and the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, who, in Spight of King *Henry*'s Uſurpation, who had not only projected the Delivery of *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, but oppoſed the King in his Strength of Sovereignty, againſt his Wilfulneſs to deſtroy the other depoſed; and therefore he deſired him to obtain his Pardon of the King, yielding forcible Intimation for the ſame Purpoſe.

The Prior (glad to have Intereſt in ſuch a meritorious Work, and proud to be ſerviceable to his Prince and Country) came with convenient Speed to the Court, and acquainted his Majeſty with the Accident, leaving no Circumſtance of any Validity unrecounted; which ended to the King's wonderful Content, and the whole Court's Diſdain and Amazement. But all Times are not alike, and Princes, in their Mercies and Pardons, are not ſo flexible, as Preſumption buildeth upon: Yet, to pleaſe the Prior, he gave him his Life, which, to a generous and free-born Spirit, was more irkſome than Death: For he was firſt taken and brought to *Weſtminſter*, with all Scorn and Reproach; then ſet in a Pair of Stocks, with contumelious Deriſion; then carried through all the Streets of *London*, like a prodigious Spectacle; then put to the Rack, which made him not only confeſs his Pedigree and Original, but write it with his own Hands: Laſt of all, mounted on divers Scaffolds, he read it in Publick, and that ſo diſgraciouſly, as in the Commemoration was able to torment a Looker-on, ſo that he might well cry out,

——Vitamque per omnem
Nulla fuit tam mœſta dies: nam cætera damna
Durata jam mente malis, firmaque tulerunt:

In ſome of your Chronicles you have this Confeſſion at large, as in *Grafton*; which, to make the Story complete, I have a little contracted, and thus expoſe the ſame:

BE it known unto all Men, that I was born in the Town of *Tournay*, in *Flanders*, my Father, *John Oſbeck*, Comptroller of the ſaid Town, my Mother *Catharine Haro*, and my Grandfather *Direck Oſbeck*, after whoſe Deceaſe, my Grandmother married *Peter Flamine*,

Flamine, Receiver of *Tournay*, and Dean of the Boat-men over *Leſcheld*; my Mother's Father was called *Peter de Faro*, which kept the Keys of St. *Thomas*'s Gate, within the ſaid Town. I had alſo an Uncle, Mr. *John Statime*, of St. *Pia*'s Pariſh, with whom I dwelled very young; he married my Aunt *Jane*, and brought me up very well; yet my Mother, not contented, as being very fond of me, had me to *Antwerp*, to learn *Flemiſh* more exactly, to a Kinſman of my Father's, *John Steinbeck*, with whom I remained a full half Year; but, by Reaſon of the Wars, I returned to *Tournay*, where I was placed with Mr. *Barlo*, who, within another Year, carried me to the Mart at *Antwerp*, where I fell ſick a While, and ſo was boarded in a Skinner's Houſe, much converſant with the *Engliſh* Nation, whereby I learned the Language, as you ſee. From thence I went to *Barrow* Mart, and lodged at the *Old Man*: Afterwards, Mr. *Barlo* left me at *Middleborough*, with *John Strew*, a Merchant, who firſt made me believe, I was better than I was. From *Antwerp* I ſailed into *Portugal*, with my Lady *Brampton*, in a Ship called the Queen's Ship, and ſerved a Knight in *Lichborne*, called *Don Peter Las de Cogna*, who had but one Eye; yet the Manner of his Behaviour, and the Order of his Houſe, made me tarry a Year. Then *Pregent Meno*, a *Bretagner*, carried me into *Ireland*, and either commanded ſo by my Lady *Margaret*, who, as ſhe ſaid, was my Aunt, or projecting Something for his own private Intereſt, would needs perſuade me I was a *Plantagenet* of the Houſe of *York*. For, when I arrived in *Cork*, becauſe I was ſomewhat handſomely apparelled, they would needs beſtow upon me the Title of the Earl of *Warwick*, Son to *George Duke* of *Clarence*, formerly in *Ireland*, which *John Le Wellin*, the Mayor, maintained; and, foraſmuch as my Denial was contrary to their Expectation, they brought me to the *Croſs*, and made me ſwear, which I did, diſclaiming him, or any of his Kindred, until *Stephen Poitron*, with *John à Water*, came unto me, as reſolved I was King *Richard*'s Baſtard-Son (then in the Hands of the King of *England*) perſuading me not to be afraid or daunted at any Thing: For they would aid me and aſſiſt me, even to the Obtaining the Crown of *England*; yea, they knew of their own Knowledge, the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Kildare* were ready to venture their Lives and Eſtates for my Sake: After this they carried me into *Flanders*, to Lady *Margaret*, Regent and Ducheſs of *Burgundy*, who prevailed ſo far with me, that I took upon me the Perſon of *Richard* Duke of *York*, ſecond Son of King *Edward the Fourth*, and ſo, with reaſonable Preparation, I returned back again into *Ireland*, where the ſaid *John à Water*, *Stephen Poinings*, *John Tiler*, *Hubert de Brough*, the foreſaid Earls, and many others, entered with me into a dangerous Rebellion, and I was proclaimed by them *Richard the Fourth*. From hence the King of *France* ſent for me, by *Loyte Lucas* and *Stephen Frian*; but, making Peace with *England*, he left me to my Fortunes: Then I ſailed into *Flanders*, where my ſuppoſed Aunt made more of me, than before; ſo I attempted *England*, but was driven back again into *Flanders*, from whence I went into *Scotland*, and from thence again into *Ireland*, and ſo into *England*.

When the People had heard him out, they wondered both Ways at the Matter, and ſtood, as it were, confounded betwixt Shame and Indignation. If it were a Colluſion, to think how groſly the Kingdom, and ſome of the beſt therein, yea many Kingdoms had been abuſed with ſuch an Impoſture, to the Proſecuting ſeveral inſamorous Actions, and Diſturbance of the Peace and Tranquillity of the Commonwealth: If it were not ſo, and that for Fear of Life he confeſſed the contrary, being the true *Plantagenet*, and a Prince born to ſo great a Fortune; then they wondered that any Man could be ſo baſe, as to deject himſelf to ſuch Ignominy and opprobrious Diſgraces, when to die had been honourable, and to ſell one's Life in the Field, far better than to plead on a Scaffold, where the many Changes muſt needs diſtract him, and make a poor Soul neither fit for Life nor Death: But, whatſoever he was, they could not chuſe but deplore his Eſtate and Misfortune, as naturally and ordinarily all Men are bemoaned in Adverſity, eſpecially ſuch an one, that was ſo forward in the Race and Journey to Majeſty, and pulled back ſo often by the Sleeve, and turned with a Fury into the Houſe of Deſolation, and Dungeon of diſconſolate Wretchedneſs, when to have periſhed at once had been a Favour of Death and Fortune indeed, according to our Poet:

Mitius ille perit ſubita qui mergitur unda,
Quam ſua qui liquidas brachia laſſat aquis.
Lib. iii. De Ponto.

When the King had this Way ſatisfied himſelf, and pleaſed the People, as he thought, he made no more ado, but, to prevent Inconveniences, clapped him in the *Tower*, from whence he eſcaped not, until he was carried to *Tyburn*, and there ſwallowed up by the never ſatisfied Paunch of Hell, for his former Abuſes and intolerable Wickedneſs, which happened very ſhortly after. For, juſt at this Inſtant, a roguiſh *Auguſtin* Friar, called *Patrick*, on the Borders of *Suffolk*, after *Peter Warbeck*'s Example, taught a poor Scholar, one *Ralph Wilford*, to take upon him the Title of the Earl of *Warwick*, as yet in the *Tower* of *London*; but ſuppoſed to eſcape, as corrupting his Keepers, intimating the Glory of the Action, and the Bravery of ſuch an Enterpriſe, wherein who would be ſo baſe and cowardly, as not to adventure his Life, and put in Practice any Deſign to attain to a Diadem, eſpecially by ſo eaſy Means as perſonating a Prince, and aſſuming the Title of the next Heir to the Crown? And when ſome of his better underſtanding Friends laid open the Danger and Impoſſibility of the Attempt, with the Odiouſneſs and Perfidiouſneſs of the Treaſon, he anſwered the firſt with one Poet:

Famaque poſt Cineres major venit, & mihi nomen,
Tum quoque cum vivis annumerarer, erat:
Lib. iv. De Ponto.

And the latter with another:

Si enim injuſtè facere oportet, potiſſimum propter
Imperium jus violandum eſt: alias pium eſſe convenit. Eurip. Phenniſſas.

But although this Miſchief was quietly blown over, like a weak and thick Cloud, ſuddenly diſperſed by a forcible Wind (for both Maſter and Scholar were quickly apprehended; the one hanged on *Shrove-Tueſday*, at *St. Thomas Watring*'s, and the Friar condemned to perpetual Impriſonment) yet it left ſuch an Impreſſion behind, to the troubling, as a Man may ſay, the whole Region of the Air, that the King would dally no longer, but, like the Sun in his full Strength, at the next Incenſing of his Majeſty, diſſolved all ſuch Vapours, and gave the Law Leave to play her Part to the final Extirpation of the very Roots of Sedition, which preſently was thus ſet on Work:

Peter Warbeck, impatient at this Reſtraint of his Liberty, and ſtomaching his former Diſgraces and Indignities, would endure no longer, but ſtudied every Hour how to eſcape, not yet knowing what to do, when he did eſcape; to which Purpoſe, by fair Promiſes and falſe Perſuaſions, he corrupted his Keepers, *Strangway*, *Blewet*, *Aſtwood*, and long *Roger*, Servants of Sir *John Digby*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to ſlay their ſaid Maſter; and ſet both *Perkin* and the true Earl of *Warwick* at large, and ſo to make their Fortunes, as they could, either by domeſtick or foreign Friends; to which, when the innocent Prince condeſcended, as glad any Way to enjoy his Liberty, and to be freed of his Impriſonment (for you ſee Birds kept in golden Cages beat and flutter up and down, as ſcorning their Incloſure, to get out into their native Country, the Region of the Air) Miſchief and Misfortune, which plays the Tyrant with many Men all their Lives long, and never affordeth one Day, or Breathing-time, to give them a Taſte of any Pleaſure or Contentment, diſcovered the whole Conſpiracy to the King and his Council, not leaving out any Circumſtance which might either exaſperate his Rage, or pull forward Death and Deſtruction to the Delinquents. Whereupon, without further Diſputing the Matter, *Perkin Warbeck*, *John à Water*, ſometime Mayor of *Cork*, and his Son were, the Sixteenth of *November*, arraigned and condemned at *Weſtminſter* of High Treaſon, and the Twenty-third hanged at *Tyburn*: *Perkin* mounted on a Scaffold, reading his Confeſſion, and, contrary to all Expectation, aſking the King and Country Forgiveneſs, and dying penitently, with great Remorſe of Conſcience, and Compunction of Spirit:

Et ſic finis Priami——

Not long after, *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, who had been the Twenty-firſt of *November* arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, before the Earl of *Oxford*, High Conſtable of *England* for the preſent, was, upon the Twenty-eighth, 1499, beheaded on *Tower-Hill*: For he quietly confeſſed the Inditement, concerning his Conſent and Willingneſs to obtain his Liberty, though it

were by violating the Law in that Kind, and breaking of Priſon, whoſe Simplicity I rather lament than condemn the Offence. For it was a dangerous Time for any *Plantagenet* to live in, and I may well cry out,

Omne tulit ſecum Cæſaris ira malum :

But the King was indeed glad of this Occaſion, and Fortune gave Virtue the Check, becauſe, as he had impriſoned him without a Cauſe, he knew not what to do with him without a Fault; yet ſome report that the principal Reaſon of accelerating his Death was a Speech of *Ferdinando*'s King of *Spain*, who ſhould ſwear, that the Marriage between Lady *Catharine*, his Daughter, and Prince *Arthur* of *Wales*, ſhould never be conſummated, as long as any Earl of *Warwick* lived. For the very Name and Title was not only formidable to other Nations, but ſuperſtitious to the wavering and unconſtant *Engliſh*; whereupon the King was the gladder to take Hold of this Opportunity, wherein the Conviction of the Law had caſt this Stumbling-block of Treaſon in his Walk and Race to a longer Life; and yet was there nothing done, but by orderly Proceedings, and juſtifiable Diſcourſes, more than, when the fully Prince ſubmitted to his Mercy, he thought it the greateſt Point of Mercy to look to himſelf, and ſo, for the Benefit of his Poſterity, and the Sedation of all Troubles, both preſent and to come, ſtruck off his Head, and with him the Head of all Diviſion and Diſſenſion.

A Letter from *Paris*, from Sir *George Wakeman* to his Friend Sir *W. S.* in *London*, Printed for *T. B.* in the Year 1681. *Folio*, containing two Pages.

Dear Sir,

I Cannot but wonder at your Confidence, in ſtaying in *England* among the National *Bedlam* of reſolute Hereticks; for I think the People are all mad, and reſolve to queſtion the Integrity of the Saints, ſince they have impeached the Juſtice: I hear with great Trouble that you have got your *Quietus eſt*, and have left the Woolpack, and thrown from your Shoulders that great Grievance of the Nation, Juſtice: You are no longer mounted like *Rhadamanthus* on the Bench, weighing the very Eſſence of all Cauſes to a Mite, in the Golden Balance of Judgement. I ſhould have taken you for Juſtice herſelf, but they ſay ſhe is blind; and I am ſure you can ſee (as the old homely Proverb has it) *which Side your Bread is buttered on.* Let every one ſpeak as they find, I am ſure you dealt juſtly by me, for I proteſt I am as innocent as the Child that is unborn, and have been acquitted by the Law, and therefore, if I pleaſed, might return to *England*; but I have ſeveral Reaſons, beſt known to myſelf, for my Staying on this Side the Water; but, *Morblew*, it is not to plot; I leave that to the Jeſuits, who are a Sort of People I have nothing to do with: I cannot but remember your former Kindneſs, and having no other Means, as the *French* Proverb has it, *Je vous paye en Monnoye de Cordelier*, I will pay you with Thanks and Prayers; and I hope to ſee you again triumphant with the Purſe in your Hand: But, in the mean Time, I invite you to *Paris*; I think it would be a great deal of Prudence to ſhun the Storm that is like to blow from *Oxford*, about the Twenty-firſt of *March* next, as I find predicted by ſeveral judicious Aſtrologers: Here you will be out of Harm's Way, and who knows but you may become at *Paris* as famous for Law and Juſtice, as I am grown for Phyſick? I am in great Practice, and live like myſelf; I have lately purchaſed the Receipts of Madam ———— of her Heirs, at the Value of three-hundred Piſtoles, in which I have found out the Quinteſſence of Poiſons, a Secret I much ſtudied all my Life. I have alſo here met with a *Jew*, and a diguiſed *Banian*, who came lately out of the great *Mogul*'s Territories, both which have furniſhed me with moſt choice Drugs, not to be had in *Spain* or *Italy*. I will ſhortly ſend you a Pair

of

of perfumed Gloves, to preſent your Enemies with; never fear the Operation, the *Effluvia* ſhall blaſt like the Peſtilence, and at ſeveral Leagues Diſtance. Every Man according to his Calling, for *Medicina eſt ſcientia Inſalubrium*, as well as *Salubrium*, and is *Adjectio* and *Subtractio*; to kill *Secundum Artem* requires as much Skill, as to cure, and we are moſt uſeful either Way among Mortals. By *Æſculapius* the bearded Son of *Apollo*, I cannot refrain Excurſions in my own Element; but I hope you will pardon me, and for that I muſt enquire after the State of your Body. It is my Opinion, that this Air will be much more agreeable to your Conſtitution, than that of *London*. The Spring is now coming on, and the latter End of *March*, or the Beginning of *April*, will be a moſt ſeaſonable Time to move your Body; but I beſeech you, not to take any Parliamentary Pills; they have too much *Colecinthida* in them, and will work too violently; you have but a tender Body, none knows ſo well your Conſtitution as myſelf; I wiſh I could inſpect your Water; if it be bloody, it is an ill Sign. I think the *Spaw* or the Waters of *Bourbon*, would be proper for you. I deſire you would be pleaſed to remember me to my old Friend, with whom ſometimes we uſed to duſt it; but eſpecially to old Father *J. S.* you know he is a cloſe Man, and firſt brought us together, I wonder where he hides theſe dangerous Times; bid him beware of the Three-hundred, and then let the Eight thouſand go whiſtle; you are acquainted with my Cyphers: Pray let me have a Letter from you as ſoon as you can, either by the ordinary Poſt, or by *Monſieur Pritchant*, whom I ſhortly expect, and who has Orders to wait on you before he comes away. I am

SIR,

Your highly obliged Friend,

and moſt humble Servant,

G. W.

Paris, Feb. 25. *New Stile.*

POSTSCRIPT.

JUST as I had concluded, in comes Monſieur *Pompone*, my good Friend, who tells me, that, though you ſit not on the Bench, you ſtill ſtand in the Cabinet; and, though you plead not at the Bar, you give *Chamber-Council*. I am glad of it with all my Heart; but that wiſe Man bid me tell you, that you ſhould laſh the Wheels of your Chariot, they are too much oiled, and run like *Jehu*'s, and that you uſe the Whip of *Zeal*, till you have jaded your Horſes Reaſon and Judgment, who have drawn up Hill ſo hard, that they are become blind: He bids me alſo put you in Mind of an *Italian* Saying, *Piu toſto tardi, che in fretta:* Take Breath, be rather late, than do your Buſineſs in Haſte; I adviſe you therefore, to get an Hold faſt, that you loſe not Ground, ſuch as Wains have when they draw up a ſteep Hill, that keeps them from running backward, when they are at a Stand, and the Horſes take Breath. The King of *France*'s Bitt-maker has promiſed me an exact Pattern of a Parliamentary Snaffle and Cavaſon, which I will ſend over to you, for I underſtand that the *French* Gag, which the Earl of *D.* had got, is broke: This is an excellent Device, I aſſure you, for the *French* King has more than one Parliament in his Kingdom, and, by this Means he has made them as gentle as Aſſes, and, without either Wincing or Braying, carry his Edicts through all his large Territories. He makes no Requeſts, *Sic volo, ſic jubeo*, is all the Language he uſes; I am much in Love with his Government, and may ſhortly ſend you ſome of his Policies. Be careful of your Health this Spring, and have a Care of changing the Air, unleſs in *France*; Farewell.

G. W.

The ſecret Hiſtory of the *Calves-Head Club*: Or, The Republican Unmaſked: Wherein is fully ſhewn the Religion of the *Calves-Head* Heroes, in their Anniverſary Thankſgiving-Songs on the Thirtieth of *January*, by them called *Anthems*, for the Years 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697; now publiſhed to demonſtrate the reſtleſs, implacable Spirit of a certain Party ſtill among us, who are never to be ſatisfied, till the preſent Eſtabliſhment in Church and State is ſubverted.

Diſcite juſtitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos. VIRG.

London, printed, and ſold by the Bookſellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, 1703. *Quarto*, containing twenty-two Pages.

The PREFACE.

THE following Collection has been ſo induſtriouſly handed up and down, where it was thought it would be well received, and confirm thoſe Principles which too many have unhappily ſucked in, and raiſe the Confidence of thoſe who were thought too baſhful by their Party, that ſome honeſt Men have thought there could be no more effectual Remedy for the Miſchief it might do, nor any ſurer Way to ſtop the Career, than a Publication: For, though many may preſume, that, under the Diſguiſe of Mirth, and the Protection of a free Converſation, they might ſafely venture to make an Experiment how far the Poiſon would work upon the Undiſcerning of untried Conſtitutions, eſpecially when Rhime and Muſick were the Vehicles, and Under the Roſe *was the Word; yet it is believed, when the Malignity of the Draught is publickly diſcovered, few will venture upon it without a ſufficient Antidote, and fewer have the Hardineſs to adminiſter it.*

Theſe Lines (for ſuch Ribaldry and Traſh deſerve not the Name of Poems*) were compoſed and ſet to Muſick for the Uſe of the* Calves-Head Club, *which was erected by an impudent Set of People, who have their Feaſt of Calves Heads in ſeveral Parts of the Town, on the Thirtieth of* January, *in Deriſion of the Day, and Defiance of Monarchy; at divers of which Meetings the following Compoſitions were ſung, and, in Affront to the Church, called* Anthems. *Theſe, which are here publiſhed, are ſaid to have been written by Mr.* Benjamin Bridgewater, *and that he was largely rewarded by the Members of the Club for his Pains. Whether Mr.* Stevens *was ſo well gratified for his Sermons to the ſame Tune, and on the ſame Days, is more than the Publiſher dares ſay; but, perhaps, the Pulpit was a Bar to his Pretenſions, and the Poet had been better rewarded than the Preacher, had his Sermons been put into Rhime.*

However,

However, it is hoped, that this Publication may give a Check to the Evil of the Example, and deſtroy the Continuance of the Practice, or at leaſt give fair Warning, and take away the Pretence of Surpriſe from thoſe who ſhall proceed to inſult the Government in ſo ſaucy and ſo villainous a Manner.

But, whatever the Succeſs may be, the Publiſher doubts not but his Intentions are juſtified, and wiſhes the Effect may demonſtrate the Reaſonableneſs of them, by putting an End to ſo unchriſtian and ſcandalous a Practice.

IT is a prodigious Thing to conſider (and, for the Honour of my native Country, I wiſh I could ſay it was a falſe Imputation upon her) that the execrable Regicides of King *Charles the Firſt* ſhould find any Advocates, or Abettors, ſtill among us.

I ſay, it is prodigious, that, after the whole Nation, by their Repreſentatives in Parliament aſſembled, has enacted ſo ſolemn a Deteſtation of this unnatural Parricide, and appointed a Day of Humiliation for it, to continue to all Ages of the World, there ſhould be ſuch a Set of *Bouteſeus* yet remaining, ſo impudently audacious, as to juſtify a Crime, for which the three Kingdoms have ſmarted ſo ſeverely; and, in their wicked Merriment, to act over, as much as in them lies, that tragical Scene, which has juſtly made us infamous in the remoteſt Corners of the Univerſe.

Was it not enough that a powerful Prince, allied to moſt of the crowned Heads in *Chriſtendom*, was deſpoiled of that juſt Authority, wherewith the Laws of God and Man had inveſted him, and, Laſtly, of his Life, but that he muſt be moſt barbarouſly perſecuted after his Death, and ſuffer thoſe Indignities in his Memory, when dead, which he had ſo plentifully ſuffered in his Perſon, when living?

There is a Time, when the moſt implacable Malice is ſatiated, and exerts itſelf no longer. The moſt ſavage Nations ſeldom, or never, carried their Reſentments beyond the Grave; and thought it a Piece of barbarous Cowardice, to inſult upon the Aſhes of thoſe that could not ſpeak for themſelves.

But the Royal Martyr has been treated, if it is poſſible, with more Inhumanity after his Deſolation, than he was expoſed to when under the Power of his rebellious Subjects. He has not only been ſtigmatiſed by the odious Name of Tyrant, who was, in Truth, the beſt and moſt merciful Father of his Country, and loaded with a Thouſand undeſerved Calumnies; but, what ſhews the reſtleſs Malice of his Adverſaries, even that incomparable Book of Devotion, compoſed by him in his Solitude, and the Time of his deepeſt Afflictions, and which no Pen, but his own, could have written, has been adjudged from him by a * late mercenary Author; although it is certain to any Man, at leaſt, that can diſtinguiſh Stiles, that the Perſon, to whom the Republicans aſcribe it, was no more capable of Writing ſo excellent a Piece, than the aforeſaid Compiler of *Milton*'s Life, of Writing an orthodox Syſtem of the Myſteries of Chriſtianity.

Thus, as he was torn from his Queen and Children in his Life, he was robbed, as far as it lay in the Power of his malicious Enemies, even of the legitimate Iſſue of his Brain: Tho' as Truth, but eſpecially Truth injuriouſly oppreſſed, never wants ſome generous Hands to defend its Cauſe; ſo all the Arguments that have been uſed by the Republicans, to prove it a ſpurious Piece, have been fully anſwered by a worthy † Divine now living, beyond all Poſſibility of a Reply.

The Barbarity of his Enemies ſtopped not here; for, not content to have aſſaſſinated his Perſon and Reputation, they even diſpoſſeſſed him of his Sepulchre, a Piece of Cruelty, which none but thorough paced Villains ever executed, for, when the ‡ Long Parliament had voted an honourable Interment for their late Prince, who had ſuffered ſo unjuſtly, all was ſtopped, by Reaſon that the Perſons, ordered to regulate the Ceremony, when they came to examine the Royal Coffin, found the Body miſſing.

This puts me in Mind of what a worthy Gentleman, who travelled with my Lord *A*— into *Italy*, told me ſome Years ago, viz. That, during his ſhort Stay at *Bern* in *Switzerland*, a Syndic of the Town, who uſed frequently to viſit Major-General *Ludlow*, when he lived in thoſe Parts, aſſured him, that he had often heard *Ludlow*, in a vaunting Manner, affirm,

* See *Toland*'s Life of *Milton*. † Dr. *Wagſtaff*. ‡ See Dr. *Nelſon*'s *Preface* to the King's Trial.

That,

That, though *Ireton* and *Cromwell* were buried under *Tyburn*, yet, it was a Comfort to him, that the Royal Martyr kept them Company; for, ſays he, foreſeeing that his Son would undoubtedly come in, we took Care that his Father's Body ſhould not be idolatrouſly worſhipped by the Cavaliers; and therefore privately removed it to the Place of common Execution.

Whether the Matter of Fact, as *Ludlow* related it, be true or falſe, it is not material here to enquire; though I think Nothing can give any honeſt Man a juſter and greater Averſion to the Libertines of that Party, than to obſerve that their Malice has no Bounds, and that it neither ſpares the Dead nor the Living.

But, of all the Indignities offered to the *Manes* of this injured Prince, Nothing, in my Opinion, comes up to the Inhumanity and Profaneneſs of the *Calves Head* Club.

For my Part, I was of Opinion at firſt, that the Story was purely contrived on Purpoſe to render the Republicans more odious than they deſerved; for I could not imagine, how any Men that pretended to be Chriſtians, or called themſelves *Engliſhmen*, could calmly and ſedately applaud an Action, condemned not only by the Word of God, but by the Laws of the Land, to which they pretend to pay ſo great a Deference.

As for the Regicides, who were actually concerned in this execrable Tragedy, this may be ſaid, however, in Favour of them, if I may be allowed ſo to expreſs myſelf towards Criminals of that Magnitude, that having gone ſo far in their Wickedneſs, and given his Majeſty ſuch inſupportable Provocations; and, what is more, meaſuring his Clemency by their own, they concluded he could never forgive them; and therefore, like *Cataline*, found themſelves under the Neceſſity of Committing greater Crimes, in Order to cover themſelves from what was paſt.

But what can be offered to extenuate the Crime of theſe atheiſtical Miſcreants, who make That a Matter of their lewd Mirth, which the whole Nation has, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, ever ſince lamented, and, over their Cups, applaud the moſt wicked Action which the Sun ever beheld?

For this Reaſon, my good Nature made me look upon it as a Fiction upon the Party, till happening, in the late Reign, to be in the Company of a certain active Whig, who, in all other Reſpects, was a Man of Probity enough; he aſſured me, that, to his Knowledge, it was true; that he knew moſt of the Members of that Club, and that he had been often invited to their Meetings, but that he had always avoided them; adding, that, according to the Principles he was bred up in, he would have made no Scruple to have met King *Charles the Firſt*, in the Field, and oppoſed him to the utmoſt of his Power; but that, ſince he was dead, he had no further Quarrel to him, and looked upon it as a cowardly Piece of Villainy, below any Man of Honour, to inſult upon the Memory of a Prince, who had ſuffered enough in his Life-time.

He farther told me, that *Milton*, and ſome other Creatures of the Commonwealth, had inſtituted this Club, as he was informed, in Oppoſition to Biſhop *Juxon*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Hammond*, and other Divines of the Church of *England*, who met privately every Thirtieth of *January*; and, though it was under the Time of the Uſurpation, had compiled a private Form of Service for the Day, not much different from what we now find in the Liturgy.

That, after the Reſtoration, the Eyes of the Government being upon the whole Party, they were obliged to meet with a great Deal of Precaution; but now, ſays he (and this was the ſecond Year of King *William*'s Reign) they meet almoſt in a publick Manner, and apprehend Nothing.

By another Gentleman, who, about eight Years ago, went out of mere Curioſity to ſee their Club, and has ſince furniſhed me with with the following Papers, I was informed, that it was kept in no fixed Houſe, but that they removed as they ſaw convenient; that the Place they met in, when he was with them, was in a blind Alley about *Moorfields*; that the Company wholly conſiſted of Independants and Anabaptiſts (I am glad, for the Honour of the Preſbyterians, to ſet down this Remark) that the famous *Jerry White*, formerly Chaplain to *Oliver Cromwell*, who, no Doubt of it, came to ſanctify, with his pious Exhortations, the Ribaldry of the Day, ſaid Grace; that, after the Table-Cloth was removed, the Anniverſary Anthem, as they impiouſly called it, was ſung, and a Calf's Skull, filled with Wine or other Liquor, and then a Brimmer went about to the pious Memory of thoſe worthy Patriots that had killed the Tyrant, and delivered their Country from his arbitrary Sway; and, Laſtly,

a Col-

a Collection made for the mercenary Scribbler, to which every Man contributed according to his Zeal for the Cauſe, or the Ability of his Purſe.

I have taken Care to ſet down what the Gentleman told me, as faithfull as my Memory would give me Leave, and I am perſuaded, that ſome Perſons that frequent the *Black-Boy* in *Newgate ſtreet*, as they knew the Author of the following Lines, ſo they know this Account of the *Calves-Head* Club to be true.

Now I will appeal to any unprejudiced *Engliſhman*, whether ſuch ſhameful Aſſemblies ought not to be ſuppreſſed with the utmoſt Diligence.

Let us conſider them, either in Relation to the Chriſtian Religion we profeſs, or to common Humanity and good Manners, or, Laſtly, to the Laws of the Land, and they affront all equally.

Therefore, I hope the Magiſtrates and others, whom it concerns, will take Care, eſpecially now, ſince they have the Countenance of the Government, to prohibit, as far as in them lies, and detect theſe wicked Meetings, that the Perſons, there aſſembling, may be puniſhed as they deſerve.

Though no Man abominates Perſecution more than myſelf, yet, I will venture to ſay, that a Set of People, who wiſh the Subverſion of our Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Eſtabliſhment, as appears by the following Papers, ought to expect no Quarter from our Hands.

Anniverſary Anthem, 1693.

I.

ONCE more, my Muſe, reſume thy chearful Lyre,
Let this Day's Acts eternal Thoughts inſpire:
Let every ſmiling Glaſs with Mirth be crown'd,
While Healths to *England*'s Native Rights go round.
One ſuch another Day as this, alone,
Wou'd fully for a Nation's Sins atone.
'Tis a ſure Symptom that the People's bleſs'd,
When once a haughty Tyrant's diſpoſſeſs'd.
Chor. Apollo's *pleas'd, and all the tuneful Nine*
Rejoice, and in the ſolemn Chorus join.

II.

Again, my Muſe, immortal *Brutus* ſing,
Whoſe daring Sword expell'd a Tyrant King:
Then bravely fought, and bravely overcame,
To give *Rome* Freedom and eternal Fame.
Such Force has Liberty, ſuch conquering Charms,
That the whole World ſubmitted to their Arms.
What Wreaths ſhall we prepare, and how rehearſe
His laſting Worth in everlaſting Verſe?
Chor. Apollo's *pleaſed*, &c.

III.

Triumphant Laurels too muſt crown that Head,
Whoſe righteous Hand ſtruck *England*'s Tyrant dead:
The Heroes too, adorn'd with Blood and Sweat,
Who forc'd th' oppoſing Monſter to retreat.
Heaven ſtill before a leading Angel ſent;
They conquer'd, 'cauſe they on his Errand went.
Like th' *Iſraelites* of old, their Chains they broke,
Guided by Pillars, both of Fire and Smoke.
Chor. Apollo's *pleas'd*, &c.

IV. 'Tis

IV.

'Tis Force muſt pull a lawleſs Tyrant down;
But give Men Knowledge, and the Prieſt's undone.
When once the lurking Poiſon is deſcry'd,
His juggling Tricks are all in vain apply'd.
In vain he whines, in vain he cants and prays,
There's not a Man believes one Word he ſays:
* 'Tis true, Religion is the grand Pretence;
But Power and Wealth's the Mythologick Senſe.
Chor. Apollo's *pleas'd*, &c.

V.

Then fill the longing Glaſs with ſprightly Wine,
Our Cauſe is Juſtice, and the Health's Divine.
The Heroes ſmile, and our Delights approve,
Which adds new Joys to thoſe they find above:
'Twas ſo they Honour, ſo they Conqueſt ſought,
Thus fairly drank, and then as fairly fought.
They love to ſee us thus our Homage pay,
And bleſs the juſt Occaſion of the Day.
Chor. Apollo's *pleas'd*, &c.

Anniverſary † *Anthem*, 1694.

I.

THE Storm is blown over, the Tempeſt is paſt,
The Tyrant is fallen, and is conquer'd at laſt.
Our Fathers reſolv'd it, and bravely 'twas done,
To ſave the whole Kingdom by lopping the Crown.
By her *Looks* we diſcover'd the Nation was pleas'd,
Her Fears were all vaniſh'd, her Troubles were eas'd;
Whilſt we Yearly commend an Attempt ſo Divine,
And applaud the juſt Action with Calves-Head and Wine.
Chorus.

II.

Thus *Rome*, when ſhe ſuffer'd by Seven ‡ lewd Kings,
That ſhackled her Freedom, and pinion'd her Wings,
Long Time ſhe ſat mournful, as *England* had done,
And bow'd to the Weight of a Tyrannous Throne;
Till, urg'd with new Griefs, ſhe for Liberty cry'd,
And Liberty round the glad Eccho reply'd;
Whilſt *Brutus* reſolv'd to give *Tarquin* his Doom,
And offer a King to the Welfare of *Rome*.
Chorus.

III.

When by Tyrant's Endeavours the People are preſt,
Let this Noble Example inſpire every Breaſt,
With the ſame Reſolutions to defend the good Cauſe,
The Subjects juſt Rights, their Religion and Laws.

* Theſe two Lines are almoſt Verbatim ſtolen out of a Copy of Verſes in the *Stole Collection*, Vol. I.

† This ſeems to be a Parody of a Song in the *Innocent Adultery*, called the *Danger is over*.

‡ Our Author was an admirable Hiſtorian, I find: His Epithet of *Lewd* can fit none of them but *Tarquin*; but all Kings are alike Criminal; *i. e.* they are Kings.

Then

Then fill the Calf's Cranium to a Health ſo Divine,
The Cauſe, the old Cauſe, ſhall ennoble our Wine;
Charge briskly around, fill it up, fill it full,
'Tis the laſt and beſt Service of a Tyrannick Scull.

IV.

Then, Boys, let's drink a Bumper, ſince their Actions made us great,
Let us lay our Trophies at their Feet:
The Cauſe gave Courage to the Soldiers, taught them how their Foes to beat,
That alone cou'd free a captiv'd State.

V.

Then to Puſs, Boys, to Puſs, Boys,
Let's drink it off thus, Boys,
As our Fathers did, and the World ſhall us adore;
It's happier to die, Boys,
Than in Slavery to lie, Boys;
Thus the Heroes choſe it, and bravely died before.

Anniverſary Anthem, 1695.

I.

WHat the Devil means all this Pother
On this Day more than another?
See! the Sot to Church reels out;
See! the Lecher leaves his Whore;
The Rogues, that never pray'd before,
Are grown moſt plaguily devout.

II.

Prithee, Parſon, Why thoſe Faces,
Pious Frowns, and damn'd Grimaces?
Why ſo many Creeds and * Maſſes,
Collects, Leſſons, and the reſt
Of the holy Garbage dreſt?
Proper Food for mumbling Aſſes.

III.

Oh! Sir, It's a Debt, they ſay,
Mother Church muſt yearly pay
To her Saint's Canoniſation:
It was the Day, in which he fell
A Martyr to the † *Cauſe of Hell*,
Juſtly crown'd with Decollation.

IV.

Mirth for us, and generous Wine;
Let the Clergy cant and whine,
Preach and prate about Rebellion:
No more ‡ *Beaſts of Kings, good Heaven!*
Such as late in Wrath were given,
Two curs'd Tyrants, and a Stallion.

V.

May the baniſh'd *Tarquin*'s Fate
Be as juſt, but not ſo great;
Some mean ſhameful Death attend him:
May curs'd *Lewis*, for old Scores,
Turn him poorly out of Doors;
Then may ſome friendly Halter end him.

An Anthem on the Thirtieth of January, 1696.

THere was a King of *Scottiſh* Race, a Man of muckle Might-a,
Was never ſeen in Battles great, but greatly he would ſh——a.
This King begot another King, which made the Nation ſad-a,
Was of the ſame Religion, an Atheiſt like his Dad-a.

* The uſual Name, that theſe impudent Sons of *Belial* beſtow upon our holy Liturgy.

† See what virtuous Principles theſe pretended Saints are of! That call the King's heroick Suffering for the Laws of the Land, the Liberties of the People, the Conſtitutions of Parliaments, and the Eſtabliſhed Church, Falling for the *Cauſe of Hell*. O execrable Monſters!

‡ A moſt admirable Prayer! It is eaſy to nickname them *Beaſts*, and there is an End of them all.

This Monarch wore a peaked Beard, and ſeem'd a doughty Hero,
As *Dioclesian* innocent, and merciful as *Nero*;
The Church's darling Implement, but Scourge of all the People:
He ſwore he'd make each Mother's Son adore their Idol Steeple;
But they, perceiving his Deſigns, grew plaguy ſhy and jealous,
And timely chopp'd his Calves-head off, and ſent him to his Fellows.
Old * *Rowly* did ſucceed his Dad, ſuch a King was never ſeen a,
He'd lie with every naſty Drab, but ſeldom with his Queen a.
Reſtleſs and hot, he roll'd about the Town from Whore to Whore a,
A merry Monarch as e'er liv'd, yet ſcandalous and poor a.
His Dogs at Council-board wou'd ſit, like Judges in their Furs a;
'Twas hard to ſay, which had moſt Wit, the Monarch, or his Curs a.
At laſt he dy'd, we know not how, but moſt think by his Brother;
His Soul to Royal *Tophet* went, to ſee his Dad and Mother.
The furious *James* uſurp'd the Throne, to pull Religion down a;
But, by his Wife and Prieſt undone, he quickly loſt his Crown a.
To *France* the wand'ring Monarch's trudg'd, in Hopes Relief to find a;
Which he is like to have from thence, even when the D——'s blind a.
Oh! How ſhould we rejoice and pray, and never ceaſe to ſing a,
If † Biſhops too were chac'd away, and baniſh'd with their King a?
Then Peace and Plenty would enſue, our Bellies would be full a,
Th' enliven'd Iſle would laugh and ſmile, as in the Days of ‡ *Noll* a.

* A very fine Character this of a merciful Prince, who reſtored to us our ancient Government and Liberties! But this ſhews the Gratitude of this Faction.

† Thus we find, that the Subverſion of Monarchy is not the only Thing this Party aims at, but likewiſe that of the Hierarchy, which muſt expire both together; ſo that, though ſome Writers in that Reign thought fit to ridicule that Saying of *No King, no Biſhop*, as abſurd and inconſequential, yet our Fathers lived to ſee it verified; and I heartily wiſh their Poſterities may never ſee the Experiment made the ſecond Time.

‡ The Reader is deſired to obſerve how inconſiſtently theſe Libertines act with themſelves, who can celebrate the bloody and calamitous Reign of an *Uſurper, who trampled upon that very Republick, of which they boaſt ſo much.*

An Anthem on the 30*th of* January, 1697.

1.

TOuch, now touch, the tuneful Lyre,
Make the joyful Strings reſound;
The Victory's at laſt intire,
With the Royal Victim crown'd.

2.

The happy Stroke did ſoon recover
What we long had fought in vain;
Thus *Ariadne* loſt her Lover,
But the Gods reliev'd her Pain.

3.

'Twas an Action juſt and daring,
Nature ſmil'd at what they did,
When our Fathers, nothing fearing,
Made the haughty Tyrant bleed.

4.

They, their Sons thus well obliging,
Taught us how this Day to keep,
Who, by Fighting, Storming, Sieging,
Laid the ravening Wolf aſleep.

5.

England long her Wrongs ſuſtaining,
Preſs'd beneath her Burdens down,
Choſe a Set of Heroes daring,
To chaſtiſe the haughty Crown.

6.

Thus the *Romans*, whoſe Beginning
From an equal Right did ſpring,
Abhorring *Romulus*'s Sinning,
To the Gods transferr'd their King.

Let

7.

Let the * *Black Guard* rail no further,
Nor blaſpheme the righteous Blow;
Nor miſcall that Juſtice *Murther*,
Which made Saint and Martyr too.

8.

They and we, this Day obſerving,
Differ only in one Thing:
They are canting, whining, ſtarving;
We rejoicing, drink and ſing.

9.

Advance the Emblem of the Action!
Fill the *CALF's SKULL* full of Wine;
Drinking ne'er was counted Faction,
† Men and Gods adore the Vine.

10.

To the Heroes gone before us,
Let's renew the flowing Bowl,
Whilſt the Luſtre of their Glories
Shines like Stars from Pole to Pole.'

* What Religion theſe Incendiaries are of, appears by their giving the Loyal and Orthodox Sons of the beſt eſtabliſhed Church in the World ſuch ignominious Nicknames.

† Admirable Doctrine in the Mouths of Hypocrites, that pretend to ſo much Sanctity!

Reaſons for Crowning the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* King and Queen jointly, and for Placing the Executive Power in the Prince alone. *London*, Printed in the Year 1689. *Folio*, containing one Page.

WHEREAS the grand Convention of the Eſtates of *England* have aſſerted the People's Right, by declaring, 'That the late King *James the Second*, having endeavoured to ſubvert 'the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the original Contract between King and 'People, and, by Advice of Jeſuits and other 'wicked Perſons, having violated the fundamental Laws, and having withdrawn himſelf out of this Kingdom, has abdicated the 'Government; and that the Throne is thereby vacant.' For which Miſgovernment he has forfeited the Truſt of the Regal Inheritance of the Executive Power, both in himſelf, and in his Heirs lineal and collateral; ſo that the ſame is devolved back to the People, who have alſo the Legiſlative Authority, and conſequently may of Right give and diſpoſe thereof, by their Repreſentatives, for their future Peace, Benefit, Security, and Government, according to their Good-will and Pleaſure. And, foraſmuch as it is abſolutely neceſſary at all Times, but in this dangerous Conjuncture eſpecially, that the Government be ſpeedily ſettled on ſure and laſting Foundations; and conſequently that ſuch Perſon or Perſons be immediately placed in the Throne, in whom the Nation has moſt Reaſon to repoſe an intire Confidence; it, therefore, now lies upon us to make ſo judicious a Choice, that we may, in all human Probability, thereby render ourſelves a happy People, and give our Poſterity Cauſe to rejoice, when they read the Proceedings of this wiſe and grand Convention. Who is it, therefore, that has ſo highly merited the Love and good Opinion of the People, the Honour of Wearing the Crown, and Swaying the Scepter of this Land, as his Illuſtrious Highneſs the Prince of *Orange?* Who, with ſo great Expence, Hazard, Conduct, Courage, and Generoſity, has happily reſcued us from Popery and Slavery, and, with ſo much Gallantry, reſtored us to our ancient Rights, Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Properties; for which heroick Action we can do no leſs, in Prudence, Honour, and Gratitude, than pray him to accept our Crown.

II. It is better to ſettle the Exerciſe of the Government in one who is not immediate in the Line, than in one that is: 1. Becauſe it is a clear Aſſerting of a fundamental Right, that manifeſts the Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, and covers the Subjects from Tyranny and Slavery. 2. It cuts off the Diſ-

pute of the pretended Prince of *Wales*. 3. The old Succeſſion being legally diſſolved, and a new one made, the Government is ſecured from Falling into the Hands of a Papiſt.

III. The Making the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* King and Queen jointly is the Nation's Gratitude and Generoſity; and, by re-continuing the Line in Remainder, is manifeſted the ineſtimable Value the People have for the two Princeſſes, notwithſtanding the Male-adminiſtration of their unhappy Father.

IV. The preſent State of *Europe* in general, and of theſe Kingdoms in particular, requires a vigorous and maſculine Adminiſtration. To recover what is loſt, reſcue what is in Danger, and rectify what is amiſs, cannot be effected, but by a Prince that is conſummate in the Arts both of Peace and War. Though the Prince and Princeſs be King and Queen jointly, and will equally ſhare the Glory of a Crown, and we the Happineſs of their auſpicious Reign; yet the Wiſdom of the grand Convention is manifeſted, *Firſt*, In placing the Executive Power in one of them, and not in both; for two Perſons, equal in Authority, may differ in Opinion, and conſequently in Command; and it is evident, no Man can ſerve two Maſters. *Secondly*, It is highly neceſſary and prudent, rather to veſt the Adminiſtration in the Huſband, than in the Wife: 1. Becauſe a Man, by Nature, Education, and Experience, is generally rendered more capable to govern, than the Woman; therefore, 2. The Huſband ought rather to rule the Wife, than the Wife the Huſband, eſpecially conſidering the Vow in Matrimony. 3. The Prince of *Orange* is not more proper to govern, as he is Man and Huſband only, but as he is a Man, a Huſband, and a Prince of known Honour, profound Wiſdom, undaunted Courage, and incomparable Merit; as he is a Perſon that is naturally inclined to be juſt, merciful, and peaceable, and to do all publick Acts of Generoſity for the Advancement of the Intereſt and Happineſs of human Societies, and therefore moſt fit, under Heaven, to have the ſole Executive Power.

The terrible and deſerued Death * of *Francis Rauilliack*, ſhewing the Manner of his ſtrange Torments at his Execution, vpon *Fryday* the 25th of *May* laſt paſt, for the Murther of the late *French* King, *Henry the Fourth*: Together with an Abſtract out of divers Proclamations and Edicts, now concerning the State of *France*. As it was printed in *French* in three ſeveral Bookes publiſhed by Authoritie. 1610. At *London*, printed for *William Barley*, and *John Baylie*, 1610. *Quarto*, *Black Letter*, containing twenty Pages.

THE moſt inhumaine Murther, lately comitted vpon the Perſon of the late *French* King, *Henry the Fourth* of famous Memory, hath much diſquieted the State of *Fraunce*, and ſo buſyed other Kingdoms in hunting after the true Reports thereof, ſo farre forth, that we thinke it an interior Loue to our Countri-men to haue an Abſtract of the moſt Occurrences that happned ſince that vnnaturall Accydent: And, *Firſt*, to begin with the viperous Homicyde, the bludie Actor of this Deede, who ſtroue with the Enuy of his Hart to draw in Pieces the Bowells that che-

* *Vide* the 228th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the *Harleian* Library.

riſhed

riſhed his Life (floriſhing *Fraunce* I meane) that proues abortiue in bringing forth ſuch an vnnaturall *French-man.*

This Parracide, *Francis Rauilliack*, in Time paſt of the Order of the *Felician* Fryers, but of late a Practiſſioner in the Lawe (by ſome named a *Pettyfogger*) borne in the Towne of *Angoleſme*, a Place not farre diſtant from the Citty of *Paris*; who, after he had vnluckely accompliſhed this bloody Stratagem, by taking away the Preſeruer of ſo many Liues, was, vpon the 23 of *May* laſt, araingned, conuicted, and condempned by due Order of Lawe, in the great Court and Chamber of *Turnella* in *Paris*, before all the Aſſemblies, Preſidents, Councellors, and Commiſſioners, at the Requeſt of *Du Vicquet*, Atturney Generall to the King, whoſe Place and Authority was there then to inquire againſt this *Francis Rauilliack*, for the Murther of his late Soueraigne, *Henry the Fourth*, King of *Fraunce* and *Nauarre*; wherevpon, this *Francis Rauilliack*, with a ſad and deathlike Countenance, holding vp his guilty Hand before this great Aſſembly, preſently confeſſed *Guilty*, and that he became this his Countries Shame onely by the Inſtigation of the Deuill; and not any other Accomplices and Confederats would he reueale, but in a Satanicall Maner vowed himſelfe to Secrecie; wherevpon the Law proceeded, and a moſt terrible Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt him there, according to a generall Decree of that great Court of Parliament; and ſo, being a condemned Villaine, was, with a ſtrong Gard of armed Men, conuayd to Priſon, otherwiſe, by the violent Rage of the common People, he had beene torne in Peeces: Such was the Loue they bore to their late King.

Vpon the *Fryday* following, being the 25. of *May* (according to their Computation) this *Francis Rauilliack* was in a moſt vile and bace Manner caried to Execution, as followeth:

Firſt, Naked in his Shirt, he was brought out of the *Conſergery* (being the Priſon for the Palace) with a lighted Torch of two Pownd Waight in one Hand, and the Knife (wherewith he killed the King) chayned to the other Hand, ſo openly to be ſeene, that the leaſt Childe there preſent might behold it. After this, he was placed ſtanding vpright in a Tumbrell or Dung-cart, and ſo from thence conducted with a Gard of Cittizens to the capitall Church in *Paris*; where, being adiudged to doe Penance, he had beene made a Sacrafize to the Rage of the rude People, had not there bin apoynted Officers to ſee his Execution, who prevented it.

After this, being accompanied to the Place of Execution with two Doctors of Diuinitie all the Way perſwading him to ſaue his Soule from euerlaſting Puniſhment, by reuealing and laying oppen his Aſſocyates therein; which he would not, but ſtiffly (though vngraciouſly) tooke the bloody Burthen vpon his owne Shoulders, withſtanding, euen to the Death, all faire Promiſes whatſoeuer: In this Manner, as I ſayd before, was he caried to the *Greue*, being a ſpatious Streete, and about the Middle of *Paris*, where was builded a very ſubſtantiall Scaffould of ſtrong Timber, wherevpon, according to his Iudgment, he was to be tormented to Death: *Du Vicquet*, the Kings Atturney Generall, was apoynted Principall to ſee the Execution, and there to gather, if he could, ſome further Light of this vnchriſtian-like Conſpiracie.

This here following was the Manner of his Death, an Example of Terror, made knowne to the World to conuert all bloody-minded Traytors from the like Enterpriſe. At his firſt Comming vpon the Scaffold, he croſſed himſelfe directly over the Breaſt; a Signe that he did liue and dye an obſtinate Papiſt: Wherevpon, by the Executioners, he was bound to an Engine of Wood and Iron, made like to a S. *Andrews* Croſſe, according to the Faſhion of his Body; and then the Hand, with the Knife chayned to it (wherewith he ſlew the King) and Halfe the Arme was put into an artificiall Furnace, then flaming with Fier and Brimſtone, wherein the Knife, his Right Hand, and Halfe the Arme adioyning to it, was in moſt terrible Manner conſumed; yet nothing at all would he confeſſe, but yelled out with ſuch horrible Cryes, euen as it had beene a Diuell, or ſome tormented Soule in Hell: And ſurely, if Hells Tortures might be felt on Earth, it was approued in this Mans Puniſhment; and, though he deſerued ten Times more, yet humane Nature might inforce vs to pitty his Diſtreſſe. After this, with Tonges and iron Pincers, made extreame hott in the ſame Fornace, the appointed Executioners pinched and ſeared the

Dugges.

Dugges of his Breaſtes, the Brawnes of his Armes and Thighes, with the Calues of his Legges, and other fleſhy Partes of his Body, cutting out Colloppes of Fleſh, and burned them before his Face; afterward, into the ſame Woundes thus made, they powred ſcalding Oyle, Roſen, Pitch, and Brimſtone, melted together, yet would he reveal Nothing, but that he did it of himſelfe, by the Inſtigation of the Diuell; and the Reaſon was, becauſe the King tollerated two Religions in his Kingdome: Oh ſmall Occaſion, that, for this Cauſe, one ſeruile Slaue ſhould thus quench the great Light of *France*, whoſe Brightnes gliſtred thorough *Europe!* But to paſſe furthur into this ſtrange Execution, according to the Sentence pronounced againſt him, they put upon his Nauell a Rundle of Clay, very hard, with a Hole in the midſt, and, into the ſame Hole, powred they moulten Lead, till it was filled; yet reuealed he Nothing, but cryed out with moſt horrible Roares, euen like the dying Man tormented in the brazen Bull of the Tyrant *Phalares*. But now to come to the Finiſhing up of his Life; and, that the laſt Torture might, in Seuerity, equall the firſt, they cauſed foure ſtrong Horſes to be brought to teare his Body in Peeces, and to ſeperate his Limbes into four Quarters, where, being ready to pay his laſt Puniſhment, he was queſtioned againe to make knowne the Truth, but he would not, and ſo died, without ſpeaking one Word of God, or remembring the Daunger of his Soule.

But ſo ſtrongly was his Fleſh and Ioynts knit together, that of long Time theſe foure Horſes could not diſmember him, nor any Way teare one Ioynt from the other, ſo that one of the Horſes faynted, the which a Marchant of the Citty of *Paris* perceiving, put to one of his owne, being an Horſe of an exceeding great Strength; yet, notwithſtanding, for all this, they were conſtrained to cut the Fleſh, vnder his Armes and Thighes, with a ſharp Rayſor, by which Meanes his Body was the eaſier torne in Peeces; which being done, the Rage of the People grew ſo violent, that they ſnatched the diſmembred Carcaſſe out of the Executioners Hands; ſome beate it in ſunder againſt the Ground, others cut in Peices with Kniues, ſo that there was Nothing left but Boanes, which were brought to the Place of Execution, and there burned to Cinders, the Aſhes wherof was ſcattered into the Wind, as being thought to be vnworthie of the Earths Buriall. God in his Iuſtice will, I hope, in the like Manner, reward all ſuch as repine at their Countries Safety, and deſperatly attempt to lift their Hands againſt Gods Anointed.

The Briefes taken of diuers Edicts and Decrees lately proclaimed in France *in this Place.*

Lewes *the* 13. *by the Grace of God, King of* France *and* Nauarre, *to all his louing Subiects, Health:*

WHEREAS the inhumaine Murther of our late deceaſed Father, *Henry the Fourth*, of famous Memory, is, as farre as Law and Iuſtice can reach vnto, reuenged vpon the Body of that Parracide *Francis Rauilliack*, whoſe Death ſufficiently witneſſeth, and now ſtands regeſterd an Example of Seuerity in ſuch a Cauſe, yet Nature and Duty bindeth vs to add this further vnto it: We therefore, by the Aduiſe of our foure Courts of Parliament, ordaine, the Lords thereof, Spirituall and Temporall, that all the Lands, Goods, and Cattels, late belonging to the aforeſaid Traytor *Francis Rauilliack*, ſhall be confiſcate to our Vſe; and alſo the Houſe in *Angoleſme*, wherein he was borne, to be vtterly ruinated, and be conuerted into a common Leaſtall, and, in the ſame Place, neuer any more Houſe to be built: Alſo we, by our Authority, doe decree and ordaine, iudge and command, that the Father and Mother of the ſaid *Francis Rauilliack* be for euer baniſhed our Kingdome of *France*, and all the Prouinces belonging therunto, not to be ſene after the Date of feauenteen Dayes be expiered, neuer to returne, vpon Paine of Hanging: Alſo we ordaine, that the Vncles, Brothers, Siſters, and all his Kindred, ſhall neuer more take vpon them the Name of *Rauilliack*, but take to themſelves ſome other Name, vpon the like Paine of Puniſhment, as a Name vnworthy of our Country. All which we do commaund to be proclaimed throughout all our Prouinces, by the Sound of Trompet, as the Order is: For the Proſecution of which Buſineſs, we do giue full

full Authority to *Du Vicquet*, our Atturney Generall. Dated at our Palace in *Paris* the 29. of *May*, 1613. and ſigned with the great Seale of yellow Wax, by the Lord,

POTIER.

A Brief of Letters Patents giuen to the Queen.

Lewes the 13. *by the Grace of God, King of* France *and* Nauarre, *&c. to our Friends and faithfull Councellors of the Court of Parliament of* Roan, *Health:*

LOOKING to the Neceſſity of the Time, and for the Maintenance of the State in Peace, vpon the miſerable Accident committed vpon the Perſon of our moſt Royall King and Father, and being in our Minority, we doe eſtabliſh, and make this good Order, for the Preſervation of our loving Subiects, to liue in the Vnion and Concord as they did in the Time of our Father; and as by the Councell of our Royall Mother, Princes of our Blood, other Princes, Prelats, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, we are tranſported to this our Parliament of *Paris*, and being ſeated in our Seate of Iuſtice, we do fully yeeld our whole Gouernment to our Mother, to haue Care of vs, and protect vs, till we come to Age, not ſuffering any Coſtome to be denyed, but all Things to be performed, and continued in as good Force, as they did in our Fathers Time, to the Quiet of our Land, and the Peace of our louing Subiects. Giuen at our Palace in *Paris* the 18. of *May* 1610. and of our Raigne the Firſt.

Sene, publiſhed, and regiſtered in Court, by Du Vicquet, *Atturney Generall, the aforeſayd* 18. *of* May: *Signed likewiſe by* De Boyleueſque, *Secretary to the Parliament of* Roan, *and proclaimed in euery Prouince, that none, hereafter, ſhall pretend Cauſe of Ignorance.*

By the KING.

Lewes the 13. *by the Grace of God, King of* France *and* Nauarre, *&c. To all our louing Subiects to whome theſe ſhall appertayne, Health:*

SINCE the vnhapie Murther of our late Father, the Queene, our Royall Mother, now Regent ouer vs, hauing Teares in her Eyes, and Sorrowe in her Heart, hath not let to Worke, with great Magnanimitie and Prouidence, for this vnnaturall Accident, that it might not be preiudiciall to our Perſon, our Kingdome, nor to our Subiects, knowing her ſelfe obliged to that Dutye, not only for the naturall Affection ſhe beares vs, but, being declared Regent, and loaden with the Affaires of the Kingdome, by the Wils and Authority of the Princes of our Blood, and others of the Parliament, wee leauing of the Seate of Juſtice, by which Meanes her Paines is great, and ſo happie to our Subiects nere vs, and our Cittie of *Paris*, deſiring no Deuty to vs, but to our honored Lady and Mother, for which we doe not doubt of your Willingnes; in ſe doing, we ſhall giue you Thankes with our Loue.

Furthermore, conſidering that in the Times paſt, in the Daies of our late Father, and other Kings his Predeceſſors, that neither of theſe two Religions, by vs now tollerated, could be weeded out of the Kingdome without much Blood ſhed: Be it now therefore ordained, and likewiſe we doe alowe both the ſame through all our Prouinces, without any Contradiction, as it was in our Fathers Time, and the Hinderers thereof to be highly puniſhed.

Giuen at our Palace in *Paris* the 22. of *May*, and ſigned with the great Seale in yellow Wax: Farwell.

Letters Patents of the King concerning the Edict of Nantes.

VPON the 22. of *May*, there were Letters Patents granted, by Proclamation, containing the Will and Intention of the King, for the Intertainement of the Edict made in *Nantes*, concerning Articles giuen to his Subiects profeſſing the pretended Reformed Religion, publiſhed in the Parliament at *Roan*, the 28. of *May*, 1610.

Vpon *Sunday* their 27. of *May*, were nine-thouſand Proteſtants at Church together verie peaceably, God be prayſed.

The

The King is continually guarded with two-hundred Horſe, and his *Swiſſers*, beſides the Nobilitie, which mourne greatly.

The Duke *de Neuers*, by Aduice, is retourned from the Armie.

The hundred-thouſand Men, promiſed to the Marques of *Brandenburgh*, doe remaine as they did before, and all the Army beſides are well.

Theſe be the onely laſt and true Newes out of *France*, taken out of three ſeveral Bookes there imprinted; the one at *Roan*, by *Martin Meſgiſſier*, Printer Ordinary to the King.

Another by *Peter Courant*, according to the Coppy printed at *Paris*, by *Anthony Vitray*, by Permiſſion of the Court.

And another printed at *Roan* by the ſame Man, and now an Abſtract of them all turned into *Engliſh*, by *R. E.*

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The End of the SIXTH VOLUME.

455. A *Poſition* maintained by *J. B.* before the late Earle of *Huntingdon:* Viz. *Prieſts* are *Executed*, not for *Religion*, but for *Treaſon*. Newly imprinted. (In 15 Pages) *Octavo* 1600

456. Certaine *Rules*, *Directions*, or *Advertiſements* for this Time of *Peſtelentiall Contagion:* With a *Caveat* to thoſe that weare about their Neckes *impoiſoned Amulets* as a *Preſervative* from the *Plague*. Publiſhed for the Behoofe of the City of *London*, and all other Parts of the Land at this Time viſited. By *Francis Hering* D. in Phyſicke, and Fellow of the *Colledge* of *Phiſitians* in *London*. Printed by *William Jones*. (In 2 Sheets) *Quarto* 1603

457. The *Bachelers Banquet:* Or a Banquet for Bachelers: Wherein is prepared ſundry daintie Diſhes to furniſh their Tables, curiouſly dreſt, and ſeriouſly ſerved in. Pleaſantly diſcourſing the variable *Humors* of *Women*; their Quickneſſe of Wittes, and unſearchable Deceits. Printed by *T. C.* and ſold by *T. Pavier*. (In 39 Pages, *black Letter*) *Quarto* 1604

458. *Falſhood* in *Friendſhip:* Or *Union's Vizard:* Or *Wolves* in *Lambſkins*. 1. Diſcovering the *Errors* in *unjuſt Leagues*. 2. That no *Subject* ought to *arm* himſelf againſt his *King*, for what Pretence ſoever. 3. An *Advertiſement* to thoſe few of the *Nobilitie* which take Part with *Infamy*. Printed for *Nat. Foſbroke*. (In 73 Leaves) *Quarto* 1605

This ſharp and learned Diſcourſe is otherwiſe called — *The Maſque of the League, and the Spaniard Diſcovered*. It is written wholly againſt the *Spaniards*, and their *League*, by a *French* Author, who ſubſcribes himſelf at the End, *A. M.* He exhorts the Nobility and Gentry of *France* to unite themſelves to their King, to extirpate this Rebellion, and chaſe away their entertained Evils the *Spaniards*; thereby to reſtore the afflicted Realm to Tranquillity, and prevent their wading any further in the Love of this unlawful *League*. In the 13th Leaf of this Work, the Author gives a moſt horrid Character of that Don *Pedro*, who perjur'd himſelf to the valiant *Black Prince*, Son of King *Edward* III, of *England*, who re-ſeated this faithleſs King in his Throne, when he had loſt it: The ſame Don *Pedro*, the firſt and only of that Name, ſurnamed the *Cruel*; he being the fourth King of *Caſtile*, and the Thirty-fifth of *Leon*, who began his Reign in the Year 1350, by Cruelty, and therein continued all his Life-time. In an unhappy Hour he eſpouſed fair *Blanch* of *Bourbon*, whoſe Life he ſhortened by Poiſon in the Priſon of *Medina Sidonia*, and her Body was afterwards taken up by the *French*; who, on this Occaſion, entered into *Caſtile* on the Behalf of *Don Henry*, and ſo was buried at *Tudela* in *Navarre*. &c.

459. A *Letter* of a *Baker* of *Boulougne*, ſent to the *Pope*. Tranſlated out of the *Italian* Copy (printed at *Florence*) into *French* and *Dutch*, and now into *Engliſh*. Printed for *William Ferebrand*. (In 7 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto* 1607

This ſmart Bantering Letter was written upon the Breach between the *Pope* and the *Venetians*; who had pulled out of his Hand his Temporal Sword, and ſo dulled and blunted the other, that henceforth it ſhould not cut but in Meaſure and Reaſon; adviſing him to ſuffer them to bear a large Pair of Shears in their Arms, to witneſs to Poſterity, that they were the firſt amongſt his faithful Maſsmongers, who durſt curtail and clip his Garment, which daggled too long on the Ground. After having alſo ſhown how the Pope's Power ſtood with Regard to other Princes of *Europe*, he concludes, with adviſing him to renounce all Superiority over the King of *England*, as the *Spaniards* had done to thoſe of *Holland*; for which his Majeſty might be induced to make him a great Preſent, of all the Prieſts and Jeſuites in his Country. *&c.*

460. *The New Age of Old Names*. By *Joſ. Wib:* Maſter of Artes, of *Trinitie* Colledge in *Cambridge*. Printed for *William Barret* and *Henry Fetherſtone*. (In 71 Leaves) *Quarto* 1609

The Author's Name was *Joſeph Wybarne*, as appears at the End of his Epiſtle Dedicatory to Sir *John Wentworth*, Knt. The Work is divided into 24 Chapters. And ſome of thoſe, which ſeem to touch moſt

cloſely upon the Subject, bear theſe Titles, —— *That Nothing is known but Names.* —— *Knots ſought in a Bulruſh.* —— *The Error by Names in Policie.* —— *All Fallacies come by Names.* —— *New Names of ſeveral Vertues:* In divers Chapters. —— *New Names of falſe Religions.* &c.

461. *Strange Newes* of a *prodigious Monſter* born on the Townſhip of *Adlington*, in the Pariſh of *Standiſh*, in the County of *Lancaſter* the 17 Day of *Aprill* 1613. Teſtified by the Reverend Divine Mr. *W. Leigh* Bachelor of Divinitie, and Preacher of God's Word at *Standiſh* aforeſaid. Printed by *J. P.* &c. (In 7 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto* 1613

The Figure of this monſtrous Birth is repreſented from a Wooden Print, in the Title-page, having two Bodies joined to one Back. The Parents Names are not mentioned; nor whether it came alive or dead into the World.

462. A *Viſion* or *Dreame* contayning the whole *State* of the *Netherland Warres*; as it appeared to a *Lover* of the *Netherlands* lying in his Bed, upon the 7 of *November*, between 3 and 4 of the Clock in the Morning; wherein was repreſented unto him a goodly *Country*, and therein a fayre comely *Horſe* well bridled and ſaddled; whereat being much amazed, he ſayde, *Behold the Horſe, but where is the Rider?* This Horſe is compared to the *Netherland*; his chief Owner the King of *Spain*; who, with Riding thereof, had cruelly ſpur-galled him; hereupon appeared a cunning *Rider* out of *Orange*, and took on him to manage the Horſe gently. This Horſe was by Policy and great Subtlety of the Pope fought to be betraied, as it lately appeared; who, by his Biſhops, can when he pleaſeth change the Names of Men, and ſo they have given another Name unto the Warres, making the King's Warres the Emperour's Warres; thereby with more Eaſe, to lay hold upon the Horſe's Bridle, by that Meanes the better to incloſe the *Netherlands*. *Who ſhall ride Mee?* Imprinted at *London* for *Edward Marchant*. (In 16 Leaves) *Quarto* 1615

There is written in the Title-page of this Copy — That, this came from *Bohemia*. And in the ſaid Title-page there is a Wooden Print repreſenting an Horſe ſaddled and bridled without a Rider, and before him an Eccleſiaſtick ſtanding in his Holy Robes, with a Crucifix on his Breaſt, a Laurel Branch in one Hand, and a knotted Whip in the other. This Dream of the paſt and preſent State of the *Netherlands* is here printed in *Dutch* as well as in *Engliſh*; ſo is the ſtrange Dance which follows, that was made about the *Holland* Bride.

463. A *Treatiſe* containing divers *Beneſits* and *Priviledges*, and the *Power* and *Authoritie* granted to the *Patentee*, who hath his Majeſties *Licence* or *Grant* of *Charter Warren*, under the Great Seal of *England*. Collected out of divers of the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome, and viewed and allowed by Sir *Henry Yelverton* Knight, his Majeſties Atturney Generall, for all thoſe who take the *Graunt*. To be delivered to them at the *Office* thereof, kept at the Houſe of Sir *Henry Bruton* Knight, one of the *Commiſſioners* for Making of the ſaid *Graunts*, in *Drury-Lane*. (In 7 Leaves) *Quarto* 1617

464. *Newes* from *Turkie:* Or a true and perfect *Relation* ſent from *Conſtantinople*, touching the *Death* of *Achmet* the laſt Emperour of the *Turkes:* As alſo the miraculous Deliverance of *Muſtapha* (Brother to the ſaid *Achmet* then Emperour) and his ſtrange *Eſcapes* from his purpoſed *Death*. Together with the memorable *Acceſſe* of the ſaid *Muſtapha* into the *Turkiſh* Empire; and a Narration of ſuch Things as have ſince happened. Printed by *William Jones* for *Sam. Nealand* and *Nat. Brown*. &c. (In 6 Leaves) *Quarto* 1618

465. The *Weathercocke* of *Rome's Religion:* With her ſeveral *Changes:* Or the *World* turn'd *Topſie-Turvie* by *Papiſts*. Printed by *George Purſlowe*, for *John Marriot*. (In 8 Leaves) *Quarto* 1625

This learned Work, ſhewing how the *Roman* Catholicks are changed in their Religion from what they anciently were, has not any Author's Name printed before it; but it is written with a Pen in the Title-page of this Copy, that the Author was *Alexander Cooke*, who wrote the famous *Dialogue* of Pope *Joan*.

466. A Briefe and True *Relation* of the *Murther* of Mr. *Thomas Scott*, Preacher of God's Word, and Batchelor of Divinitie. Committed by *John Lambert*, Souldier of the Garriſon

Garriſon of *Utrickt*, the 18th of *June* 1626. With his Examination, Confeſſion, and Execution. *London*, Printed for *Nath. Butter*. (In 6 Leaves) *Quarto* 1628

That *Lambert*, whoſe Head was turned with Enthuſiaſtical Conceits, that the Queen of *Bohemia* would raiſe him to great Preferment, pretended to have it ſuggeſted to him by a Spirit, that this Mr. *Scott* was an Obſtructor of the ſame, and would be, till he was killed: So he laid wait for him, in St. *Peter*'s Church-yard in *Utricht*; and while he was there, coming to preach, it being on *Sunday* in the Afternoon, accompanied by his Brother, Mr. *W. Scott*, and his Nephew *Tho. Scott*, the ſaid *Lambert* ſtabbed him in the Belly with his Sword, whereof he died in about an Hour after, and was there buried on the *Wedneſday* following, very honourably attended to his Grave; the like Train having not been ſeen in *Utricht*, on ſuch an Occaſion, or a more general Lamentation for the Loſs of ſo worthy a Man. The Malefactor was whipp'd and rack'd; had his Right-hand cut off, and nailed to the Gallows; then he was hanged, and his dead Body was ſentenced to be laid upon a Wheel without any Burial. What makes it the more probable that this was the ſame *T. Scott*, who was the Author of ſo many notable Pamphlets againſt the *Pope*, and *Spaniards*, and in Behalf of the Queen of *Bohemia*, is, a Character which is given of him in one of the Elegies here ſubjoined, as follows:

Man's Life's a *Warfare*, *Wayfare*. Ah good Man,
Thou found'ſt it True: Thy *Words*, thy *Writings* can
Witneſs to all, inflamed with true Z al
To God, to Church, to King, to Common-weal;
With Valour arm'd, to thine eternal Praiſe.
Thou warr'dſt againſt the *Monſters* of our *Days*;
Oppos'd great *Gyant's* Sins; great *Sinners* hence,
Warr'd againſt Thee, and wrong'd thy Innocence.
From *Warr* to *Wayfare* thou didſt run thy Race,
In warlike Lands; diſpoſing Time and Place,
To [illegible]'s great Glory, and the Churche's Good;
Till Helliſh Hands exhauſted thy Hearts Blood:
Well 'twas Gods Will, who had decreed it beſt,
To call Thee from thy Labour, to his Reſt.

467. *Speculum Jeſuiticum*: Or the *Jeſuites Looking-Glaſs*. Wherein they may behold *Ignatius*, their Patron, his *Progreſs*, their owne *Pilgrimage*: His *Life*, their *Beginning*, *Proceedings*, *Propagation*, and Preſent *State*, *or Greatneſs*. Together with a true *Catalogue* of all their *Colledges*, Profeſſed *Houſes*, *Houſes* of *Approbation*, *Seminaries*, and *Houſes* of *Reſidence* in all Parts of the World. And laſtly the true Number of the *Fellowes* of their *Society*, taken out of their own *Books* and *Catalogues*. Which may ſerve as a *Fore-warning* for *England* to chaſe away, in Time, this *Trayterous* and *Inſociable Society*, or diſordered *Jeſuiticall* Order. By *L. O.* that hath been an *Occular Witneſſe* of their *Impoſtures* and *Hipocriſie*. Printed by *T. C.* for *Michael Sparke*, &c. (In 39 Leaves) *Quarto* 1629

The Author of this Pamphlet was *Lewis Owen*, who had publiſhed ſeveral others, wherein he has alſo notably laid open the State and Management of the *Jeſuites*, from his own Knowledge and Obſervation, *&c.* He dedicates this Tract to Sir *Henry Martin*, Judge of the Court of Admiralty, as a Pledge of his Gratitude for the manifold Favours he had beſtowed on him. The Occaſion of his writing this Pamphlet, as we gather from his Preface, was, the Sight of a *Copper Print* which had been newly ſet forth; wherein was engraved, in the Compaſs of two Sheets of Paper, a ſpacious Olive Tree, growing out of the Side of *Ignatius Loyola*, the Founder of the Jeſuites, as he lies ſleeping, with certain Books under his Head, inſcribed *Obedientia*; and a Paper in his right Hand containing ſome *Latin* Words, ſignifying, *I am like a fruitful Olive Tree in the Houſe of God*. That Tree has as many Branches, as there are Provinces in which the Jeſuites have any Religious Houſes; and the Name of the Province is at the Foot of the Branch; which bears as many Leaves as there are Colledges, *&c.* in that Province; on which Leaves are the Names of the Towns, Cities, and Villages inſcribed, where thoſe Religious Houſes are. And round about the Tree are the Portraits of all the moſt illuſtrious Men of their Order, as *Toletus*, *Bellarmine*, *Campian*, and his Fellows, the *Engliſh* Jeſuits who were executed for Treaſon; and many more, of the like Merit: Which coming into our Author's Hands produced the Tract aforeſaid.

468. *The Preſent State of Spayne*: Or a True Relation of ſome *Remarkable Things* touching the

the *Court* and *Government* of *Spayne:* With a *Catalogue* of all their *Nobility* and their *Revenues*. Compoſed by *James Wadſworth*, Gent. late *Penſioner* to his Majeſty of *Spayne*, and nominated his *Captaine* in *Flanders*. Imprinted at *London*, by *A. M.* for *Richard Thrale*, and *Ambroſe Retherdon*. &c. (In 45 Leaves) *Quarto* 1630

This *Relation* is dedicated by the Author to Sir *Henry Ferrers* Baronet, and his religious Lady. He has made many curious Obſervations upon the then *Preſent State of Spain*, both in this, and other Tracts, he wrote upon that Subject; but becauſe he was a Deſerter of the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, and has diſcovered the Shifts which ſome *Engliſh* Papiſts were obliged to make who Courted it, ſome Favourers of the ſaid *Roman* Catholicks, and otherwiſe *Eſpaniolized* Writers among us, have ſpoken ſlightly of him, and have diſcouraged the Reading of his Tracts, as written by an Author of no Principle, Credit, or Account.

469 His Majeſties *Commiſſion* for giving Power to enquire of the *Decayes* of the *Cathedral Church* of St. *Paul* in *London*, and for the *Repairing* of the ſame. Printed by *Robert Barker*, Printer to his Majeſty. (In 28 Leaves) *Quarto* 1631

This *Commiſſion* is dated from *Canbury*, and here are above Threeſcore *Commiſſioners* named, from the Lord Mayor and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, down to the Chamberlain of *London*, for laying out ſuch *Sums* as have been, and ſhall be *Given*, *Collected*, &c. in the ſaid Repairs.

470. His Majeſties *Commiſſion* and further *Declaration*, concerning the *Reparation* of Saint *Paul*'s Church. Printed by *Robert Barker*, &c. (In 13 Leaves) *Quarto* 1633

471. The *Conſtitutions* of The *Muſæum Minervæ*. Printed by *T. P.* for *Thomas Spencer*. (In 16 Leaves) *Quarto* 1636

This Tract gives an Account of the Inſtitution of an *Academy* then in *London*, for the Teaching chiefly of *Navigation*, *Riding*, *Fortification*, *Architecture*, *Painting*, and other uſeful Accompliſhments of a Gentleman (which, if Taught, are not Practiſed in the *Univerſities*, or *Inns* of *Court*) and eſpecially to give *Language* and *Inſtruction*, with other *Ornaments* of *Travel*, to our Gentlemen, who ſhall abide ſome Time in this *Academy*, before their Taking Journies into Foreign Parts. It was hoped that this Inſtitution of a College, already encouraged by his Majeſty's gracious *Favour*, and *Letters Patents* of *Donation* in *Land*, as well as *Goods*, would, from ſuch Royal Example, have inſpired future Benefactors to ſupport it; but by what Means it dwindled away, after a few Years Continuance, appears not. The Faculties, Sciences, Arts, and Languages, which were more particularly *Read* and *Taught* in this *Academy*, may be ſeen further in the *Conſtitutions* themſelves, which here follow. It appears that Sir *Francis Kinaſton* was the Firſt Regent, but none of the Profeſſors, or other Members, are named.

472. A moſt certaine and true *Relation* of a ſtrange *Monſter* or *Serpent* found in the left *Ventricle* of the *Heart* of *John Pennant*, Gentleman, of the Age of 21 Years. By *Edward May*, Doctor of *Philoſophy* and *Phyſick*, and *Profeſſor Elect* of Them, in the *Colledge* of the *Academy* of *Noblemen*, called the *Muſæum Minervæ: Phyſitian* alſo *Extraordinarie* unto her moſt ſacred Majeſty, *Queene* of *Great Brittany*, &c. Printed by *George Miller*. (In 23 Leaves, beſides two Cuts) *Quarto* 1639

This Tract is dedicated by the Author to *Edward* Earl of *Dorſet*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, &c. And the Treatiſe itſelf, to Sir *Theodore Meyerne*, Chief Phyſitian to the King; who had deſired the Doctor to publiſh an Account, with a Sculpture, of this ſtrange Diſcovery. The young Man died at his Lodgings in St. *Giles*'s Pariſh, on the 6th of *October*, 1637; and the next Day was diſſected at the Inſtance of his Aunt, the Lady *Elizabeth*, Wife of Sir *Francis Herris*, by Mr. *Jacob Heydon* a Surgeon, under the Direction of our Author, in Preſence of Mrs. *Dorothy Kennard*, the Deceaſed's Mother, and many other Perſons. It was found that the young Man's Liver was grown to the Coſtall Membranes; which Contraction was aſcribed to his writing Profeſſion: And, his Heart appearing on the left Side very hard and tumid, they opened it, and took out this monſtrous

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ſtrous Worm or Serpent. The Whole was near Thirteen Inches long: It had an Head like a Snake; its Body ſtrait; about an Inch round, and ſix Inches long; of a white Colour, and very ſmooth: Then it divided into two Branches, of a Fleſh Colour; the one, about two Inches and an Half long, the other, ſomewhat ſhorter: Which two Branches again divided, and terminated in five long, thin Fibers a-piece. It was thought to have been growing three Years; for ſo long the young Man had complained of a Pain in his Breaſt: And the Author had often noted an extraordinary Sharpneſs in his Eye, like the Eye of a Serpent, whence he argues from Friar *Bacon*, in his Book *De Cœlo et Mundo*; and *Alkindus*, in his Treatiſe *De Radiis*, That all Things have their peculiar Emanations, and irradiate their ſpecific *Beams* from their own Centre: And that inward Diſeaſes may be diſcovered by ſuch Signatures ſent forth from their Centres, analogical to their Circumferences, by which we may find the Cauſes, if we be diligent and careful. *John Stow*, in his *Chron. Anno* 1586, mentions a ſtrange Animal found in the Heart of an Horſe, belonging to Mr. *Dorington* of *Spaldwick* in *Huntingtonſhire*, ſomewhat parallel to this Caſe: But, for our Author's faithful Relation of that underſtanding and ſincere Man, Mr. *John Whiſtler*, one of the Benchers of *Graies Inn*, and *Recorder* of *Oxford*; who, in his younger Days, being a great Cock-Maſter, and having an old fighting Cock that was worn out, he cut off his Head, which was no ſooner done, but there ſhot out, between the Skins, another Head and Neck, like that of his Cock, with a very fine Skin upon it, with a Bill, and a little Comb; but he conceived it to be a Kind of Gelly: As for this Story, I ſay, if one of the Benchers of *Grays-Inn* did affirm it, we believe ſcarce another could be found who would believe it; and yet our Author believed it; for he endeavours to account for it, as being perhaps bred of ſome Egg in the Body of the Cock; with other Arguments, but how probable, is left to the Conſideration of his Brother *Doctors* in *Philoſophy*.

473. Certaine *Grievances* well worthy the ſerious *Conſideration* of the Right Honourable and High Court of *Parliament*. (In 10 Leaves) *Quarto* 1640

Theſe Grievances were publiſhed upon the new Orders and Stirs that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop *Wren*, in his Book of *Articles*, had made about the *Service Book*; here charged with many *Popiſh* and abſurd Errors, relating to the Publick Worſhip of God; which made many refrain from going to Church, till the ſaid Service was all read; as the Author of this Pamphlet, who ſigns himſelf at the End, *Lewis Hughes*, does aſſert. Towards the Concluſion, he gives us the Particulars of ſome dreadful Judgments which had fallen upon Churches ever ſince the ſaid *Service Book* was firſt Eſtabliſhed by *Act of* Parliament, and eſpecially ſince the *New Orders* concerning the ſame were made: More eſpecially the Accident that befell the Pariſh Church of *Withycomb* in *Devonſhire*, ſo much torn and defaced by Thunder and Lightning, on the 21ſt of *October*, 1638; as may be ſeen more at large in the Pamphlets publiſhed upon that Occaſion: And that no leſs fearful, tho' leſs hurtful Storm of Thunder and Lightning, which maimed many of the Congregation for a While, in the Pariſh Church of *Anthony* in *Cornwall*, that preſent Year 1640. Upon which our Author begs for a Reformation of what was amiſs in the Publick Worſhip of God, before his Wrath be kindled, and come forth as a conſuming Fire upon the whole Land.

474. *Archy*'s Dream, ſometime *Jeſter* to his *Majeſtie*, but exiled the Court by *Canterburies* Malice. With a Relation for whom an odd Chaire ſtood void in Hell. Printed (in one Sheet) *Quarto* 1641

This little *Archibald*, the King's *Scotch* Jeſter, had often provoked Archbiſhop *Laud*, who being now ſafe from hurting him, in the *Tower*, *Archee* publiſhed this Pamphlet. There is a Wooden Print in the Front of it, repreſenting the Archbiſhop in Bed with a cloven Foot at the Bed-ſide, a great Sword in the Window, and *Archee* ſtanding by. Wherefore he was exiled from Court: He ſays few Men were ignorant, and the Cauſe is here ſaid to be this—A Nobleman aſking

him what he would do with his handſome Daughters; he replied, *he very well knew what to do with them, but he had Sons, which he knew not well what to do with: He would gladly make Schollars of them; but that he feared the Archbiſhop would cut off their Ears.* In his Dream, after he had been in Heaven, and ſeen a Parſon preſent a Petition againſt Archbiſhop *Laud*; he deſcends to Hell, and ſees *Bonner* and *Wolſey* dancing a Galliard, with the Furies for their Female Partners, behind whom was an empty Chair, which they ſaid was for *Laud*, againſt whom many Bills were preferred to *Rhadamant*, who pronounced his Doom, and he was bound Hand and Foot and thrown into *Caron*'s Boat, at which *Pluto*'s Followers made ſuch a Noiſe, that it waked our Dreamer; who, going to a noble Friend, heard that *Canterbury* was carried to the *Tower*. There are ſome Verſes at the End, of which theſe are Part:

His Fool's Coat now, is far in better Caſe,
Than his which Yeſterday had ſo much Grace:
Changes of Times ſurely cannot be ſmall,
When Jeſters Riſe, and when Archbiſhops Fall.

475. The *Order* of the *Houſe* of *Commons* Declaring the high *Breach* of *Priviledge* of *Parliament*, by his *Majeſties* Coming in *Perſon*, attended with great *Numbers* of Perſons *armed* with *Halberds*, *Swords* and *Piſtolls*, to the *Commons* Houſe of *Parliament*: Together with the Power given to the *Committee* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, appointed to ſit in *London*, to conſider of *Vindicating* the *Priviledge* of *Parliament*, and of the *Safety* of the *Kingdom* and *Citie*. Whereunto is added the *Names* and *Declaration* of the ſaid *Committee*. Printed for *Joſeph Hunſcott*. (In one Sheet) *Quarto* 1642

476. A ſhort *Treatiſe* of the *Lawes* of *England*: With the *Juriſdiction* of the High Court of *Parliament*: With the *Liberties* and *Freedomes* of the *Subjects*. Written and Collected by *Walter Mantell*, Eſqr. Printed by *Richard Cotes*. (In 10 Leaves) *Quarto* 1644

477. *Subtilty* and *Cruelty*: Or a True *Relation* of the horrible and unparallel'd *Abuſes*, and intollerable *Oppreſſions* exerciſed by Sir *Sackvile Crow*, his Majeſties Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, and his *Agents*, in ſeizing upon the *Perſons* and *Eſtates* of the *Engliſh* Nation reſident *There*, and at *Smyrna*. Together with the barbarous and tyrannical Intentions to doe the like upon their *Perſons* and *Eſtates* in all other Parts of the *Grand Signor*'s Dominions. Directly contrary to the *Truſt* repoſed in him by his *Majeſty*, and his own *Agreement* with the Company of *Merchants* of *England* trading into the *Levant* Seas; at whoſe Charge He is there maintained. Printed by *R. Cotes*. (In 42 Leaves) *Quarto* 1646

This Sir *Sackvile Crow*, Baronet, had been Eight Years Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, and ſo long choſen by the *Turky* Company of Merchants to negotiate their Affairs there; for which they allowed him Two Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*. Here are, in the Epiſtle, the *Articles* recited which he agreed to; and withall, his Frauds, Exactions, and Injuſtice to the ſaid Company. They procured the Grand *Vizier*'s Promiſe to hear their Complaints, and determine of them according to Juſtice; but the Succeſs thereof remained as yet unknown. In the mean Time, that the World might judge of his Proceedings, the ſaid Company have here cauſed the *Warrants*, *Letters*, and *Papers* of their *Factors* to be printed; whereby it manifeſtly appears, how he had conſpired the Overthrow of the ſaid Trade, which had been ſo beneficial in exporting the Manufactures of this Kingdom, and importing unwrought Materials, and other neceſſary Commodities; and employing many Ships of Force, whereby many Thouſands of this Kingdom were maintained and ſet at Work.

478. The King's Majeſtie's *Declaration* from *Cariſbrook* Caſtle, in the Iſle of *Wight*, to all his loyall and faithful Subjects within his Realms and Dominions, concerning a *Perſonal Treaty* with His Two *Houſes* of *Parliament* at *Weſtminſter*; as alſo concerning the *Scots* who have entred *England*; and His *Deſire* to *ſacrifice* all but *Conſcience* and *Honour* to ſettle the Peace and Unity of His diſtreſſed People. *Written with his Majeſties own Hand and Signed*, CHARLES REX. Imprinted at *London*, for *G. Wharton*. (In one Sheet) *Quarto* 1648

479. *Digitus Teſtium*: Or a dreadful *Alarm* to the whole *Kingdom*; eſpecially to the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Common-Councel of the City of *London*: Or a ſhort Diſcourſe of the *Excellency* of *England*'s *Lawes* and

and *Religion:* Together with the Antiquity of both, and the famous *Kings* that *England* hath had, to defend both the *Religion* and *Laws*, againſt the Heathen *Romiſh* Emperours, and againſt the *Romiſh* Power under *Popes:* With the ſeveral *Plots* the Popes of *Rome* have uſed againſt the Kings of *England* to throw them down; and how of *late* he hath prevailed againſt the *Magiſtracy* and *Miniſtry* of *England*; his new Deſignes and Manner of Progreſs. Together with a ſerious View of the New *Oath*, or *Ingagement*; with Twenty two *Queries* upon the ſame; and alſo *Objections* made againſt the *Non-ſubſcribers* thereof *anſwered. Let the ingenuous Reader take ſo much Pains as to read that incomparable Piece of Vindication of a Treatiſe of Monarchy by Way of Diſcovery of Three main Points thereof.* (In 19 Leaves) *Quarto* 1650

In this Pamphlet there is a lively Diſplay of the Pope's Intreagues to increaſe the Variance between the King, Lords, and Commons of *England*. And here are the Negotiations diſplayed of ſome of our *Popiſh* Courtiers to that Purpoſe. Particularly it is ſet forth in Page 13, How much the Entrance of *England* and *Scotland* into the ſolemn *League* and *Covenant* alarmed the *Roman* Faction; and, as Mr. *Hinderſon* foretold, made the very Pope and Conclave of Cardinals amazed and tremble; inſomuch that they doubled their Diligence to work the Deſtruction of the *Covenanteers*. The Duke of *Loraine* was ſollicited, by Sir *Kenelm Digbie*'s Means, who was then the Queen's Agent for the *Engliſh* Affairs at *Rome*, to help the King of *England* with an Army, againſt the *Covenanteers* in *England*. Further, that the ſaid Sir *Kenelm* was the Pope's Right-hand to promote and further all Deſigns againſt that Party in *England*. At the ſame Time a Nuncio was ſent from the Pope's Court into *Ireland*, there to make Ceſſation with the Proteſtants, and to further, by all Means poſſible, the King of *England* againſt the Covenanteers; which was concluded with the Pope's good Liking, as hath been confeſſed. And Page 28, there are Reaſons laid down, why it was much credited by many rational Men, that Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and the Party which came with him from *Rome* into *England*, about the Time of throwing down the Lords, and cutting off the King, framed the *Engagement* againſt the Proteſtants, and Covenanteers Party, as alſo to ruin the Parliament and Army.

480. An *Eſſay* for *Advancement* of *Huſbandry-Learning:* Or *Propoſitions* for the *Erecting* a *Colledge* of *Huſbandry*; and in Order thereunto, for the Taking in of *Pupills* and *Apprentices*, and alſo *Friends* or *Fellowes* of the ſame *Colledge* or *Society*. Printed by *Henry Hills*. (In 12 Leaves) *Quarto* 1651

Theſe Propoſitions were imparted to Mr. *Samuel Hartlib*, a Man famous for his Zeal in communicating any ſuch Projects as might be of Publick Benefit; and, after they had lain ſome Time by him, he now publiſhed them, with a Recommendatory Preface, which he ſubſcribes with his own Name.

481. *Common Good:* Or the *Improvement* of *Commons*, *Foreſts*, and *Chaſes* by *Incloſure*. Wherein the *Advantage* of the *Poor*, the Common *Plenty* of *all*, and the Increaſe and Preſervation of Timber, with other Things of Common Concernment, are conſidered. By *S. T.* Printed for *Francis Tyton*, &c. (In 60 Pages) *Quarto* 1652.

This Treatiſe, which does, in many Parts, deſerve to be taken good Notice of, is inſcribed to the ſupream Authority of the Nation, the Parliament of *England*, by the Author, *Silvanus Taylor*; who had been of the *High Court of Juſtice*, and a Commiſſioner for *Herefordſhire*, and certain Counties in *Wales*, for ejecting of ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient Miniſters, and Schoolmaſters, &c. It is divided into Ten Sections, and at the End, is an *Appendix*, ſhewing *The Chief Cauſe of Wandring Poor in England, and the Remedies thereof*. This Cauſe he aſcribes not only to ſo much waſte Ground as our *Commons*, &c. conſiſt of, but to the immoderate and unneceſſary Number of *Alehouſes* throughout the Kingdom; which he calls the Two Great *Nurſeries* of *Idleneſs* and *Beggary*. He ſays, that, even in the Year 1646, it was computed that there were not leſs than 6000 Alehouſes within the Bills of Mortality; and he computes himſelf, that there were at leaſt an Hundred Thouſand in *England*; the Waſte, or ſuperfluous

perfluous Conſumption of Drink in which, and what tends to ſo much Drunkenneſs and Poverty, he computes at *Fifty Thouſand Pounds a Week*, which is, *Twenty Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year*. He lays it down at the Beginning, that this Waſte amounts to more yearly, than any Aſſeſſment for one Year, within Ten Years paſt; and yet the moderate Uſe of the Creature, whether Reſpect be had to Neceſſity or Delight, is not brought into this Accompt. As to the Remedies; he would have many Thouſands of *Alehouſes ſuppreſſed*, and the Remainder to be all Licenced, *&c.* A Second Remedy, he propoſes, ſhould be the *Incloſing* of *Commons*; that ſo there may be no Room left for Idleneſs; and that all *Cottages* may have ſuch a competent Meaſure of Land laid to their Cottages, as may invite their Children to Labour. His Third Remedy is, the *Erecting* of *Workhouſes* and the Setting up ſuch Manufactories as may alſo invite to Labour, not by Force, unleſs it be of ſuch as would be reſolutely idle; Man's Nature being more eaſily *drawn*, than *driven*.

482. A True and Impartial *Relation* of the *Death* of Mr. *John Gerhard*, who was *beheaded* on *Tower Hill*, *July* 10, 1654. Printed (in one Sheet) *Quarto* 1654

This Gentleman was an Officer and a great Royaliſt, Brother of Sir *Gilbert Gerhard*, and now Executed for being, as it was charged upon him, concerned in a Plot againſt the then prevailing Power.

483. The Grand *Impoſtor* Examined: Or the *Life*, *Tryal*, and *Examination* of *James Nayler*, the ſeduced and ſeducing *Quaker*; with the Manner of *his Riding* into *Briſtol*. Printed for *Henry Brome*. (In 28 Leaves) *Quarto* 1656

This Collection, containing the *Character*, *Deſcription*, with ſome *Letters* and *Examinations* relating to *James Nayler*, appears, in Page 43, to have been publiſhed by *John Deacon* (whom *Nayler* had before written a Pamphlet againſt) which *Deacon* alſo there appears to have offered to Prove *Nayler* guilty of ſome indecent Practices with certain Women, before the Publick *Meeting* at the *Bull* and *Mouth*, near *Alderſgate*, to his Face, more than once or twice; to which he could make no Reply, but was put utterly to Silence. The Name of *John Deacon* is alſo ſubſcribed at the End of the Pamphlet.

484. A True *Narrative* of the *Examination*, *Tryall*, and *Sufferings* of *James Nayler*, in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and his *Deportment* under them: With the Copies of ſundry *Petitions* and other *Papers* delivered by ſeveral *Perſons* to the Lord *Protector*, the Parliament, and many particular Members thereof, in his behalf. With divers remarkable Paſſages relating thereto, before his Journey to *Briſtol*; whither he is now gone towards filling up the Meaſure of his *Sufferings*. (In 32 Leaves) *Quarto* 1657

This Tract contains a *Report* from the *Committee*, to whom the Examination of *James Nayler*, Blaſphemer, *&c.* was referred. But, being publiſhed by a Quaker, who was a great Champion for *James Nayler*, he has printed Abundance of *Notes* in the Margins of that *Report*, diſputing the Matters of Fact therein repreſented, in many Places, and Juſtifying that Impoſtor in all. The like Notes there are upon the Debates and Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons upon that Report, as alſo upon their Sentence, and the Puniſhment of him. After theſe, the ſaid Editor has publiſhed Copies of ſeveral of the *Papers* given into the Houſe of Parliament in the Time of *James Nayler*'s Tryal and Sufferings, which began the 5th of *December*, the Year before that in which this Pamphlet was printed. Theſe Papers were written by one *Robert Rich*, here called a Merchant; but whoſe Brain ſeems as much turned with Enthuſiaſm, as *Nayler*'s could be; alſo by *William Tomlinſon*, and by *George Fox*, to the *Protector* himſelf. Here are alſo other *Papers* and *Petitions* to the Parliament, in behalf of *Nayler*, and to mitigate his Puniſhment; alſo to *Oliver Cromwell*, which did produce a *Letter* from him, dated *Whitehall*, *December* 25, 1656, To Sir *T. Widdrington*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, deſiring to be acquainted with the Grounds and Reaſons whereupon the Houſe proceeded in that Proſecution. But the Houſe ſatisfied him; and, notwithſtanding another Petition, the Sentence of Parliament took Place, and was executed accordingly.

485.

485. The *Exaltation* of *Chriſtmas Pye*; as it was Delivered in a *Preachment* at *Ely* Houſe. By *P. C.* Doctor of Divinity and Midwifery. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto* 1659.

As there is no Year which produced ſo many comical and humorous Pamphlets as that in which this was printed; ſo this is one of them. It contains alſo ſome Satyrical Jirks upon certain Perſons in thoſe Times.

486. The True and Perfect *Speech* of Mr. *James Guthrey*, late Miniſter of *Sterling*: As it was delivered by himſelf, immediately before his *Execution*, on *June* the firſt, 1661, at *Edinbrough*. Sent from *Edenburgh*, and printed for publick Satisfaction, and to prevent the Diſperſing of falſe Copies. (In 14 Pages) *Quarto* 1661

487. A *Relation* from *Rome* of the *Maſſacre* committed on the *French* Ambaſſador and his Lady. With Two *Letters* from the *French* King; one to the *Pope*, another to the *Cardinal*, concerning the ſame. Publiſhed for Satisfaction. (In 6 Leaves) *Quarto* 1662

This Ambaſſador Extraordinary from the King of *France* to the Pope, was the Duke of *Crequi*; who, with his Lady, were ſeveral Times ſhot at, both by Civil as well as Military Perſons, who roſe up againſt them, and ſeem to have had ſome expreſs Order. They killed ſeveral of the Ambaſſador's Servants, but he and his Lady eſcaped. This ſavage and inhoſpitable Treatment produced the *French* King's Letters of Reſentment, printed at the End.

488. The *Arraignment*, *Tryal*, and *Examination* of *Mary Moders*, otherwiſe *Stedman*, now *Carleton*, ſtiled the *German Princeſs*, at the Seſſions Houſe in the *Old Baily*, being brought Priſoner from the Gate houſe *Weſtminſter*, for having *Two Huſbands*; *viz. Tho. Stedman* of *Canterbury* Shooemaker, and *John Carleton* of *London* Gent. Who upon a full Hearing was Acquitted by the Jury on *Thurſday June* 4, 1663. Taken more largely, by ſpecial Appointment. Printed by *N. Brook*, at the *Angel* in *Cornhill*. (In 16 Pages) *Quarto* 1663

489. The *Examination* and *Tryal* of *Margaret Fell* and *George Fox*, at the ſeverall *Aſſizes* held at *Lancaſter*, the 14th and 16th Days of the Firſt Month, 1663 4. And the 29th of the 6th Month 1664, for their Obedience to Chriſt's Command, who ſaith, *Sware not at all.* Alſo ſomething in *Anſwear* to Biſhop *Lancelot Andrews* Sermon concerning *Swearing*. (In 34 Pages) *Quarto* 1664

That *Margaret Fell* was a famous *Speaker* among the *Quakers*, and *Writer* for them, almoſt fifty Years; for ſhe lived till the Year 1702. She was born and bred in *Lancaſhire*. Her Dwelling and Meeting were at *Swarthmore*. She publiſhed above Twenty Books and Pamphlets: Some were, *Calls to the Univerſal Seed of God*, &c. and, *To the Seed of Iſrael.* Two Years after that Tryal, ſhe Publiſhed, A *Letter* ſent to the King, from *M. F.* But her moſt noted Piece was entitled, *Women's Speaking juſtified, proved, and allowed of by the Scriptures.* She ſays in the *Tryal* above, That ſhe was ſeparated from the General Worſhip of the Nation, when there was Another ſet up, than That which is now; and was perſecuted by That Power that then was, and ſuffered much Hardſhip. The Occaſion of this Tryal of them both was, becauſe they would not take the *Oath of Allegiance*; the very Scripture they were to ſwear by, commanding them, *To ſwear not at all.* The Account of her Tryal is ſigned by herſelf, and his by Him. *George Fox*, or ſomebody elſe for him, for he was bred a Shoemaker, and had not Learning, in his *Anſwer* to Biſhop *Andrews*, quotes the New Teſtament in *Hebrew*, as well as *Greek*.

490. *Reflections* on the *Weekly Bills of Mortality* for the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the *Places adjacent*; but more eſpecially, ſo far as it relates to the *Plague*, and other moſt Mortal Diſtempers that we *Engliſhmen* are moſt ſubject to, and ſhould be moſt careful againſt, in this our Age. Printed for *Samuel Speed*, at the *Rainbow* in *Fleetſtreet*. (In 24 Leaves) *Quarto* 1665

There are many curious Particulars in this Pamphlet. It begins with an Account of the four great Mortalities preceding that raging, at the Time this was printed. That in 1592, when the Keeping of *Bills of Mor-*

tality firſt began; that in 1603, that in 1625, and that in 1636. Then we have the Bills exhibited of all the Burials occaſioned by all Diſeaſes, and eſpecially the Plague, in every Pariſh in the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, with the Nine Out-Pariſhes adjoining, and the Peſt-Houſe belonging to the ſame, in thoſe ſaid four Years. Then follows an Account of the Diſeaſes and Caſualties we had been moſt ſubject to of late, and ought to provide againſt: With a Reſolution of ſome Queſtions; as, *In what Time the City may be repeopled, after a great Plague? What Number of People there may be in London?* Here computed to be, Three Hundred Eighty Four Thouſand: *How many Fighting-Men in the ſaid City?* And theſe, *with Weſtminſter, Stepney, and Lambeth*, are reckoned at Eighty One Thouſand Two Hundred Thirty Three; beſides Three Thouſand Four Hundred more, computed to come up yearly out of the Country; and the People in all *England* are reckoned to be about, Four Millions Two Hundred and Thirteen Thouſand: *Whether London be ſo obnoxious to the Plague of late as formerly?* Laſtly, *What ſickly Years they had for Threeſcore Years paſt, and in what Proportion of Time we are to look for ſickly Years?* The Whole concludes with ſome choice *Receipts* for the Prevention and Cure of the Plague: As, The *King*'s Receipt: Secretary *Naunton*'s Poſſet-Drink: The Lord *Bacon*'s Drink: Dr. *Butler*'s Preſervative: The *Queen*'s Medicine: Sir *Theodore Mayerne*'s Cordial Water: The Lord *Cecil*'s Perfume; and Doctor *Rand*'s: *Juſtice Jonas* his Medicine: Dr. *Harvey*'s Plague Water, and the Duke of *Buckingham*'s; and the Earl of *Strafford*'s Medicine, who uſed to chew *Zedoar* when he approached infected Places.

491. A True and Faithfull *Account* of the ſeveral *Informations* Exhibited to the Honourable *Committee* appointed by the *Parliament* to *Inquire* into the late dreadful *Burning* of the *City* of *London*. Together with other Informations touching the Inſolency of Popiſh Prieſts and Jeſuites, and the Increaſe of Popery; brought to the Honourable Committee appointed by the Parliament for that Purpoſe. (In 32 Pages) *Quarto* 1667

It is here firſt ſet down what Miſchief this dreadful Fire did, which began on the 2d of *September* 1666, at one Mr. *Farriner*'s, a Baker in *Pudding-Lane*, between One and Two in the Morning, and continued till the 6th of *September* following; conſuming, as by the Surveyors Accounts appears, Three Hundred Seventy Three Acres of Building within the City Walls, and Sixty Three Acres Three Roods without the Walls. There remained Seventy Five Acres three Roods ſtanding within the Walls unburnt, or Eleven Pariſhes: But Eighty Nine Pariſh Churches, beſides Chapels, were burnt, and Thirteen Thouſand Two Hundred Houſes. This is atteſted by Sir *Jonas Moore* and *Ralph Gatrix*, Surveyors. In the Report of Sir *Robert Brook*, Chairman of the Committee, it appears that *Robert Hubert*, of *Roan* in *Normandy*, acknowledged he fired the Baker's Houſe aforeſaid, upon Promiſe of Reward by *Stephen Piedloe*, who came out of *France* with him, by putting a Fire-Ball fixed at the End of a long Pole in at a Window of the ſaid Houſe. He alſo confeſſed, that there were Three and Twenty Complices, whereof *Piedloe* was the Chief. And it appears by Abundance of other Informations and Teſtimonies that *French*, *Iriſh*, and *Engliſh Roman* Catholicks were engaged in the ſaid horrid Deſtruction.

492. A *Poem*; being an *Eſſay* on the Preſent *Ruins* in St. *Pauls* Cathedral. By *J. Wright*. (In 8 Leaves) *Quarto* 1668

The Writer of this Poem, Mr. *James Wright*, now at *New Inn*, afterwards a Barriſter of the *Middle Temple*, was alſo Author of the *Antiquities* of *Rutlandſhire*, and ſome other Pieces. It is written in Stanzas of Four Lines, and alternate Rhyme. In the Concluſion, the Author taking Notice of the great Deſtruction by the Fire of thoſe Books, which the neighbouring Bookſellers had ſtored for Safety in the Vaults under that Cathedral, has this Encomium upon Sir *William Dugdale*'s *Antiquities of Pauls*:

Couldſt Thou not, *Pauls*, in all thy Vaults of Stone
Preſerve theſe Papers from the tyrant Flame?
When Thou by Paper, and by it alone,
Art ſtill Preſervd to Triumph o'er the ſame.

Were't not for Books, Where had thy Mem'ry been?
But that Thou art, in *Dugdale*'s Learned Story
And

And beautious Illuſtrations, to be ſeen;
Thy *Name* had been as loſt as is thy *Glory.*

Brave *Norroy!* as Thou to this Fabrick's Name
A living Monument haſt rais'd, ſo ſhe
Shall prove, in Spite of a prevailing Flame,
An Everlaſting Monument to Thee.

There is joined, at the End of this Copy, another Poem, written in Heroick Verſe, entitled — *The Misfortunes of St. Pauls Cathedral* in eight Pages, whether written by the ſame Author does not appear.

493. A Seaſonable *Propoſal* to the Nation, concerning a *Regiſter of Eſtates* in this Kingdom. Tendred to the Conſideration of the *Publick Spirited* in both Houſes. (In One Sheet) *Quarto* 1669

In the Concluſion of this Propoſal, the Author ſays, *Four* Things would make this Nation more happy than it is — 1. *A more generous Education of our Children.* See a little Book entitled, *The Childrens Petition* and *Remonſtrance* to the Preſent *Parliament.* 2. *A Regiſter of Eſtates.* 3. *A Commutation of Tythes.* 4. *A Union of the King's Proteſtant Subjects in the Buſineſs of Religion.*

494. The *People*'s Ancient and Juſt *Liberties Aſſerted*, in the *Tryal* of *William Penn*, and *William Mead*, at the *Seſſions* held at the *Old Baily* in *London*, the firſt, third, fourth and fifth of *Sept.* 70. againſt the moſt *arbitrary Procedure* of that *Court.* (In 62 Pages) *Quarto* 1670.

The *Indictment* here ſets forth, That *W. Penn*, Gent. and *W. Mead*, late of *London*, Linnen-Draper, gathered a Congregation about them in *Grace-Church-Street*, of Three Hundred People, on the 15th of *Auguſt* in the 22d Year of the King, and there unlawfully and tumultuouſly did aſſemble; and the ſaid *W. Penn* did there openly Preach to them, to the Diſturbance of the Peace, and of many of the King's Subjects, and to the ill Example of others. But no ſuch Miſchiefs being proved upon them, they were by the Jury Acquitted. But they were Fined for Contempt of the Court; and, for Non-payment, haled away into the *Bail-Dock*, from thence ſent to *Newgate*; and ſo were the *Jury.*

495. An *Anſwer* to the ſeditious and ſcandalous *Pamphlet*, entituled, *The Tryal* of *W. Penn* and *W. Mead*, at the Seſſions held at the *Old Baily*, *London*, the 1, 3, 4, 5 of *Sept.* 1670. Contained in Four Sections. I. The Deſign of the libellous Pamphlet diſcovered. II. The Scandals againſt the then Lord Mayor (Sir *Sam. Starling*) Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, and Sir *John Hovel* Recorder, anſwered. III. The Juſtice and Honour of that Court Vindicated by a true and impartial Relation of that whole Tryal. IV. The *Fining* of that *Jury* that gave two contrary Verdicts juſtified, to prevent a Failer of Juſtice in *London.* Written by *S. S.* a Friend to Juſtice and Courts of Juſtice. (In 20 Leaves) *Quarto* 1671

Thoſe two Letters may have been intended to ſignify that Lord Mayor who had applied himſelf to the Law in *Grays-Inn*, before he was a Trader in the City; and the rather, becauſe he is here more particularly ſpoken of than was in this Caſe neceſſary, and much the like Aſperſion is returned upon *William Penn*'s Father, as the ſaid *William* had caſt upon that Lord Mayor, when he ſaid of him, That *One Renegado is worſe than Three Turks*; in Alluſion to his Fierceneſs againſt Diſſenters now in King *Charles* his Reign, after his eager Proſecution of the Royal Party under *Cromwell.* To which it is here anſwered, That *William Penn* miſtakes when he charges theſe Things upon the late Lord Mayor; and that he means his own *Seir* deceaſed; who, from a Captain, was made *Oliver*'s High Admiral, for his great Service in promoting that new Inſtrument; who afterwards did eminent Service at *Hiſpaniola*, when he delivered up the Flower of the *Engliſh* Soldiers a Sacrifice to the Cow-Killers. This was a *Renegado worſe than Three Turks*; that performed ſuch excellent Service in the late *Dutch* Wars, in plundering the two *Eaſt-India Dutch* Ships of the Prize Goods, for which he was turned out of the Houſe of Commons: It is hoped, that he leaving ſo great an Eſtate of ——juſt-gotten Goods to ſo conſcientious a Son as this *William Penn* pretends himſelf to be, that the tender-conſcienced Youth will make Satisfaction to his Majeſty.—As for the *Verdict* of the *Jury* abovementioned; the Contrariety pretended therein was this, They brought in their Verdict twice, That *William Penn was guilty of Speaking in Gracious Street*; but this not ſatisfying the Court, they

they were forced to go out a Third Time; and then being demanded, as before, Whether *William Penn* was Guilty of the Matter whereof he ſtood Indicted, in *Manner* and *Form?* They anſwered, *Not Guilty.* So were Fined, *&c. Will. Penn* did afterwards publiſh one Pamphlet or more, to expoſe the Partiality in the Narrative of his Tryal above, and clear himſelf from the Imputations therein.

496. *Rebellion Rebuked:* In an Anſwer to a ſcandalous *Pamphlet*, entitled, *The Quaker Converted to Chriſtianity*, &c. written by one *William Haworth*, an Independent Preacher in *Hartfordſhire*, and *William Dimſdale*, a young Man in the Town of *Hartford*, a Profeſſor and Hearer of the ſaid *W. H.* By the *Friends* of *Truth*, who wiſh its Proſperity in true Love to the Souls of all People, *John Crook*; *William Bayly.* (In 56 Pages) *Quarto* 1673

There is an Affirmation towards the End made by Eleven Quakers, that the Convert *Haworth* pretended to have made, was no Quaker. And after that, a Letter of Rebuke to the ſaid *W. Haworth*, ſigned *Mary Stout*; adviſing him to ceaſe Striving againſt the Lord in his People, and Repent of his Evil; elſe he and his Work will fall together.

497. A *Relation* of the moſt *memorable Things* in the *Tabernacle* of *Moſes*, and the *Temple* of *Salomon*, according to the Text of Scripture. By *Jacob Jehudah Leon*, *Hebr. Author* of the *Model* of *Salomons Temple.* At *Amſterdam*, Printed by *Peter Meſſchaert*, in the *Stoof-ſteech.* (In 18 Leaves) *Quarto* 1675

That *Jew* dedicates this ſcarce Pamphlet to King *Charles*, Intreating him, 'to caſt 'a benign Eye upon what is here repre-'ſented; it being the exact Form of the 'Tabernacle, as it was in the Wilderneſs; 'with the Structure of *Solomon's Temple*; the 'Holy Veſſels, Garments, and Utenſils thereof 'deliniated, and ſet forth to the Life. The 'which as it was graciouſly owned, with a 'devout Affection, Thirty Years ago and 'upwards, by that Serene Queen your Ma-'jeſty's Mother, ſo be pleaſed, moſt noble 'Prince, to imitate her Piety.' *&c.*

498. *Sadler's Memoires:* Or The *Hiſtory* of the *Life* and *Death* of that Famous Thief *Thomas Sadler.* Giving a true Account of his being Fifteen Times in the Goal of *Newgate*, and a Relation of his moſt notorious Pranks in City and Country. With a particular Deſcription of the Manner of his robbing the Lord High Chancellor; for which he was condemned to Dye, and Executed at *Tyburn* on *Fryday* the Sixteenth of *March*, 1677. *With Allowance*; *Ro. L'Eſtrange.* Printed for *P. Brookſby*, in *Weſtſmithfield.* (In Ten Leaves) *Quarto* ———

This Robbery committed upon the Lord Chancellor, was of his Mace and Purſe, out of a Cloſet in his own Houſe. And *Sadler* had the Audaciouſneſs to make one of his Confederates, as they were marching off, over *Lincoln's Inn-Fields*, bear the Mace openly on his Shoulder; and another, the Purſe before him; while he, with Hat cock'd, and Arms a Kimbo, walked after in ſtrutting Grandeur. They carried their Booty to their Lodging in *Knightrider-Street*, where it being diſcovered, he, and three more were apprehended. There is an Epitaph on him at the End, which being ſhort is here tranſcribed:

Here *Sadler* lies! Reader, come not too near,
The nimble Ghoſt may *Pilfer* ſtill, we fear:
His Preſence *Fifteen Times* did *Newgate* grace;
But Dy'd Oppreſsd with a too ponderous Mace:
So usd to make all Doors before him flye,
His very *Coffin* dreads a *Burglary*,
And *Pluto* fears he'l *Filt* his Treaſury.

499. *Ravillac Redivivus:* Being a Narrative of the late Tryal of Mr. *James Mitchel*, a Conventicle-Preacher, who was Executed the 18th of *January* laſt, for an Attempt which he made on the Sacred Perſon of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews.* To which is annexed, An *Account* of the *Tryal* of that moſt wicked *Phariſee* Major *Thomas Weir*, who was Executed for Adultery, Inceſt, and Beſtiality. In which are many obſervable Paſſages eſpecially relating to the preſent Affairs of *Church* and *State.* In a *Letter* from a *Scottiſh* to an *Engliſh* Gentleman. *London*, Printed by *Henry Hills.* (In 78 Pages) *Quarto* 1678

We find Dr. *George Hickes* aſſerted to be the Author of this Pamphlet. It was afterwards enlarged, and reprinted in *Folio* 1682. In which Edition there is an *Appendix*, containing

taining the Proceedings againſt *Charles Maitland* of *Halton*, for Perjury in the *Tryal* of *James Mitchel*. Concerning this Affair, we meet with the following Paſſage, in a certain *State Paper* of thoſe Times, addreſſed to the King, containing many Articles of the Male-Adminiſtration of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, in theſe Words:—"One *Mitchell* "being put in Priſon, upon great Suſpicion "of his having attempted to murder the "late Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and there "being no Evidence againſt him, Warrant "was given by the Duke of *Lauderdale*, "then your Majeſty's Commiſſioner, and "your Council, to promiſe him his Life, if "he would confeſs: Whereupon he did "confeſs; and yet ſome Years after, that "Perſon, who indeed deſerved many Deaths, "if there had been any other Evidence a-"gainſt him, was, upon that Confeſſion, "convicted of the Crime; and the Duke of "*Lauderdale* and his Brother, being put to "it by him, did ſwear, That they never "gave or knew of any Aſſurance of Life "given him: And when it was objected, "That the Promiſe was upon Record in the "Council-Books, the Duke of *Lauderdale* "did, in open Court, where he was preſent "only as a Witneſs, and ſo ought to have "been ſilent, threaten them, if they ſhould "proceed to the Examination of that Act "of Council; which, as he then ſaid, might "infer Perjury on them that ſwore: And ſo "did cut off the Proof of that Defence, "which had been admitted by the Court, as "good in Law, and ſufficient to ſave the "Priſoner, if proved. Thus was that Man "hanged upon that Confeſſion only, though "the Promiſe, that drew it from him, doth "appear upon Record, and can be proved by "good and clear Evidence." This in a Paper of one Sheet, *Folio*, without Date, now very ſcarce, entitled, *Some particular Matters of Fact relating to the Adminiſtration of Affairs in* Scotland, *under the Duke of* Lauderdale: *Humbly offered to your* Majeſty's *Conſideration, in Obedience to your Royal Commands*, pag. 3.

500. *Venn* [illegible] his *Mermydon's*: Or, The *Linen Draper Capetted*: Being a ſerious and ſeaſonable *Advice* to the *Citizens* of *London*: Occaſioned by the *indirect Practices* uſed in the late *Election* of *Sheriffs*. Written by a Citizen of *London*. (In ſeven Leaves) *Quarto*, 1679

There is written on the Top of this Copy with a Pen.— "Mr. *Burg* ſent it.— *Qui* "*etiam ejuſdem erat Author*." This Pamphlet appeared the next Year, with a new Title-Page, in theſe Words — *Study to be Quiet*: Or a ſerious and ſeaſonable *Advice* to the *Citizens* of *London*, &c. Printed for *Henry Brome*, 1680. There was one *John Venn* (who ſeems to be meant in the former Title) a broken Silk-Man in *Cheapſide*, who following the prevailing Party in the Civil Wars, was, in the Beginning thereof, made a Colonel and Governor of *Windſor* Caſtle; He had alſo other Places of Profit; and had given him, for his Loſſes, four-thouſand Pounds, beſides the Plunder of the Country about *Windſor*, and much of the King's Furniture. He was alſo one of his Judges; and is ſaid, through the Remorſe, which grew upon him afterwards for the ſame, to have hanged himſelf; at leaſt his Friends would not let it be known, how he came by his ſudden Death. The Pamphlet is levelled againſt ſome Tumultuary Proceedings raiſed by the Diſſenters, in the Choice of a Sheriff; and alſo againſt ſome defamatory Papers and Pamphlets, which were publiſhed at that Time; particularly *Poor Robin's Intelligence*, which had been publiſhed not long before Weekly: Wherein it is here ſaid, "The Author took upon him to make a "Laughing-Stock of any Perſon, to whom "he was prompted, either by Money or "Malice, or to fill up an empty Space in "his Pamphlet. And though, he forbore "to name the Perſons, yet pointed at them "by ſuch Notes and Characters, as they were "eaſily known by any that were of the "Neighbourhood, to the great Diſturbance "of Families, and Breach of Charity among "Citizens; till, for Abuſing a Perſon of "Honour, Authority took Occaſion to cha-"ſtiſe his Inſolence, by ſtopping the Preſs. "Which Particulars, as to him, had been "omitted; but that he, or ſuch another, "hath, and ſtill doth take upon him to tra-"duce, and aſperſe the Juſtice of the Na-"tion, in unworthy and unſeemly Terms;

" not caring whether the Matter be true " or falſe, ſo it will help to ſell the Book." *&c.*

501. A *Chronology* of the Riſe and Growth of *Popery*, from *Vanity* to *Superſtition*, thence ſo worſe than Heathen *Idolatry*. And alſo the Time *When*, and *Who* brought it in, contrary to the Apoſtolical Canon: Yet, for *Refuſing Submiſſion* to *Popery*, many Thouſands *have* been, and Millions more are *now* deſigned to be murthered beſides, as we all know, and our Cities burnt, *&c.* Faithfully collected by a Son of the true Church, from their own *Authors*; who make many of their *Devices* ancienter than in Truth they were; fathering them on whom they pleaſe: And, to maintain theſe *Fooleries*, curſed *Villanies* are daily practiſed by the black Crew of *Papiſts*. (In two Sheets) *Folio*, 1680

502. Mr. *Roger L'Eſtrange's Sayings:* With Brief *Notes* to prevent Miſſapprehenſions: And ſome additional *Reaſons* to prove him no *Papiſt*. Printed for *Langley Curtis*, on *Ludgate-Hill*. (In one Sheet) *Folio*, 1681

Theſe *Sayings* are Twenty-four in Number, beſides the Additional *Reaſons*; drawn out of ſeveral of Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*'s printed Pamphlets, as his *Apology*, *Relapſed Apoſtate*, *State-Divinity*, *A Whip*, *a Whip*, &c. *Further Diſcovery*, *Engliſhman's Birth-right*, *Caveat for Cavaliers*, and *L'Eſtrange no Papiſt:* And every one of his *Sayings* out of theſe Pamphlets, is accompanied with a *Comment*, in Cenſure of them.

503. *Daniel in the Den:* Or the Lord *Preſident's Impriſonment* and miraculous *Deliverance*. Repreſented in a *Diſcourſe*, from *Heb.* 11. 33. By *S. J.* Rector of *Chinner*, in the County of *Oxford*. Printed by *J. A.* for *John Dunton*, at the *Black Raven* in the *Poultrey*. (In 20 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1682

That *S. J.* was *Stephen Jay*, Author of *The Tragedies of Sin*, and other Things; who dedicates this Pamphlet to the ſaid late Lord Preſident of his Majeſty's Privy-Council, *Anthony* Earl of *Shafteſbury*.

504. The *She-Wedding:* Or a *Mad Marriage*, between *Mary*, a Seaman's Miſtreſs; and *Margaret*, a Carpenter's Wife at *Deptford*. Being the full Relation of a cunning Intrigue carried on, and managed by two Women, to hide the Diſcovery of a great Belly, and make the Parents of her Sweet-heart provide for the ſame; for which Fact, the ſaid Parties were both committed; and one of them now remains in the *Round-Houſe* at *Greenwich*, the other being bailed out. Printed by *George Croom*, &c. (In one Sheet) *Quarto*, 168[illegible]

505. The *Arraignment* of *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, before the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, Lord High Steward of *England*. Alſo a Brief *Derivation* of the moſt Honourable *Family* of the *Howards:* With an *Account* of what *Families* they were *related* to by *Marriage*. Tranſcribed out of ancient Manuſcripts never before publiſhed. Printed by *Nich. Thompſon*, at the Entrance into old *Spring Garden* near *Charing-Croſs*. (In 17 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1685

This Pamphlet is dedicated to *Henry* Duke of *Norfolk*, by *J. Lacy*, who collected it from the ſcattered Papers which had been long preſerved in his Grace's Family. He ſeems alſo to have been related thereto, by ſome of the Marriages he mentions. But had he been a Stranger, and in no Wiſe dependant, he might have given us, from thoſe Papers, a more accurate Account of that Tryal, by which the Duke ſuffered Death in 1572, than does here appear. In the Concluſion of this Tryal, our Author has theſe Words:—'Thus fell that illuſtrious Prince, 'whoſe Greatneſs in Eſtate and Title was 'his only Crime; for, being of an ancient 'and ſplendid Family; the Blood-Royal of '*England* and *France* not being out of his 'Veins; and being allied to all the conſide'rable Families of *England*; and having an 'Eſtate to ſupport that Greatneſs, of *an hun'dred Thouſand Pounds a Year*; beſides the 'Fortunes he obtained by his Marriages, 'which were alſo very large; all his Pater'nal Eſtate was diſpoſed of by the Queen, 'without Regard to the Innocence of his 'Children, the hard Meaſure of his Accuſa'tions, and his Obedience, which led him 'to the Purſuit of her Commands upon all 'Occurrences: Which Eſtate, as it is divi'ded and improved, is valued at *Five hun'dred Thouſand Pounds a Year*. My Lord of '*Leiceſter*, who was the leading Man at that 'Time, and ſat with watchful Diligence, 'at the Helm, which he managed, as his In'tereſt or Paſſion inſpired him, firſt propo'ſed the Marriage of the Queen of *Scots* to 'the Duke of *Norfolk*; which he refuſed, till im-

'importuned by the Perſuaſions of thoſe that 'appeared to be his Friends; and aſſured by 'a Letter under Queen *Elizabeth*'s own 'Hand of her Conſent; all which enſnared 'him, till the Conſummation of the Mar-'riage; which was made evident by a Letter 'kept long in the Family, from the Hands 'of the Queen of *Scots*; in which ſhe ſub-'ſcribed herſelf, *Your moſt obedient Wife* Mary '*of* Scotland *and* Norfolk. And this great 'Family, thus eclipſed, remained under the 'Cloud of a ſevere Deprivation, till the laſt 'King *Charles*, of Bleſſed Memory, reſto-'red them to their former Titles and Dig-'nities: That excellent Prince conſidered 'their long and ſilent Sufferings, with what 'Forwardneſs moſt of them engaged their 'Lives and Fortunes in the Service of his 'Royal Father; there being but two of all 'that great and numerous Family, that drew 'a Sword againſt their King: May thoſe 'two be buried in the dull Aſhes of Oblivion 'for ever, and wiped out of our Way, as 'perhaps they are out of the Book of Life.'

506. *Two Caſes* ſubmitted to *Conſideration*. I. Of the *Neceſſity* and *Exerciſe* of a *Diſpenſing Power*. II. The Nullity of any Act of *State* that claſhes with the Law of *God*. Printed for *R. Sare*, and publiſhed by *Randal Taylor*. (In Half a Sheet) *Folio*, 1687

At the End of the Preface to this Paper, we ſee the Letters *R. L. S.* which was Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*; and to let ſo much of his Name appear to it, was more than himſelf, perhaps would have done in the next Reign; ſeeing what ſlaviſh Doctrine he has advanced therein, of Unlimited Prerogative, in one Man, to amend the Defects in a National Conſtitution: Further alledging, The Law of the Land can never oblige the Sovereign to do any Thing contrary to the Law of his Authority: That the Prince who has it not in his Power to oppreſs, has it not in his Power to govern. In ſhort, this Paper is an Abſtr..9 of twenty or thirty of his *Obſervators* upon the ſame Text, to eſtabliſh an arbitrary Power in the Prince, breed a Contempt of Parliaments in the People, and make Freemen Slaves.

507. The *Schiſm* of the *Church* of *England*, &c. *Demonſtrated* in *Four Arguments*: Formerly propoſed to Dr. *Gunning* and Dr. *Pearſon*, the late Biſhops of *Ely* and *Cheſter*, by two *Catholick Diſputants*, in a celebrated *Conference* upon that Point. *Oxon*, Printed by *Henry Cruttenden*, one of his Majeſty's Printers. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1688

Theſe Catholick Sophiſters ground much of their Arguments upon Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Conſecration, the Validity whereof has been ſo ſufficiently proved by Numbers of abler Writers, that there needs no more be ſaid of it.

508. The late *Proceedings* and *Votes* of the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, contained in an *Addreſs* delivered to the King, ſigned by the Plurality of the Members thereof, ſtated and vindicated. *Glaſgow*: Printed by *Andrew Hepburn*. (In 46 Pages) *Quarto*, 1689

This Pamphlet was drawn up by no inconſiderable Hand. There are many free and wholſome Obſervations in it, upon the late Miſgovernment of *Scotland*, and Characters of thoſe Miniſters who were employed in it; which would give ſome clear Light into that Part of Hiſtory, were their Names drawn out, as they might be, of the Twilight of their initial Letters, into the open Sunſhine of Words at Length; as the Duke of *Lauderdale*'s is, whoſe general Character, here makes a glaring Figure, for the Miſchiefs he did, while he was Secretary in that Kingdom. In Page 41, The Author has this Political Reflection:— 'Having now 'diſpatched all that is either Hiſtorical, or 'Argumentative, about the ſeveral Heads in 'Difference between the Parliament of *Scot-'land*, and a few unadviſed, or ill-deſigning 'Men about his Majeſty: I ſhall ſhut up 'this Diſcourſe with ſome Political Reflec-'tions upon the Whole. Whereof the firſt 'is, That it is not the having barely a *Good* '*King*, that renders a People happy; but 'much of it muſt ariſe from his having *Good* '*Miniſters* about him. For no Nation had 'ever a better Prince than we at preſent 'have; and yet we find there is Cauſe of 'Complaint, by Reaſon of the ill Counſel-'lors that poſſeſs his Ear. We do not 'think, that he entertains them out of 'Choice; yet that will not give his People 'Eaſe,

'Eaſe, though it may for a While ſuppreſs 'their Murmurings. His Majeſty being ſo 'little acquainted with Men at his firſt Co-'ming over, might lay him open to be miſ-'led in the Choice of his Officers; but to 'continue to uſe them, after he hath had 'ſufficient Means, as well as Opportunity of 'knowing their Characters, will leave an 'Imputation not only upon his Goodneſs, 'but upon his Wiſdom. For as the People 'have no other Way of judging of the Good-'neſs of their Prince, but by finding his 'Officers and chief Miniſters to be ſuch: So 'if theſe be not, they may poſſibly acknow-'ledge *William* to be a good Man, but they 'never will believe the *King* is ſo. And '*Machiavel*'s Obſervation, That *a wiſe King 'will always find wiſe Miniſters*, is no more 'than what every Man is perſuaded of upon 'the firſt Principles of Reaſon and of Com-'mon Senſe. I do acknowledge, that ill 'Men have Ways of Thruſting themſelves 'upon Princes, which they that are vertuous 'think too unworthy, and below them to 'uſe. For whereas the latter are always 'modeſt, and ſeek no Recommendations but 'from their own Merit; the former are 'importunate, and can both flatter and bribe 'Favourites to ſpeak well of them. It was a 'ſevere Prediction, as well as Obſervation; 'which the late Prince of *Conde* made upon 'the News of King *Charles the Second*'s 'Death, and of his *Brother*'s Succeeding him, '*That he was like to be well ſerved, through 'having none about him, but his own Fools, and 'his Predeceſſors Knaves.* How may wiſe 'Men then imagine his preſent Majeſty is 'like to be ſerved, who, though he hath 'not the Fools of the laſt Reign about him, 'yet He hath both the Knaves of That, and 'of the Former! *&c.*

509. A True *Repreſentation* to the *King* and *People* of *England*: How Matters were carried on all along in *Ireland* by the late King *James*, in Favour of the *Iriſh* Papiſts there: From his *Acceſſion* to the Crown, to the Tenth of *April*, 1689. By an impartial *Eye-Witneſs*. Licenſed *Aug.* 16, 1689. *J. Fraſer*. Printed for *Richard Chiſwell*, at the *Roſe* and *Crown* in St. *Paul*'s *Church-yard*. (In twenty Pages) *Quarto*, 1689

510. A *Diſcourſe* upon *Uſury*: Or, *Lending Money* for *Increaſe* (Occaſioned by Mr. *David Jones*'s late Farewell Sermon) Proving, by undeniable *Arguments*, the *Lawfulneſs* thereof; and *anſwering* the plauſible *Objections* from Scripture, Councils and Fathers againſt it. Publiſhed at the Requeſt of ſeveral judicious and ſober Chriſtians, for the Information and Satisfaction of all ſuch as have, or may be concerned in this Matter of ſo general and weighty Importance. Printed for *Samuel Crouch*, at the Corner of *Pope's-Head Alley*, over-againſt the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*. (In 19 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1692

The Author commends Mr. *Jones*, as a Preacher, deſervedly to be reſpected, for his Courage and Fidelity, in Preaching down the Vices of the Times: But thinks he would have done much better, to have ſpoken againſt the Abuſes in *Uſury*, than the Thing itſelf; and ſhews, That in *Uſury* the *Lending* of Money, at ſuch Intereſt as our Laws allow, ſubjects the *Borrower* to leſs Deceit or Detriment, than in *Trade*, the Selling of Goods does the *Buyer*.

511. A *Vindication* of the *Hiſtoriographer* of *The Univerſity of Oxford*, and his *Works*, from the *Reproaches* of the Lord Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, in his *Letter* to the Lord Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, concerning a Book lately publiſhed, called, *A Specimen of ſome Errors and Defects in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England*: By *Anthony Harmer*. Written by *E. D.* To which is added, The *Hiſtoriographer*'s *Anſwer* to certain *Animadverſions*, made in the before mentioned *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, to that Part of *Hiſtoria & Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxon.* which treats of the Divorce of Queen *Catherine* from King *Henry the Eighth*. *London*, printed and ſold by *Randal Taylor*. (In 30 Pages) *Quarto*, 1693

This Pamphlet in Vindication of the induſtrious *Anthony Wood* (againſt the Aſperſions of Dr. *Burnet*) is reprinted in the laſt Edition of his *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, *Oxon.* 2 Vol. *Fol.* 1721; but the Editor was neither ſo exact in the Title of it, as to mention its being written by *E. D.* nor any Date, whereby we might know that it was ever before printed.

512.

512. The *Tryal* of Sir *Godfrey M'culloch* Vindicated; or, a ſhort *Account* of the horrid *Oppreſſion* and cruel *Murder*, committed by him, and his Father, againſt the Family of *Cardineſs*. Printed at *Edinburgh*. (In 22 Pages) *Quarto*, 1697

513. A Full and True *Account* of a moſt dreadful and aſtoniſhing *Fire*, which happened at *Whitehall*, and begun in Colonel *Stanley*'s Lodgings, on *Tueſday* laſt, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon; continuing with great Violence, till about Nine a Clock, the next Morning; burning down, and conſuming the *Kings Chappel*, the *Guard-Chamber*, the *Long Gallery*, &c. Together with near 150 *Houſes*. An Account alſo, how ſeveral Perſons were killed; with the Blowing up 20 *Houſes*, &c. Licenced according to Order. Printed by *J. Bradford* in *Little-Britain*. (On a ſingle Half-Sheet) *Folio*, 1698

This Fire at *Whitehall* begun on the Fourth of *January*, 1698, by the Means of ſome Linnen which a *Dutch-woman*, belonging to Colonel *Stanley*'s Lodgings (near the Earl of *Portland*'s Houſe) ſuffered to take Fire, while ſhe had left it to dry. It conſumed all from the *Privy Stairs* to the *Banqueting-Houſe*, and from the *Privy Garden*, to *Scotland Yard*, except the Earl of *Portland*'s, and the *Banqueting-Houſe*; which were preſerved, though much ſcorched and diſordered. It was extinguiſhed near the Gate, by the Duke of *Ormond*'s Lodgings. The principal Buildings which were conſumed, were the *Guard-Chamber*, *Council-Chamber*, *Secretary's-Office*, the *King's-Chappel*, the *Long-Gallery* to the Gate, the Duke of *Devonſhire*'s, &c. The Damage was as yet unaccountable, ſo much fine Furniture being deſtroyed, Plate, Money, Jewels and other Riches loſt. About twelve Perſons were alſo killed. Thus was this renowned and magnificent Palace reduced to Rubbiſh and Aſhes, within the Space of ſeventeen Hours.

514. A *Letter* to a Country Gentleman ſetting forth the *Cauſe* of the *Decay* and *Ruin* of *Trade*. To which is annexed, A *Liſt* of the *Names* of ſome *Gentlemen*, who were *Members* of the laſt *Parliament*, and now are, or lately were, in *publick Employments*. (Printed in 12 Leaves.) *Quarto*, 1698

This *Letter* is ſigned at the End, G. W. There are ſome good Diſcoveries in it, of the ſiniſter Practices in ſome *Officers*, &c. tending to the Diſcouragement of Trade: And the Ruin of thoſe who attempt to defeat any irregular Courſes therein; as may ſufficiently appear, both in the *Notes* as well as Text of this Diſcourſe; and that Liſt, at the End, may yield ſome good Intelligence, though it is but conciſe.

515. *A Rowland for an Oliver*: Or a ſharp *Rebuke* to a ſaucy *Levite*. In Anſwer to a *Sermon* preached by *Edward Oliver*, M. A. Before Sir *Humphry Edwin*, late *Lord Mayor* of *London*, at St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, on *Sunday*, *October* 22, 1698. By a *Lover* of *Unity*. (In 24 Pages) *Quarto*, 1699

This Pamphlet was written againſt the Diſſenters; whoſe Manner of Worſhip Mr. *Oliver* had preached againſt in that Sermon, before the ſaid Lord Mayor, though his Lordſhip himſelf was one of them. The laſt Paragraph in the Piece may give a Taſte of it, which is as follows: — 'I ſhall conclude this extemporary *Anſwer* to a premeditated *Sermon* againſt extemporary *Prayer*, with this one Reflexion: That the late Lord Mayor may well be abuſed in the Street, by Ballad Singers, Hawkers, and raſkally Fellows, when he was firſt abuſed to his Face in the Pulpit by a Pedantick Parſon. A noble Example, and as bravely followed! But if the City of *London* ſuffer their chief Magiſtrate, and the greateſt of the Kind in the whole Nation, to be thus abuſed for Going to *Meetings*, which was neither contrary to the Laws of God nor Man, they do not acquit themſelves according to their Character. It is utterly intolerable that a Gentlemen, who, his very Enemies muſt own, has acted the Part of a good Magiſtrate, ſhould be ſo ſcandalouſly abuſed. If this be Mr. *Oliver*'s Deference to Dignities, it is a Pity he ſhould ever preach in any other Place but *Bedlam*; where his Nameſake *Oliver*'s Porter uſed to rave. And thus I leave the Huntſmen, who founded the ſeven Strokes to the Field, to

'found the Stroke of Nine to draw Home the 'Company; for I believe their —— will 'ſcarcely recover his Game; ſo that he may 'even ſit down contented with the Honour of 'being the Ring-leader of thoſe who ſing ſuch 'goodly Ballads, as *they were gathering Grigs 'about the Streets one Day*, and cry Lampoons 'againſt Magiſtrates another.'

516. *Dum ſpiro, ſpero.* An humble *Repreſentation* of the *Sale* of our *Woollen Manufactures* (In 16 Pages) *Quarto*, 1700

This Author ſeems to have been well acquainted with his Subject, and has communicated ſome obſervable Particulars thereon; by which our extraordinary Loſſes, through the *French*, too manifeſtly appear. The better to manifeſt the Loſs to our Poor thereby, he has inſerted in Page 5, a *Calculation* made by Sir *Matthew Hale*, of the diſtinct Value of the *Wool*, and the Workmanſhip.

517. A True *Report* of a *ſtrange* and *monſterous Child*, born at *Aberwick*, in the Pariſh of *Eglingham*, in the County of *Northumberland*, this Fifth of *January* 1580. *London*, Imprinted for *Thomas Goſſon*, dwelling in *Pauls Church Yard*, next the Gate, the Corner Shop to *Cheapeſide*, at the Sign of the Goſhawke in the Sonn. (In one Sheet) *Black Letter.*

This Pamphlet is dated from *Berwick*, the ſame Day and Year above-mentioned, and it was printed the ſame Year. It is divided into two Parts; the Firſt is entitled, a *True Report*, &c. as above: The Other, *An Admonition to the Chriſtian Reader*. In the Title page, there is a wooden Print of that monſtrous Child; and it is ſaid at the End of the *Report*, That the Drawer of this Portrature was *Raphe Cooke* Paynter, dwelling in *Barwick* upon *Tweede*. In the Report, it appears, That Child was the Offspring of *Elinor Urine*, aged twenty-eight Years, by her Huſband *John Urine*, Piper, aged Twenty-ſix. It was of the Male Sex, and ſhaped like two Children from the Shoulders upwards, only one Ear of each Head was ſhaped like an Horſe's the other like an Hog's. The Body was larger than uſual, the Arms reaſonably proportionable, and the Legs and Feet as of other Children: It was ſtill-born; but the Cauſe of its Deformity is not accounted for, unleſs it were a Judgment on the Father, who having a goodly Daughter born to him two Years before, by the ſame Woman, and the Midwife telling him, what a fine Child God had ſent him; he angrily anſwered, If it were a Daughter, the Devil might take his Part, for it was none of his; ſo departed Murmuring, where he ought to have returned Thanks.

518. The *Caſtle* or *Picture* of *Policy*: Shewing forth, moſt lively, the Face, Body, and Parts of a Commonwealth; the Duty, Quality, Profeſſion of a perfect and abſolute *Sauldiar*: The *Martiall Feates*, *Encounters* and *Skermiſhes*, lately done by our *Engliſh* Nation, under the Conduct of the moſt Noble, and famous Gentleman, M. *John Noris*, Generall of the Army of the States in *Friſeland*. The Names of many worthy and famous Gentlemen which live, and have this preſent Year, 1580, ended their Lives in that Land, moſt honorably. Handled in Manner of a Dialogue betwixt *Gefferay Gate*, and *William Blandy*, Souldiars. *London*, Printed by *John Daye*, dwelling over *Alderſgate*: *Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis.* (In thirty three Leaves, *Black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1581

This Dialogue was compoſed by the aforeſaid *William Blandy*. He dedicates it to the Noble, Vertuous Gentleman, Mr. *Philipp Sidney*. After his Dedication, follows a Letter by the ſaid Author, before his Book was printed, to his Friend, Captain *Edward Morris*, requeſting his Judgment of it; in which it appears alſo, that he was ſhortly after to go Abroad. This is followed with Captain *Morris*'s Anſwer to his loving Friend, *William Blandy*; who is deſcribed therein, to have been then but a young Man: For the Captain wiſhes, his Elders in Military Diſcipline, were diſpoſed as he is, and furniſhed with his Skill and Faculty: And after this, there is a Copy of Verſes, on the Author, and his Work, by *Ledowick Flood*, (or *Lloyd.*) It appears in Fol. 18, that the Degrees in the Army were, in thoſe Days, thus diſtinguiſhed — The *General*; *High Marſhall*, with his *Provoſts*, *Serjeant-General*, *Serjeant of a Regiment*, *Corowinel*, *Captayne*, *Lieutenant*, *Auncient Serjeant* of a *Company*, *Corporull*, *Gentleman* in a *Company*, or of the *Rounde*, *Launceſſado*: Theſe he ſays a Speciall; the other that remain, private or common Soldiers: Then he deſcribes the Duty

of

of every one. So enters with his Correſpondent upon the Characters and valiant Behaviour of General *Noris*, and the Officers under him in *Friſeland*: As Captain *Morgaine* (afterwards a Colonel) Captain *Roger Williams* (afterwards a Knight) *John Seintleger*, and many more, whom he names and extols for their great Courage and Pollicy in War, eſpecially *Rowland Yorke*. He mentions ſeveral alſo who were killed in that Expedition; as the valiant Captain *Corne*, whom he much applauds, wiſhing, *The Queen had all the empty Barns and Houſes in* England *full of ſuch Corne*: Beſides Lieutenant *Carie*, who approved himſelf every Way deſcended of a noble Race, and the brave Maſter *Browne*, who had been a Student of *Lincolns Inn*, and likewiſe fell in that Engagement. Here are Characters beſides of ſeveral other Officers of our Nation, as Captain *Gaynsford*, *Sallisbury*, *Byſhopp*, *Bowes*, and many more. Query if this is the ſame *William Blandie* mentioned by *A. Wood* to have been born at *Newberry*, bred at *New College* in *Oxford*, where he took a Degree in Arts, was expelled by the Biſhop of *Winton*, was one of the Society of the *Middle-Temple*, and tranſlated *Oſorius his Diſcours of Civil and Chriſtian Nobility*, printed 1576.

519. *Republica Anglorum*: The Manner of Government, or Policie of the Realme of *England*; compiled by the Honourable Man *Thomas Smyth*, Doctor of the Civil Lawes, Knight, and Principall Secretarie unto the two moſt worthie Princes, King *Edward the Sixth*, and Queen *Elizabeth*. Seene and allowed. Printed by *Henrie Midleton*, for *Gregorie Seton*. (In 62 Leaves, *Black Letter*) 1583

This famous Tract of Sir *Thomas Smyth*'s had afterwards ſeveral Editions, with ſome Alterations in the Title, Additions, and Marginal Notes. The Editor informs us, That he thought it a Part of his Duty, as well for Reviving of the Fame of ſo notable a Man, as for Imparting to the Publick ſo pithy a Treatiſe, to preſent the ſame to his Reader's Judgment. Wherein, although the Errors and Raſhneſs of Scribes appearing in the Contrariety and Corruption of Copies, happening, both by the Length of Time, ſince the firſt Making, as alſo by the often Tranſcribing, might juſtly have been his Excuſe, or rather Diſcouragement; yet weighing the Authority of the Author, together with the Gravity of the Matter, he made no Doubt, but that the Reverence due to the One, and the Recompence deſerved by the Other, would eaſily countervail all Faults committed by a Clerk or Writer. And whereas ſome Terms, or other Matters, may ſeem to diſſent from the uſual Phraſe of the Common Laws of this Realm: Yet to thoſe who conſider the Author's Profeſſion was principally in the Civil Laws, and therefore not to be expected as one excellent in both; and alſo that the Finiſhing of this Work was in *France*, far from his Library, and in an Embaſſy, even in the Midſt of weighty Affairs; it cannot nor ought not, without great Ingratitude, be diſpleaſing in any Sort.

520. The *Declaration* of the *Lord* de la *Noüe*, upon his Taking *Armes* for the juſt *Defence* of the Townes of *Sedan* and *Jametz*; Frontiers of the Realme of *Fraunce*, and under the Protection of his Majeſty. Truely tranſlated, according to the *French* Copie, printed at *Verdun*, by *A. M. London*, imprinted by *John Woolfe*. (In Twelve Leaves) *Quarto*, 1589

There is a good Deal of that famous *French* Commander's Perſonal Hiſtory in this Pamphlet, relating to his Bonds and Promiſes whereby he obtained a Releaſe from above five Years miſerable Captivity, *&c.* which might properly illuſtrate his own Life, or any general Hiſtory of his Country in thoſe Times.

521. *A Work worth the Reading*: Wherein is contayned, Five profitable and pithy Queſtions, very expedient, as well for Parents to perceive howe to beſtowe their Children in *Marriage*, and to *diſpoſe* their *Goods*, at their *Death*, as for all other Perſons to receive great Profit by the reſt of the Matters herein expreſſed. Newly publiſhed by *Charles Gibbon*. Imprinted by *Thomas Orwin*, and ſold by *Henry Kyrkham*, &c. (In thirty-four Leaves) *Quarto*, 1591

The Author dedicates this Work to the Right Worſhipful Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Knight, and directs his Epiſtle to the Reader, from *Bury St. Edmunds* in *Suffolk*. He was a Man of Genius, Learning, and Piety; and intimates, that he had publiſhed other Things, which

which were well received. There are ſome Singularities peculiarly ſtudied in his Style; eſpecially what is called, *The Hunting of the Letter*, and other quaint Conformities of Phraſes and Periods; with Compariſons and Applications of the fabulous Properties in Plants, Animals, *&c.* very much after the Manner of that new invented Rhetorick with which *John Lilly*, the Court-Poet, had not long before won over a great Party in his *Euphues*, and his Comedies. This Style was now, and ſometime after in ſuch great Requeſt; that by many who were then called polite and courtly Readers of Romances eſpecially, thoſe were reckoned but vulgar Writers, who did not imitate it.

522. *Greene's Viſion:* Written at the Inſtant of his Death. Conteyning a penitent Paſſion, for the *Folly* of his *Pen. Sero ſed Serio.* Imprinted at *London*, for *Thomas Newman*. (In 31 Leaves, *black Letter*) *Quarto*, ——

This Tract is dedicated by the ſaid Bookſeller to *Nicholas Sanders* of *Ewell*, Eſq; to whom he ſays, It was one of the laſt Works of a well known Author, therefore, hopes it will be more acceptable. Adding, that many have publiſhed *Repentances* under his Name, but none more unfeigned than this, being every Word of his own; his own Phraſes, and his own Method: The Experience of many Vices brought forth this laſt Viſion of Virtue, *&c.* whereby we may conclude, That as the Author died in 1592, as we have obſerved, this Pamphlet was probably printed that Year, or the next. The Author, in his Preface, expreſſes himſelf to be in great Sickneſs and Sorrow; but deſires others, not to ſhew themſelves *vain*, in Reproaching his *Vanity*; ſays, he had ſhot at many Abuſes, and overſhot himſelf in Deſcribing of ſome; begs Pardon if he has offended by laſcivious Pamphleting, and promiſes that, if he lives, he ſhould be heard of, in Divinity; and concludes, with — Yours dying, *Robert Greene*. In his Introduction of the Pamphlet, there is a Copy of Verſes, entitled, *Greene's Ode, of the Vanity of wanton Writings*. The Purport of what proceeds, is an Account of the Viſion he had, as he was ſitting, in a fair Meadow under an Oak Tree, of *Chaucer* and *Gower*, who came and ſat down by him, and they fell into a Colloquy upon a very important Subject, the moſt preferable Manner of communicating Inſtruction to the World: *Chaucer* maintains the pleaſant and humorous Manner; *Gower*, the ſerious and grave. When they firſt ſat down by him, he ſurveyed them ſo earneſtly, that he could not forbear Deſcribing their Perſons and Attire; which becauſe remarkable, and ſomewhat in their own Style; and might proceed from ſomething more Authoritative, than bare Invention, we ſhall, in Reſpect to thoſe two worthy Bards, repeat.

The *Deſcription* of GEFFERY CHAWCER.

His Stature was not very tall;
Leane he was; his Legs were ſmall.
Hos'd within a Stock of Red;
A button'd Bonnet on his Head.
From under which, did hang I weene,
Silver Haires, both bright and ſheene.
His Beard was white, and trimmed round;
His Count'nance blithe, and merry found,
A ſleeveleſſe Jacket large and wide,
With many Pleightes and Skirtes Side,
Of Water Chamlet did he weare.
A Whittle by his Belt he beare.
His Shooes were corned broad before;
His Inkhorn at his Side he wore;
And in his Hand he bore a Book,
Thus did this ancient Poet look.

The *Deſcription* of JOHN GOWER.

Large he was, his Height was long:
Broad of Breaſt, his Limbs were ſtrong.
But Coulor pale, and wan his Looke;
Such have they that ply'n their Booke.
His Head was gray, and quaintly ſhorne;
Neately was his Bearde worne.
His Viſſage grave, and ſtern, and grim:
Cato was moſt like to him.
His Bonnet was a Hat of Blew;
His Sleeves ſtraight, of that ſame Hew.
A Surcoat of a tawnie Die,
Hung in Pleights over his Thigh:
A Breeche cloſe unto his Dock,
Handſomed with a long Stock;
Picked before were his Shoone,
He wore ſuch as others doone.
A Bag of Red was by his Side,
And by that, his Napkin tide.
Thus *John Gower* did appeare,
Quaint attired, as you heere.

523. A *Watch-worde* for *Warre:* Not ſo *New* as *Neceſſary.* Publiſhed by Reaſon of the diſperſed *Rumors* amongſt us, and the ſuſpected *Comming* of the *Spanyard* againſt us. Wherein we may learne, how to *prepare* ourſelves to *repell* the Enemie, and to *behave* ourſelves all the Tyme of that *Trouble.* Compendious for the Memorie, comfortable for the Matter, profitable for the Time. Printed by *John Legat*, Printer to the Univerſitie of *Cambridge.* (In 30 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1596

The learned and pious Author of this Diſcourſe ſeems to have been a Divine, in the Handling of it, and the Methodical Diviſions he has made of its ſeveral Parts. He dedicates it to the Mayor of *Kings Lynne*, and the Aldermen of that Town, for their Curteſies to him; and ſigns himſelf their Worſhips, always in the Lord, *C. G.*

524. *Honour's Conqueſt:* Wherein is conteined the famous *Hyſtorie* of *Edward of Lancaſter:* Recounting his Honourable *Travailes* to *Jeruſalem*; his hardy *Adventures* and *Honours* in ſundrie Countries gained; his Reſolutions and Attempts in Armes. With the famous Victories performed by the *Knight* of the *Unconquered Caſtle* his admirable Forces, and ſundrie Conqueſts obtained: With his Paſſions and Succeſſe in Love: Full of pleaſant Diſcourſes, and much Varietie. Written by *H. R.* Printed by *Tho. Creede.* (In ſeventy Leaves, *Black Letter.*) *Quarto*, 1598

This is a Romance, and only a ſecond Part, as appears in the Entrance; and the Author promiſes a Third, at the End. There is this uſeful Admonition in the Preface, to all Readers of ſuch Writings; where ſpeaking of that *Edward* of *Lancaſter* as one who deſerved not the leaſt Praiſe, among all thoſe who lived in Honour, and after Death in Fame; he ſays, 'If any will alledge that, 'in this poetical Praiſing of him, there be 'any Fictions, let ſuch learn to read theſe 'Manner of Books, as *Socrates* wiſhed 'Women to uſe their Looking Glaſſes; 'namely, fair Women to look on their Glaſſes, to beware that their good Manners 'may ſhine as well as their Beauty; and ill-favoured Women to endeavour, that their 'inward Vertues might make gracious their 'outward Deformities; ſo let Gentlemen, 'by Reading theſe Bookes, obſerve therein 'only thoſe Things, the Practiſe whereof 'may innoble them more and more; and 'the baſer and cowardly Sort, here learn only, what may promote them.'

525. A Treatiſe of *the Canker of Englands Commonwealth.* Divided into Three Parts: Wherein the Author, imitating the Rule of good Phyſitions, Firſt declareth the *Diſeaſe.* Secondarily, ſheweth the efficient *Cauſe* thereof. Laſtly, a *Remedy* for the ſame. By *Gerrard de Malynes* Merchant. Imprinted at *London*, by *Richard Field*, for *William Johnes*, Printer, dwelling in *Red Croſs Street*, in *Ship Allie.* (In 72 Leaves) *Octavo*, 1601

The Author, though a Foreigner, had now been many Years in *England*; and writes the Language very well. He had firſt preſented the Subſtance of this Treatiſe to the Queen, and now dedicates it to her Secretary Sir *Robert Cecil.* It is written upon the Conſumption of our Wealth and Coin, in Traffick, through the Abuſe of the *Exchange* for Money. And he has many Obſervations upon Bankers; the Courſe and Price of Exchange; the Weight, Fineneſs, and Value of our Coin, and the Alterations that have been made in it, to prevent ſome Diſadvantages in Trade. So propoſes at laſt, as a Remedy, ſome Reformations of the *Exchange.* At the End, we have a ſhort Diſcourſe on the *Prices* of *precious Stones*, *Spices*, and other Commodities, as the *Portugueſe* had lately bought them in the *Eaſt-Indies:* He begins with *Diamonds*, found in the Kingdoms of *Decan* and *Narſinga*, and the Iſle of *Zeiloin*; and ſays, the moſt perfect were called *Nayſe*, or pointed on both Sides; ſold by a Weight called the *Mangelin* at ſo many *Pardaos* of Gold. That the beſt *Rubies* were called *Noncuplo*; of a high Colour, ſpotleſs, the hardeſt, and coldeſt on the Tongue. Sold by the Weight called *Fanan*; found moſtly in the River called *Pegu:* Thoſe in the Iſle of *Zeilan*, being of a Fleſh Colour, but of one Third the Value, are called by the *Indians*, *Manecas*; which, being mundified by the Fire, are made *Carbuncles.* Another Kind they called *Caropus*, but of half the Value of the firſt: Another Kind, which we called *Spinell*; and another, found in *Balaſſia*, of a Roſe Colour, called the *Balaſs* Ruby,

Ruby, of like Eſtimation. The *Saphire*, from the Iſland of *Zeilan*; the hardeſt are beſt, and of a clear Azure Colour. The *Topaz*, from the ſame Iſland, the Colour of of beaten Gold, ſold for its Weight in Gold, in Times paſt. The *Turqueſe*, from *Malabar*, being of *Turquys* Colour (blue) by Day, and light green by Night; they grow on a black Stone, whereof thoſe were accounted beſt, which retained ſome little Veins. The *Jacinth*, of *Zeilan*, are tender yellow Stones, having commonly little Pimples in them. The *Emerald* a hard and green Stone found in *Babylon*, &c. were much eſteemed, before ſo many were brought from the *Weſt-Indies*, and many are counterfeited, diſcoverable through the Light, by the Burbuls or Specks in them, as in a Glaſs. The true ones, rubbed on a Touchſtone, leave a Copper Colour behind. As for the *Pearls* of the *Eaſt-Indies*, he obſerves, they are not of that Colour, which prepoſterouſly are called *Oriental*, as the Pearls of the *Weſt-Indies*. Of the *Spices*, and other Commodities, he gives no other Account than the Prices.

526. A Bleſſed *Balme* to *ſearch* and *ſalve Sedition*. Written by *Thomas Churchyard*, Eſq; Printed by *Simon Stafford*, &c. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1604

This is a Poem, written in Stanzas of ſeven Lines, to the King upon the Plot, for which the two Prieſts *Watſon* and *Clark* were executed. He inveighs moſt againſt the Jeſuits, on this Occaſion; and alſo points at ſome Sectaries, which ſtood aloof and looked for a Change in the Government. In his Dedication to the King, he has theſe Words: 'The firſt Seeking of your Majeſty's Favour 'in *Scotland*, for a Fault committed heere, 'in mine own Defence, bound me, by taſting your gracious Goodneſſe, ever in Obedience and Duty; which my Book, of the 'true Honouring of a King, there teſtifies, 'to whom then I was ſworn a Servant (before all the Kings and Queenes of the World) 'for the which firſt of the twenty-two 'Yeres paſt, I was ſore impriſoned and tormented heere at Home: But by the Queen's 'Clemency, and *Monſieur*'s Means, ſet at 'Liberty again, and received to ſuch Favour 'as, in her good Grace, I was employed 'about Matters profitable to my Countrey, 'and to her Commodity great. Which yet 'I can redouble and unfold to your Majeſty, 'if I be favourably well heard. The good 'Queen gave me a poor Penſion for that 'Service; and ſo calling to Mynd, in four 'Princes Times, I have given a great Puſh 'for Preferment, yet I was never advanced, 'I bethought me of the fifth King, ſince 'the other four left me only to a poor Penſion, to whom now, in Hope of ſome bountifull Conſideration, I preſent a Book called, *A Balme*; becauſe all precious Balmes 'ſearch and heale many ſore Diſeaſes, which 'a bad World wants not. Thus in the End 'of my Pylgrimage, paſſing towards the 'Court of Heaven, I pray to the King of 'Kings, for the long Life and Preſervation 'of your Majeſty.' There is joined to the Copy of that Poem before us, another, by the ſame Author, intitled, *A Pæan Triumphall*; upon the King's publick Entry from the *Tower* of *London*, to *Weſtminſter*, on *March* the Fifteenth, 1603. This Poem is written in Heroick Verſe, and is printed in ten Pages. But there was a large Account of all the Pageants, Pyramids, Speeches, Songs, &c. in this ſplendid Proceſſion ſoon after ſet forth by *Thomas Decker*, in a Book called, *The Magnificent Entertainment given to King* James, *&c. upon the Day of his Tryumphant Paſſage from the* Tower, *through this honourable City of* London, *&c.*

527. *The Ploughman's Tale*: Shewing by the *Doctrine* and *Lives* of the *Romiſh* Clergie, that the *Pope* is *Antichriſt*, and *They* his *Miniſters*. Written by Sir Geffrey *Chaucer*, Knight, amongſt his *Canterburie Tales*: And now ſet out apart from the reſt, with a ſhort *Expoſition of the Words and Matters*, for the Capacitie and Underſtanding of the ſimpler Sort of Readers. Printed by *G. E.* for *Samuel Macham* and *Mathew Cooke*, in *Pauls* Church Yard. (In 31 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1606

Here is no Preface, or Editor's Name to this Edition, but he has very induſtriouſly given us many Marginal Notes throughout, which in many Places do notably explain the obſolete Words of the Author, who would be more read, and better underſtood, if his whole Works were ſo publiſhed. For it is, ſurely, more commodious for the Reader, to turn his Eye to the Side of the Page, than to tumble over the Leaves to a Gloſſary, at the End of the Book, for every Word he wants.

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We know not, by what Authority, he gives *Chaucer* the Title of Knighthood as above; but ſeveral other Writers, of this Editor's Time, did the like. He ſpeaks of Mr. *Spight*'s Edition of *Chaucer*, and his commendable Pains in it, in the ſecond Page; and in the fifth, ſays, he has ſeen this *Plowman's Tale*, or Complaint againſt the Pride and Covetouſneſs of the Clergy, made no Doubt by *Chaucer*, in an ancient Manuſcript in *John Stow*'s Library. Laſtly, it may be obſerved, that there is in this Edition, before the Plowman's Prologue, *A Deſcription of the Plowman*, which, as we remember, is wanting in Mr. *Urry*'s Edition.

528. The *Jeſuites Miracles*, or new *Popiſh Wonders:* Containing the *Straw*, the *Crowne*, and the wondrous *Child*; with the *Confutation* of them and their Follies. Printed at *London*, for *C. P.* and *R. J.* and are to be ſold at his Shop in *Fleetſtreet* neere the Conduit. (In 23 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1607

This is a Poem upon Father *Garnet*'s *Straw-Miracle*, in Stanzas of ſix Lines; written by one who was a Military Man, and ſigns himſelf, *R. P.* In the Title Page, there is a Print, taken from a Copper Plate, repreſenting an Ear of Corn, and in the Middle of it, the Face of a Man, with the Rays of Glory about it, a Kind of pointed Crown upon his Head, a Croſs on his Forehead, and a little Face of a Child, with Wings like a Cherubim, on the Chin (which concerns another Miracle, too long to repeat) and about the Whole, in an Oval, this Inſcription: *Miraculoſa Effigies* R. P. Henrici Garneti, *Societatis Jeſu, Martyris* Angliæ, 3. Maii 1606. *Garnet* was then hanged, in St. *Paul*'s *Churchyard*, for his Share in the *Gunpowder-Treaſon:* And, at the Quartering of his Limbs, a Straw, with its Ear at the End, ſprinkled with the Traytor's Blood, flew off from the Scaffold, or out of the Baſket into which his Head was thrown, upon a Popiſh Waiter for ſome Relique. About five Months after, there appeared upon one of the Grains the Face of a Man (*Garnet*'s no Doubt) ſpecked out in Miniature. And not only all *England*, but all *Europe*, at leaſt as far as *Rome*, was belittered with the News of this miraculous Straw. It was ſo fruitful, that it multiplied many Hundred Fold, and not without the Improvement of many officious Engraſtments; as may be ſeen above. Copper-Plates were engraved of it; Volumes, Pamphlets, and Poems have been written of it, in *Latin*, and in *Engliſh*. Four Years after, a Jeſuit, who calls himſelf *Jack-Andrew*, publiſhed an *Apology* for this Brother of his, under this Title, *Andreæ Eudæmon Joannis Cydonii è Societate Jeſu, ad Actionem Proditoriam Edouardi Coqui Apologia* pro R. P. *Henrico Garneto Anglo, ejuſdem Societatis Sacerdote. Permiſſu Superiorum. Col. Agrip. Octavo.* 1610. Before which is the like glorifying Copper Print of this graceleſs Traytor, but there is moſt preſumptuouſly added to it, in large Capitals, the Letters I. H. S. and the Top of the *Croſs* behind, and the *Nails* on the Side. In Anſwer to this, the learned Dr. *Robert Abbot*, afterward Biſhop of *Sarum*, publiſhed his *Antilogia*, in *Quarto*, 1613, in which he has, beyond all Confutation, defended the Juſtice of his Country, for the Execution of Father *Garnet*, and laid open all the Impoſture of this chaffy Miracle. But to conclude with a Diſtich out of our Poem above:

Their *painted Straw* may for *Rome*'s *Emblem* ſerve:
On painted Fruit who feeds, ſhall feeding ſtarve.

529. *Two moſt ſtrange Births. London*, printed for *R. B.* and are to be ſold at the Sign of the *Red Lion* on *London-Bridge*. (In 8 Leaves, *Black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1608

One of theſe Children was a Girl born on the Twenty-ſeventh of *November*, 1608, at *Modbury* in *Devonſhire*, without Eyes, Noſe, or Ears; and all the Body ſcored full of red Strokes like bloody Stripes; and the Breaſt of it joined together, where the Ribs met, with a great Seam of Fleſh. The Face carried the Reſemblance of Death. The other Child was a Boy, brought forth by *Suſan* the Wife of *Andrew White*, a Butcher of *Plymouth* in the ſame County. He, being a bad Huſband, had left her; and ſhe ſo grieved at her deſtitute Condition, that ſhe brought the Child forth dead, well proportioned in all Parts, but the Head, Face, and Neck; having above the Forehead, juſt to the full half Circle of it, a broad thin Bone growing out of the Skull, covered with Fleſh, much like thoſe Caps

or

or Head-cloaths then worn by the Women; riſing up hollow on each Side of their Temples, like two Half-Moons. The Mouth, with Teeth in it, were alſo miſhapen, and it had a little Pipe or Gut growing out of the Pit of its Throat. This came into the World, on the third Day of *December*, 1608.

530. A *Diſcoverie* of the moſt *ſecret and ſubtile Practiſes* of the *Jeſuites*. Tranſlated out of the *French*. Printed for *Robert Boulton*, and to be ſold at his Shop in *Smithfield*. (In ten Leaves) *Quarto*, 1610

This Tract was written by one who was a Student in the College at *Gratz* in *Stirria*, and has made ſeveral Diſcoveries out of his own Knowledge and Obſervation, and the Confeſſions of the Fraternity to him, not of the ſimple Jeſuits, but the Arch-Jeſuits themſelves; the Regents, Fathers, Provincials, and Generals of their Order, who have ſuch Communication in all Sorts of Wickedneſs, eſpecially Whoredom, Treaſon, and Murders, as of one of his Fellow Students, and the Women and Children, they murdered at *Fulda*. Their diſguiſing and frightful Attires to try the Temper and Reſolution of their Novices, by which that notorious Accident happened at *Prague* in *September* 1602, where, as five chief Jeſuits were buſied in Terrifying their Youth under the Form of Devils, a ſixth thought to be Devil indeed came in, and ſo embraced one of them, that he died in three Days. Tells ye further of Father *Coton*'s Black Arts, and his *Magical Looking-Glaſs*, wherein the *French* King beheld whatever he wanted to know. He leads you through their dark Practiſes in the Caves they have under their Temples, to the Orders they hold in their Library; and from thence, to their Propoſitions in their Councils, for the Subverſion of the *Roman* Empire, Aſſaſſinating Heretical Princes, and Poiſoning the Doctors of the *Lutheran* Churches, as well as *Calviniſts*. In the laſt Leaf but one, he is for having the Emperor make *Henry* of *Brunſwick*, a learned and vigilant Prince, Adminiſtrator of the Electorſhip of *Saxony*, till the Family of *Weinmar* ſhould be at Age; and the Elector, then living, deprived, being drunk every Day.

531. A Plaine *Deſcription* of the *Barmudas*, now called *Sommer Iſlands*: With the Manner of their *Diſcoverie*, *Anno* 1609, by the *Shipwrack* and admirable *Deliverance* of Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Sommers*; wherein are truly ſet forth the Commodities and Profits of that Rich, Pleaſant, and Healthfull Countrie. With an *Addition*, or more ample *Relation* of divers other remarkable Matters concerning thoſe *Iſlands*, ſince then experienced, lately ſent from thence, by one of the *Colonie* now there reſident. (In 26 Leaves, *Black Letter*) Printed by *W. Stanſby*, for *W. Welby*. *Quarto*, 1613

This Tract is dedicated to the truly Honorable and right Worthy Knight, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Treaſurer for the Colonies and Companies of *Virginia*; and Governour of *Muſcovia*, *Eaſt-India*, *North-weſt Paſſage*, and *Sommer Iſlands* Companies. It is publiſhed by *W. C.* as he ſigns himſelf, at the End of the Dedication; whereby is to be underſtood, perhaps, *William Craſhaw*. Therein we are informed, That thoſe two brave Commanders, with one-hundred and fifty Perſons more, were on the 25th of *July* 1609 in a terrible Tempeſt driven from their Fleet and caſt away, three Days after, upon theſe Iſlands; ſo found a delightful and plentiful Country, when they were far enough from thinking of making any ſuch Diſcoveries. And though they ſuffered Shipwreck, upon the Rocks that ſurround thoſe Iſlands, yet were they preſerved every Man, which never before befel any but themſelves. There, without any human Creature to moleſt them, they lived in Health and Safety near a Twelve-month, till, having built two little Ships of the Cedar that grew there, in them they went to *Virginia*, leaving only two Men behind; whom Sir *George Sommers*, returning again the ſame Year, and the *Engliſh* Colony, ſent thither in 1612, found in good Plight. From ſome of that Colony conſiſting of threeſcore Men and Women, came over this Narration, who, as they were the firſt Inhabitants of the *Sommer Iſlands*, ſo this is the firſt Book publiſhed to the World concerning them: But a more full and exact Account both of the Country and its Products, with the Hiſtory of its Diſcovery, is promiſed by this Editor, who ſays, this ſhort Narration, in the mean Time, ſhall rather prepare us for, than prevent us of it. This Tract was reprinted, if we remember right, in one of *Samuel Purchas*'s Volumes of Voyages.

532. *Quo vadis?* A Juſt *Cenſure* of *Travell*, as it is commonly undertaken by the *Gentlemen* of our *Nation*. By *Joſeph Hall*, D. of Divinity. *London*, printed by *Edward Griffin*, for *Nathaniel Butter*. (In 54 Leaves) *Octavo*, 1617

The learned and ingenious Author of this Diſcourſe, afterwards Biſhop of *Exeter*, &c. dedicates it to the Right Honourable, *Edward* Lord *Denny*, Baron of *Waltham*. To whom he ſays, 'If any Men had Reaſon to 'be in Love with the Face of a foreign 'Entertainment, thoſe are they who were 'admitted to the Attendance of the truly 'Generous and Honourable Lord *Hay* your 'moſt noble Son, in his late Embaſſage to '*France*, in which Number, my Unworthineſs was allowed to make one, who can 'therefore well witneſs, that no Man could 'either receive more Honour from a ſtrange 'Country, or do more Honour to his own.' But, a little further, he ſays, 'Whilſt o-'thers were enjoying the noble Courteſies 'of the Time, my Thoughts entertained 'themſelves with Searching into the Proof 'of that ordinary Travell, wherewith I 'ſaw Men commonly affected; which, I 'muſt needs confeſs, the more I ſaw, the leſs 'I liked.' A little further, That he looked not at earthly Commodities in Travel, but at the Soul; 'which, I well ſaw, uſes not 'only to gather no Moſs in this Rolling, 'but ſuffers the beſt Graces it hath to molder away inſenſibly, in ſuch unneceſſary 'Agitation. I have now been twice Abroad; 'both Times, as thinking myſelf worthy 'of Nothing but Neglect, I bent my Eyes 'upon others, to ſee what they did, what 'they got. My Inquiry found our Spiritual 'Loſs ſo palpable, that, now at laſt, my 'Heart could not chuſe but break forth at 'my Hand, and tell my Countrymen of 'the dangerous Iſſue of their Curioſity.' A little further acquainting us with his Deſign in this Treatiſe, he ſays, 'I deal only 'with thoſe that profeſs to ſeek the Glory 'of a perfect *Breeding*, and the Perfection 'of that which we call *Civilitie* in *Travell*; 'of which Sort I have, not without Indignation, ſeen too many loſe their Hopes, 'and themſelves in the Way; returning as 'empty of Grace and other Virtues, as full 'of Words, Vanity, and Miſdiſpoſitions. 'I dedicate this poor Diſcourſe to your Lord-'ſhip, as, beſides my daily renewed Obli-'gations, congratulating to you the ſweet 'Liberty and happy Uſe of your Home, 'who, like a fixed Star, may well overlook 'theſe Planets, and, by your conſtant Set-'tledneſs, give that Aim to inferiour Eyes, 'which ſhall be in vain expected from a 'wandering Light, *&c.*' From the Treatiſe itſelf, many ſtrong Arguments might be extracted, to demonſtrate the greater Likelihood of Corrupting our Morals, than Improving our Behaviour, by the ordinary Courſe of Travel; but no where more than in the twenty-firſt *Section*, from Page 81, to 85; where he aſks, *What Miſchief have we among us, that we have not borrowed?* So runs through a long Train of them; beginning at our Skin, and the Variety of our vain Diſguiſes; as if we had not Wit enough to be fooliſh, unleſs we were taught it. Our butcherly Duelling; perfumed Diet, to feaſt the Noſe, as well as the Palate; ceremonious Drinking, to make Gods of others, and Beaſts of ourſelves; cenſorious Politicks, Change of noble Attendance, and ancient Hoſpitality, for Trundling Coaches, and gaudy Liveries.' Where did we learn, 'ſays he, the Art of Diſhoneſty in practical '*Machiavelianiſm* in falſe Equivocations? 'Where the ſlight Account of that Filthi-'neſs, which is but condemned as venial, 'and tollerated, as not unneceſſary? Where 'the Skill of civil and honourable Hypo-'criſy, in thoſe formal Complements which 'do neither expect Belief from others, nor 'carry any from themſelves? Where that 'unnatural Villany, which though it were 'burnt with Fire and Brimſtone from Hea-'ven, and the Aſhes of it drowned in the '*Dead Sea*, yet hath made Shift to revive, 'and calls for new Vengeance upon the 'Actors, *&c.* Lo! here, dear Country-'men, the Fruit of your idle Gaddings. 'Better, perhaps, might be had; but he was 'never acquainted at Home, that knows 'not our Nature to be like Fire, which, 'if there be any Infection in the Room, 'draws it ſtraight to itſelf; or like unto 'Jet, which, omitting all precious Objects,

'gathers up Straws, and Duſt, *&c.*' So, in the End, he makes a double Suit, firſt, to our Gentry; that they would learn to be happy at Home: And laſtly, to the Supreme Authority, for a more ſtrict Reſtraint of that dangerous Liberty, whereof too many are bold to carve themſelves in going Abroad.

533. A Treatiſe of Blazing Starres in Generall: As well Supernaturall as Naturall; to what Countries or People ſoever they appeare in the ſpacious World. *London*, imprinted by *Bernard Alſop*, &c. (In 18 Leaves, *Black Letter*) *Quarto*, 1618

This Work is divided into Seventeen Chapters, and there are three Stanzas of Verſes before it, entitled, *A Prognoſtication of Blazing Starres, according to the Opinion of the Poet* Pontanus. In the Beginning of the laſt Chapter, it ſhould ſeem to be a Tranſlation, from ſome *German* Author, who there addreſſes himſelf to the *Emperour*. And, in the foregoing Page, he mentions the laſt blazing Star ſeen, ſays he, in our Horizon; which blazed from the Weſt, to the North. Moreover, that it continued under *Saturn* and *Mars*, Planets and Signs of unlucky Influence. There was a Blazing Star appeared in our Horizon, that Year this Pamphlet was printed, but not till after the Middle of *November*, ſo perhaps too late to be that in this Pamphlet deſcribed. *Arthur Wilſon*, in his *Hiſt. of Great Britain*, Page 128, ſays, of the mighty blazing Comet, ſeen in *England* that Year: 'That it 'appeared in *Libra*, and that its bearded 'Beams covered the *Virgin* Sign: It began 'on *Wedneſday* Morning, the Eighteenth 'of *November*, and vaniſhed on *Wedneſday*, 'the Sixteenth of *December* following; ma'king, in twenty-eight Days Motion, its 'Circumgiration over moſt Parts of the 'known World; extending its radient 'Looks ſometimes forty-five *Degrees* in 'Length. And, as our Dr. *Bainbridge* ob'ſerved, towards the Declination of it, 'about the Eleventh of *December*, it paſſed 'over *London* in the Morning, and ſo haſted 'more Northwards, even as far as the *Or'cades*, &c.' The Pamphlet, which Dr. *Bainbridge* publiſhed on this Occaſion, bears this Title: 'An *Aſtronomicall Deſcription* of 'the late *Comet*, from the Eighteenth of '*November* 1618, to the Sixteenth of *De'cember* following. With certain Morall '*Prognoſticks* or *Applications* drawne from 'the Comets Motion and Irradiation a'mongſt the Celeſtiall Hierogliphicks. By 'vigilent and diligent Obſervations of *John* '*Bainbridge*, Doctor of Phyſicke, and Lo'ver of the Mathematicks. *London*, print'ed by *Edward Griffin*, for *John Parker*, '4*to*, 1619,' with a Dedication before it, by the Author, to King *James*. In which he ſays, 'I beganne, not long ſince, *The* '*Deſcription of Great Britaines Monarchy, in* '*three Columnes*; *Hiſtoricall, Panegyricall*, 'and *Prophylacticall*; intending thereby to 'ſtir up your Leige People to a religious 'Admiration of Gods wonderfull Provi'dence, in Uniting theſe two famous King'domes into one Monarchy, *&c.*' In the mean While, to manifeſt his Zeal to his Majeſty, upon this Occaſion humbly offers 'his Aſtronomicall Deſcription of that Co'met, deliniated in a Celeſtiall Planiſphere, 'with ſome brief Touches in the Prognoſ'ticks and Morall Applications thereof.' And this is all we are here able to ſay of the Doctor's Pamphlet, our Copy being all beyond the ſaid Title and Dedication diſjoined and miſlaid, or it might have appeared in a ſeparate and diſtinct Article.

534. *The Reformed Spaniard.* To all reformed Churches, embracing the true Faith, whereſoever diſperſed on the Face of the Earth. And eſpecially, to the moſt reverend Arch-Byſhops, [redacted]ipfull reverend Byſhops, Doctors, and Paſtors now gathered together, in the venerable Synode at *London*, this Year of our Lord 1621, *John de Nicholas & Sacharles*, Doctor of Phyſicke, wiſheth Health in our Lord. Firſt publiſhed by the Author in *Latine*; and now thence faithfully tranſlated into *Engliſh*. *London*, printed for *Walter Burre*, and to be ſold at his Shop in St. *Pauls* Church Yard, at the Sign of the *Crane*. (In 18 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1621

This *Spaniard* put on the Cowl, before he was ſeventeen Years of Age, and was of the Order of St. *Jerom*. To perfect his Studies, he was ſent to the College of St. *Laurence* in the *Eſcuriall*. But it was at the Publick Le[redacted] heard at *Ilerda*, in *Catalonia*, *Anno* 1596, that he firſt imbibed a Suſpicion of the Fallacy of *Tranſubſtantiation*.

tion. He had been, at his firſt Setting out in the Study of Divinity, a doating Devotee to the Virgin *Mary*; but, when he read that impudent Story fathered upon her, by *Allen of the Frock*, a *Dominican* Friar, as it was quoted from the *Roſary of our Lady*, which he compoſed in 1470, of her Marrying him, with a Ring made of her own Hair; and in ſhort, Converſing with him, as *familiarly* as a Wife could do with her Huſband; his Devotion to her grew Key-cold. He went to *Rome*, to ſee if Religion flouriſhed better there, than in *Spain*; but was worſe pleaſed there. From thence, he paſſed over to *Mompelier* in *France*; where, about the Year 1613, he put off his Monkiſh Cowle, and abjured the Errors of the *Romiſh* Church, and applied himſelf to the Study of Phyſick, and, five Years after, was made Doctor in that Faculty, in the Univerſity of *Valence* in *Daulphinee*: Had a publick Penſion, and practiſed with Repute, in many Places about *Niſmes* and *Arles*. But his Diſputes with the Papiſts in *France* drew upon him ſuch Expectations of their bloody Revenge, and having been aſſured, that even ſix biggoted Brothers, which he had in *Spain*, had declared, they would reward any Man, who would make an End of him, he came to *England*, and preſented his Tranſlation out of *French* into *Spaniſh* of *Peter du Moulin's Buckler of Faith*, to Prince *Charles*, who received it very graciouſly. Yet here he met with his narroweſt Eſcape from Death. For, in the *February* preceding his Publication of this Pamphlet, [illegible] unknown to him accoſted him as he was walking in St. *Paul's*, carried him to a Patient, where they ſupped, and this Stranger ſaid Grace in *Latin*; would needs guide the Doctor back to his Lodgings, but led him about the Streets, from Eight till Ten of the Clock at Night; then, in the Midſt of St. *James's* Fields, ſtabbed him in the Breaſt with a naked Dagger: The Wound was ſlanting, but, in Depth, eight Fingers Breadth. Thus in a cold dark Night, in a Place he knew not, nor how to aſk for Help, being quite ignorant of the *Engliſh* Tongue, he ſays, he ſhould never have ſeen the Morning Light: 'Had not a certain 'good *Samaritan* that very Night, poured 'Wine and Oyl into my Wound: That is, 'unleſs the renowned Doctor *Mayern*, his 'Majeſtys moſt worthy Principall Phyſi-'cian, being as much repleniſhed with 'Mercy and Charity, as with Knowledge 'and Experience, had reached forth unto 'me his helping Hand; and, for three 'Weeks Space, entertaining me in his 'Houſe, had ſpeciall Care of my Reco-'very.'

535. The Countrie Gentleman Moderator. *Collections* of ſuch *Intermarriages*, as have been between the Two Royal Lines of *England*, and *Spaine*, ſince the Conqueſt: With a ſhort View of the Stories of the *Lives* of thoſe Princes. And alſo ſome Obſervations of the Paſſages: With divers Reaſons to moderate the Country People's Paſſions, Fears and Expoſtulations, concerning the *Prince* his *Royall Match*, and State Affaires. Compoſed and collected by *Edmund Garrard*. Printed by *Edward All-de*. (In 38 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1624

Some have thought, that the Name aſcribed to this Pamphlet, as the Author of it, is a fictitious one, or one occaſionally made Uſe of; and that the Pamphlet was really written by the Lord *Cottington*, with Aſſiſtance of the Lord *Digby*, or other *Hiſpaniolifed* Courtiers of thoſe Times. He was a Temporizer, whoſoever he was; and, perhaps, a *Roman* Catholick.

536. *Sir Thomas Overbury* his *Obſervations* in his *Travailes*, upon the *State* of the *Seventeen* Provinces, as they ſtood *Anno* 1609. The Treatie of *Peace* being then on Foote. (In 15 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1626

Theſe Obſervations are divided into three Parts. 1. On the United Provinces. 2. On the State of the Archduke's Country. *3dly*, and *laſtly*, which is the greater Half of the Tract, on the State of *France*, under *Henry the Fourth*. Theſe Obſervations appear to have been written in the Year mentioned in the Title. And, if Sir *Thomas Overbury* was in thoſe Countries, at that Time, not improbably by him, however ſome Things may paſs under his Name, which he was not the Author of.

537. *The Planters Plea*: Or the *Grounds* of *Plantations examined*, and *uſuall Objections anſwered*. Together with a Manifeſtation of the Cauſes moving ſuch as have lately undertaken a Plantation in *New-England*: For

the

the Satisfaction of thoſe that queſtion the Lawfulneſſe of the Action. Printed by *William Jones.* (In 44 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1630

This Pamphlet has many good Arguments and Remarks in it, in Anſwer to the Objections uſually made to ſuch Undertakings; however, the Author modeſtly thinks in his Preface, that they are not filed and ſmoothned enough for the Preſs. The Whole is divided into Ten Chapters: In the *Firſt*, he explains what a *Colony* is. 2. What *Ends* may be propoſed in Planting Colonies. 3. The *Engliſh* Nation *fit* to undertake this Taſk. 4. That *New-England* is a fit Country, for the Seating of an *Engliſh* Colony for the Propagation of *Religion*. 5. What *Perſons* may be fit to be employed in this Work of Planting a Colony. 6. What *Warrant* particular Men may have to engage their Perſons, and Eſtates, in this Employment of Planting Colonies. 7. Anſwering *Objections* againſt the maine Bodie of the Worke. 8. A Digreſſion, manifeſting the *Succeſſe* of the Plantation intended by the *Weſterne* Men. 9. The Undertaking and Proſecution of the Colony by the *Londoners*. 10. The Concluſion of the whole Treatiſe: In which it appears, the Conditions in this Undertaking were, that, beſides the Immunities and Privileges granted by his Majeſty, the Planters were each to have an Hundred or two Acres of Land, upon Diſburſing five and twenty Pounds apiece; and ſo for more proportionably for the Raiſing of the Common Stock.

538. The Humble *Requeſt* of his Majeſties loyal Subjects, the *Governour* and the *Company* late gone for *New-England*; to the reſt of their Brethren, in and of the Church of *England*: For the Obtaining of their Prayers, and the Removall of Suſpicions, and Miſconſtructions of their Intentions. *London*, printed for *John Bellamie*. (In ſix Leaves) *Quarto*, 1630

This Requeſt of the ſaid Planters is dated from *Yarmouth*, aboard the *Arabella*, *April* the Seventh, that Year, and ſigned, *Jo. Winthrope*, Governour; *Charles Fines*, *Richard Saltonſtall*, *Iſaac Johnſon*, *Thomas Dudley*, and *William Coddington*. There is alſo a folding Sheet ſtitched in, containing *The Proportion of Proviſions needfull for ſuch as intend to plant themſelves in* New-England, *for one whole Year, printed at* London, *for* Fulk Clifton, 1630. By which it appears, that any Planter might, at the Charge of little more than ten Pounds, beſides that of his Tranſportation, ſupply himſelf with the Neceſſaries required.

539. A *Catalogue* of certaine *Bookes*, which have been *publiſhed*, and by Authority *printed* in *England*, both in *Latine* and *Engliſhe*, ſince the Year 1626, untill *November*, this preſent Year 1631. Now publiſhed for Supply, ſince the *Intermiſſion* of the *Engliſh Catalogue*, with Intention hereafter to publiſh it exactly *every Year*. Imprinted at *London*. (In 9 Leaves) *Quarto*, 1631

This Catalogue was probably compiled by the Printer or Vender of it. It is indeed very imperfect, not only as to that common Defect, in almoſt all Catalogues, the lazy and blinding Retrenchment of *Titles*, but in the *Number* of Books and Pamphlets publiſhed in that Space; as alſo, in omitting the *Names* of many Authors to be found in thoſe which are mentioned, as well as the *Sizes* of many, and often their *Dates*; though in ſuch a circumſcribed Period of Years. But as all *Catalogues of Books* are of great Uſe in Literary Purſuits, ſo might this have informed ſome Writers, who have attempted to revive ſeveral of the Authors preſerved therein, of many Articles, which would have rendered their Account of them more complete. We mean not here to enter into all the other Conveniencies of a more improved *Catalogue*; for it would require a Volume to diſplay them, and ſhew all the Reaſons, why a Work of ſuch vaſt Variety, ſudden Intelligence, copious Inſtruction, and Choice of Entertainment, as a Catalogue might be, has been ſo much diſregarded, and, though ſo often begun, ſo ſoon diſcontinued. If it be the firſt *Catalogue of Engliſh Books*, we have in Print, which was ſet forth by *Andrew Maunſell*, a Bookſeller, in a thin *Folio*, *Anno* 1595, he ſeems to have ſet the Pattern of Imperfection in Works of this Nature, and his Deficiencies in the Names of Authors, with the Sizes, and eſpecially Dates of their Books, ſeem to have been contagious to his Followers. His Work is limited to two or three Sciences, wherein Hiſtory is no Part, but the old Controverſial Divinity fills up, as we remember, the greateſt Part of the

Book,

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